THE BOOKS OF ENOCH

ARAMAIC FRAGMENTS OF QUMRÂN CAVE 4

Edited by J. T. MILIK

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WITH THE COLLABORATION OF

MATTHEW BLACK

OXFORD

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PREFACE

THE year 1971 was the 150th anniversary of the first complete translation of the Ethiopic Enoch into a European language: *Maṣhafa Henok Nabiy, The Book of Enoch the prophet. An Apocryphal production, supposed to have been lost for ages; but discovered at the close of the last century in Abyssinia; and now first translated from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library*, by Richard Laurence, LL.D., Oxford, at the University Press for the Author, 1821.[1] It was followed in 1838 by the publication of the Ethiopic text by the same author: *Maṣhafa Henok Nabiy, Libri Enoch prophetae versio Aethiopica*. Laurence's manuscript was Oxford, Bodleian MS. 4, one of the three codices which the English traveller J. Bruce brought back from Abyssinia to Europe in 1773.[2]

The existence of a book of Enoch kept by the Abyssinian Church among the sacred books of their Bible had been known in Europe, in a vague way, since the end of the fifteenth century. But of the work itself only portions had been available, and at second hand. There were substantial extracts quoted in Greek in the Chronography of George Syncellus, written in the years 808–10 and accessible from the beginning of the seventeenth century in the edition by J. J. Scaliger.[3] Several quotations, allusions, and reminiscences in the works of Greek and Latin writers of the first four centuries were carefully gathered together by J. A. Fabricius, beginning in 1703.[4] In 1800 S. de Sacy published in a Latin translation large extracts from En. 1: 1–32: 6.[5]

In the course of the last one and a half centuries, however, new editions of the Ethiopic text have appeared (A. Dillmann 1851, J. Flemming 1902, R. H. Charles 1906), several translations into European languages, and a

[1] Reprinted 1832, 1838, 1878, 1883, 1909, 1912: translation of En. 1: 1–108: 15 on pp. 1–162, En. 65: 1–68: 1 on pp. 163–8.

[2] Eighteenth century, 105 chapters (= 108 chapters of Dillmann's edition), siglum *A* or *a* in Dillmann's, Flemming's, and Charles's editions.

[3] *Thesaurus temporum. Eusebii Pamphili, Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi Chronicorum Canonum omnimodae Historiae libri duo*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1606, 'Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebii', pp. 244*a*–245*b*.

[4] A more complete edition was published later: *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti, collectus, castigatus, testimoniisque, censuris et animadversionibus illustratus*, Hamburg 1722.

[5] *Magasin encyclopédique*, vi, 1800, tome i, pp. 382–98.

very great number of critical studies. In the same period the textual foundation of Enochic literature was broadened by the finding at Akhmîm (Panopolis) in 1886/7 of a Greek parchment codex of the sixth, if not the end of the fifth century, which contains almost in full the first section of the Ethiopic book (preceded by a fragment of a second copy); by the edition of a large part of the fifth section in Greek, from a papyrus codex of the fourth century acquired around 1930 by the Chester Beatty and Michigan University collections of papyri; and by the publication of various pieces of early versions of the books of Enoch: Greek, Latin, Coptic, Syriac.

At the beginning of September 1952 I was thrilled to identify the first Aramaic fragment of Enoch, which was found among a heterogeneous mass of tiny fragments unearthed by the Taʿamrê Bedouins in a cave hollowed out of the marl bank above which rise the ruins of Ḫirbet Qumrân. Towards the end of the same month I had the satisfaction of recognizing other fragments, while I was personally digging them out of the earth which filled Cave 4 and before they had been properly cleaned and unrolled. In the course of the years which followed, successive purchases progressively enriched this precious Enochic material, with the result that I was able to recognize in it seven manuscripts identifiable with the first, fourth, and fifth sections of the Ethiopic text, and four other manuscripts corresponding approximately to the third, astronomical, section. Towards the end of the month of April 1970 I succeeded in identifying various 'pseudo-Enochic' manuscripts of 4Q (one entrusted to me for editing, the remainder to J. Starcky), as also several fragments published previously among the manuscripts of Caves 1, 2, and 6 of Qumrân, as forming part of an important Enochic work, the Book of Giants. In an Eastern Aramaic adaptation, made by Mani himself, this book was admitted to the Manichaean canon of sacred books and translated into numerous languages of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

The Aramaic fragments of the Enochic books were assigned to me for editing, together with other material from Qumrân Cave 4 which will be published in a volume of the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*. The purpose of the present work is to provide a comparative textual and literary study of the Aramaic Enoch with its early versions, on a scale that would be incompatible with the editorial principles laid down for *DJD*. Moreover, I decided to restore the Aramaic text of the passages known in ancient translations with which the fragments of 4Q overlap in varying degrees, ranging from a few words to an almost continuous text. These restorations are enclosed within brackets, so that the reader will see at a glance what is

effectively preserved of the actual fragments of the Qumrân manuscripts. The commentary supports the choice of text from among divergent readings, if there are any, and poses problems of detail which the fresh information provided by 4QEnoch raises or allows to be resolved. Similarly I have tried to restore the position of the fragments of 4QEn in the columns and on the lines of the original scrolls; such a numeration obviously has only an approximate value.

The reader can check my decipherment on the Plates, which contain all fragments published here, and on the diplomatic transcriptions appended to this volume.

This monograph could not have come into being without the constant encouragement of the late Père R. de Vaux, O.P., and the friendly collaboration of Professor Matthew Black of the University of St. Andrews. The latter arranged to have an English translation made of my French manuscript. He also prepared the first draft of the English version of the Aramaic sections, and I owe to him several corrections, observations, and valuable suggestions. I am grateful, too, for his help in checking the proofs.

I should also like to thank Professor Joseph Trinquet of the Catholic Institute, Paris, for his continuous help in the reading of the Geʻez text of the Ethiopic Enoch; Professor Gérard Garitte of the University of Louvain, who undertook on my behalf the Latin translation of the Coptic fragments relating to Enoch; M. Jean Starcky and Mr. John Strugnell, my co-editors of the manuscripts from Qumrân Cave 4 for the loan of photographs and for their transcriptions of the texts of 4Q which are directly or indirectly linked with the subjects of this work; Professor G. Vajda for information on Jewish medieval literature; and the late Professor Nougayrol for references to the Babylonian cosmology. I thank most especially my wife, Yolanta Zaluska, for day-to-day encouragement, for help in the preparation of the typescript, and for information on the person of Enoch in iconography and in medieval Latin literature; and I should like finally to acknowledge the assistance given by the staffs of the publishing and printing divisions of the Oxford University Press.

JÓZEF T. MILIK

Paris, September 1974

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ABBREVIATIONS

C	Cairo papyrus 10759, f. 12ʳ, l. 8*b*–f. 33ᵛ: Greek parchment codex containing En.1: 1–32: 6. Photographic edition in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission arch. française au Caire*, ix. 3, 1893, pls. XII–XXXIII; a handbook edition by M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece III, 1), Leyden 1970.
C′	Cairo pap. 10759, f. 11ʳ, 1–12ʳ, 8*a*: En. 19: 3 and 20: 2–21: 9. Photographic edition, *Mémoires*, loc. cit., pls. XI–XII.
CD	'Document de Damas', MS. of Cairo (Cambridge Univ. Libr. T-S. 10. K. 6 and T-S. 16. 311). *Editio princeps*, S. Schechter, 1910; photographic edition, S. Zeitlin, 1952; a handbook edition by Ch. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, 2nd edition, Oxford 1958.
Charles I	R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch edited from twenty-three MSS. together with the fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions*, Oxford 1906.
Charles II	*The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text*, Oxford 1912.
CIS ii	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, ii (Aramaic inscriptions), Paris.
CM	Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus (inv. CB 100, 170, 169, 167, M 5552), pages '15'–'26': Greek papyrus codex containing En. 97: 6–107: 3. Photographic edition by F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, viii. *Enoch and Melito*, London 1941, Plates, ff. 8ᵛ–13ʳ; *editio princeps* by C. Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek*, London 1937; cf. Black (*sub* C).
Cross	F. M. Cross, Jr., 'The Development of the Jewish Scripts': *The Bible and the Ancient Near East, Essays in honor of W. F. Albright*, 1961, pp. 133–202.
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Louvain–Washington.
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna.
Dalman, *Grammatik*	G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2nd edn., Leipzig 1905.
Dillmann	A. Dillmann, *Liber Henoch Aethiopice ad quinque codicum fidem editus*, Leipzig 1851; cf. id. 1853 (translation and commentary).
DJD i–v	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, Oxford (Clarendon Press).
DJD i	*Qumrân Cave 1*, 1955, by D. Barthélemy (1Q**1–13, 28a, 71, 72**) and J. T. Milik (1Q**14–28, 28b–70, 19**ᵇⁱˢ, **34**ᵇⁱˢ, **70**ᵇⁱˢ).
DJD ii	*Les Grottes de Murabbaʿât*, 1961, by P. Benoit (Greek and Latin texts), J. T. Milik (Hebrew and Aramaic texts, Mur **1–88**) and R. de Vaux.

DJD iii — *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise, Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, Le rouleau de cuivre*, 1962, by M. Baillet, Milik (texts of Cave 5Q, the copper scroll from Cave 3Q: 3Q15; two inscribed jars from a cave of Qumrân) and R. de Vaux.

DJD iv — J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave* 11 (11*QPs*[a]), 1965.

DJD v — J. M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4, I* (*4Q*158–*4Q*186), 1968; cf. J. Strugnell, *Revue de Qumrân*, 1970, pp. 163–276, and J. A. Fitzmyer, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 1969, pp. 59–71.

E — Ethiopic version of En. 1: 1–108: 15. Most recent edition, Charles I.

E[a], E[b], etc. — Ethiopic manuscripts of the Charles edition (see below, pp. 83–5); E^{α} and E^{β} = first and second group of Ethiopic MSS.

En[a], En[b], etc. — First, second, etc., copy of the books of Enoch from Qumrân Cave 4.

Enastr[a], etc. — Astronomical Book of Enoch, first copy, etc., same provenance.

EnGiants[a] — Enochic Book of Giants, first copy, same provenance: edited here.

Flemming–Radermacher — J. Flemming and L. Radermacher, *Das Buch Henoch* (*GCS* 5), 1901.

GCS — *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten (drei) Jahrhunderte*, Berlin.

Inv. — *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*, i–xi, 1930–65.

Kutscher — E. Y. Kutscher, 'The Language of the "Genesis Apocryphon", a preliminary study', *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, iv, 1957, 35 pp. (offprint).

Lods — A. Lods, *Le livre d'Hénoch, fragments grecs découverts à Akhmîm*, Paris 1892.

Martin — F. Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien*, Paris 1906.

Milik, *Recherches* — J. T. Milik, *Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale*, i, Paris 1971.

Milik, *Ten Years* — J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, London 1957.

Mur — documents from the Caves of Wâdi Murabba'ât published in *DJD* ii, 1961.

PG — *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1857–66.

PL — *Patrologia Latina* by the same editor, Paris 1844–64.

Q — texts of Qumrân.

RB — *Revue Biblique*, Paris 1892– .

RES — *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Paris 1900.

S — Greek quotations from Enoch (En. 6: 1–9: 4; 8: 4–10: 14; 15: 8–16: 1) in the Chronography of George Syncellus according to the MS. Paris Bibl. Nat. grec 1711 (year 1021). Ed. G. Dindorf, 1829; cf. Black (*sub* C). For a second MS. see p. 73.

S′ — duplicate of the quotation from En 8: 4–9: 4 in Syncellus, locc. citt.

SC	*Sources chrétiennes*, Paris.
1Q to 11Q	texts from the caves at Qumrân, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., 11.
1QGenAp	N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, Jerusalem 1956; to the same MS. belongs 1Q**20**, ed. J. T. Milik, *DJD* i, pp. 86–7, pl. XVII.
1QH	book of Hymns (*Hôdayôt*) from Cave 1 of Qumrân. Ed. E. L. Sukenik and N. Avigad, *'Oṣar ha-Megillôt ha-Genûzôt*, Jerusalem 1954, pls. 16–34 and 47.
1QIs[a]	first copy of Isaiah from 1Q. Ed. M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, i, New Haven 1950, pls. I–LIV.
1QM	Manual of War (*serek ha-milḥamah*) from 1Q. Sukenik and Avigad, loc. cit. (*sub* 1QH), pls. 35–58.
1QS	Rule of the Community (*serek ha-yaḥad*) of 1Q. Ed. Burrows, loc. cit. (*sub* 1QIs[a]), ii, 1951. A new edn. of 1QIs[a] and 1QS, in colour-photographs, by J. C. Trever, Jerusalem 1972.
4QEn[a], etc.	En[a], etc. = 4Q**201**, etc., in the future edition of *DJD*.
4QTestLevi, 4QTob, etc.	unpublished MSS. from Qumrân.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

THE main purpose of this edition is to present, in transcription (with restorations), and with translation and notes, all the fragments identified among the manuscripts of Qumrân Cave 4 as forming part of different Books of Enoch. In the Introduction the importance of this discovery is first briefly indicated; then an attempt is made to resolve the familiar problems of literary criticism concerning the Enochic literature in the light of the fresh data furnished by the specimens of the original text; the character of the Greek version and of other ancient translations dependent on it is evaluated; and finally a description is given, in rapid outline, of works attributed to Enoch from Roman times down to the late Middle Ages, with emphasis on the profound gap which separates these later writings from the Judaeo-Aramaic documents; a delicate problem is that of the origin and dating of the Book of Parables, which forms the second section of the Ethiopic Enoch.

CHAPTER I

ARAMAIC BOOKS OF ENOCH IN PERSIAN AND HELLENISTIC TIMES

THE fragments of leather scrolls belonging to the Books of Enoch which come from Cave 4 of Qumrân represent eleven manuscripts, seven of which have been given the sigla En^{a} to En^{g}, while the other four, of the Astronomical Book alone, are denoted Enastr^{a} to Enastr^{d}. No single manuscript fragment which might correspond in any way to the second section of the Ethiopic Enoch, chapters 37–71 (Book of Parables), has been identified in the countless mass of fragments of 4Q or in the less extensive collections of manuscripts from ten other Qumrân caves. This negative, but very eloquent pointer, in terms of the calculation of probabilities, to the post-Qumrân dating of this work, will be further reinforced by considerations of a literary nature. On the other hand, I have been able to identify quite recently a very important Enochic document entitled the Book of Giants which, in the third century A.D., was 'canonized' by the Manichaeans. I have located about ten, if not some twelve, of the manuscripts of this book among the Qumrân fragments, both published and unpublished; of these only 4QEnGiants^{a} is edited in full here. We shall inquire later on (below, pp. 59–69) whether the authorship of other Qumrân texts, in particular a beautiful fragment of an Aramaic apocalypse and several astronomical and calendrical documents, may be attributed to the antediluvian sage.

But, whatever the truth about that may be, the Qumrân Enochic corpus was composed essentially of five Aramaic literary works: the Astronomical Book, the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch. An analysis of the Book of Watchers will allow us to distinguish the very archaic Enochic document which was probably entitled Visions of Enoch. At the beginning of the first century B.C. there existed in all probability the Pentateuch of Enoch, which was copied on two separate scrolls, containing respectively the Astronomical Book and the four other works. This pentateuchal collection was to be altered during the Christian era by the elimination of the Book of Giants and the insertion of the Book of Parables.

The destruction wrought by Roman soldiers, by rodents, by insects, and above all by the ravages of the centuries on the treasures of the central library of the Essene settlement at Ḫirbet Qumrân, hidden in Cave 4 in the summer of the year 68, has had a merciless effect on our Enochic manuscripts. Scarcely any fragments offer continuous, or almost continuous, passages of the text. The majority are reduced to tiny pieces, in truth minute crumbs, whose identification, direct and indirect association, and combination into a restored text, demanded great reserves of patience and ingenuity. To quote a novelist: 'Il se mit a étudier le rouleau avec la patience frénétique qui caractérise ce genre de savants, capables de perdre la vue en étudiant pendant vingt ans un fragment des Manuscrits de la Mer Morte.'[1]

Fig. 1 tabulates the fragments of 4QEn in relation to the sections of the Ethiopic Enoch.

If we compare the sections represented by our fragments of 4QEn (including the restored text) with the Ethiopic text, the balance appears fairly satisfactory. For the first book of Enoch, the Book of Watchers, we can calculate that exactly 50 per cent of the text is covered by the Aramaic fragments; for the third, the Astronomical Book, 30 per cent; for the fourth, the Book of Dreams, 26 per cent; for the fifth, the Epistle of Enoch, 18 per cent.

Fig. 1 also makes clear the 'codicological status' of the scrolls of 4QEnoch. It can be seen that En^c brought together in the same volume three of the documents attributed to the antediluvian patriarch, the first, the fourth, and the fifth; to these should be added, in all probability, the Book of Giants, which came after the Book of Watchers. En^d and En^e each contained the first and the fourth book; both were perhaps originally tetralogies. The scribes of En^a and En^b probably transcribed only the Book of Watchers, whilst the scribe of En^g copied only the Epistle. The special case of the Astronomical Book will be discussed presently.

The dates of the 4QEn manuscripts are spread over the second and first centuries B.C.: En^a was written in the first half, En^b in the middle, and En^f (represented by only one fragment, written by the same copyist as that of 4QTestLevi^b) in the third quarter of the second century; En^e was written in the first half, En^g in the middle, and En^c (of which En^d seems to be a more or less contemporary copy) in the last third of the first century. However approximate these dates may be (and I would be the first to

[1] G. Kersch, 'Le secret de la bouteille' in *Histoires à faire peur présentées par A. Hitchcock*, Paris 1967, p. 115.

Books of Enoch from Qumrân Cave 4
Book of Watchers [En. 1-36], Book of Dreams [En. 83-90], Epistle of Enoch [En. 91-107]

4Q	En[a]	En[b]	En[c]	En[d]	En[e]	En[f]	En[g]
Book of Watchers	1 i 1:1-6 ii 2:1-5:6 iii 6:4-8:1 iv 8:3-9:3, 6-8 v 10:3-4 vi 10:21-11:1; 12:4-6	[1i] ii 5:9-6:4; 6:7-8:1 iii 8:2-9:4 iv 10:8-12 [v] vi 14:4-6	1i 1:9-5:1 ii 6:7 [iii– –iv] v 10:13-19; 12:3 vi 13: 6-14:16 vii 14:18-20; [?] 15:11 viii 18:8-12 [ix– –xi] xii 30:1-32:1 xiii 35:1-36:4	[1i– –x] xi 22:13-24:1 xii 25:7-27:1	[1i– –xix] xx 18:15[?] xxi 21:2-4 xxii 22:3-7 [xxiii– –xxv] xxvi 28:3-29:2; 31:2-32:3 xxvii 32:3-6; 33:4-34:1		
			Book of Giants[a] 9-10	[Book of Giants]	2-3 Book of Giants [?]		
Book of Dreams			4 89:31-37	2i 89:11-14 ii 89:29-31 iii 89:43-44	4i 88:3-89:6 ii 89:7-16 iii 89:26-30	1 86:1-3	
Epistle of Enoch			5i 104:13-106:2 ii 106:13-107:2				1i ii 91:10+18-19; 92:1-2 iii 92:5-93:4 iv 93:9-10+91:11-17 v 93:11-94:2

Astronomical Book of Enoch
[En. 72-82]

En astr[a]	Enastr[b]	Enastr[c]	En astr[d]
Calendar 1– –36	1– –22		
	23 76:13-77:4 24 78:4 25 78:9-12 26 79:3-6+78:16-79:2 27 82:2[?] 28 82:9 13	1i 76:3-10 ii 76:13-77:4 iii 78:6-8	1i-iii cf. 82:20

FIG. 1. Table of identified fragments of 4QEnoch

acknowledge that there is a fairly wide margin of error), it is significant in every respect that, apart from one manuscript of the Astronomical Book (Enastr[b]) and some copies of the Book of Giants, no manuscript of 4QEn has been found in the beautiful 'classical' writing of the Herodian era or from the last period of the Essene occupation of Ḫirbet Qumrân. Qumrân scribes and readers must have gradually lost interest in the literary compositions attributed to Enoch, just as happened, though more rapidly and more drastically, in Pharisaic circles. We should note likewise that an early scroll, En[a], had already been withdrawn from circulation and its detached leaves used for other purposes—for example, the verso of the first leaf for a schoolboy's exercise. Equally significant, finally, is the absence of the Books of Enoch from other caves at Qumrân, whose stores formed private libraries. Our copies of 4QEn were no doubt covered with dust on the shelves, in the chests, or in the earthenware jars of the main library, and only a small number of Essene readers consulted and borrowed them, particularly during the first century A.D.

Enochic literature was to have a full-blown renaissance in the early Christian communities, but this would come about through the medium of Greek translations.

THE ASTRONOMICAL BOOK

(En. 72–82)

The four copies of the Aramaic astronomical document attributed to Enoch cover a period of more than two hundred years: Enastr[a] dates from the end of the third or the beginning of the second century; Enastr[c] is from the middle and Enastr[d] from the second half of the first century; Enastr[b] is copied in classical Herodian writing and thus belongs to the early years A.D. The majority of the fragments, those of Enastr[a] in their entirety and the great majority of those of Enastr[b], belong to an elaborately detailed and monotonous calendar in which the phases of the moon, day by day, were synchronized with the movements of the sun in the framework of a year of 364 days; the calendar also described the movements of the two heavenly bodies from one 'gate' of the sky to another. This part of the work no longer exists in the Ethiopic version. Enastr[b] and Enastr[c] contain passages which correspond to various paragraphs of the third section of the Ethiopic, but in

a much more developed form. Enastr[d] provides remains of the final part of the work, a part which is also lost in the Ethiopic tradition. The complete text of this book in Aramaic was, accordingly, very long, so that copies of it filled voluminous scrolls, and this explains why it was never included with the other Enochic writings on the same strip of parchment.

This work, in which the essentially astronomical and calendrical content was enriched by cosmographic information and moral considerations, seems to me to be the oldest Jewish document attributed to Enoch. An indirect allusion is already to be found in Gen. 5: 23, where the writer, having fixed the age of the patriarch at 365 years, implies, in guarded terms, the existence of astronomical works circulating under the name of Enoch. It is highly likely, indeed, that the whole chronology of the Bible, in particular that of the Mosaic Pentateuch, was elaborated by priestly redactors of the Persian era, taking as their point of departure the calendar with fixed days and festivals composed of 364 days.[1]

The origination of this calendar may have been attributed by its anonymous inventor to Enoch, as the antediluvian sage *par excellence*. In the Persian period this reckoning was of a strictly theoretical nature, suitable as a framework for the distant events of sacred history and nothing more. It was only the Essenes who introduced it effectively into their liturgical life, during the second half of the second century, without, it would seem, taking account of its inevitable discrepancy with the solar year of 365¼ days. It was precisely through anxiety to find a more concrete reference to the year of 365 days, employed widely in Persian and Hellenistic times, that the age of the patriarch was corrected from 364 to 365 years in Gen. 5: 23.

An obvious allusion, as it seems to me, to the Astronomical Book of Enoch occurs in the Hellenistic Jewish historian Eupolemos,[2] whose *History of the Jews* was completed in the year 158 B.C. In the first extract from this work quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea (*Praeparatio Evangelica*, ix. 17. 2–9)[3] Eupolemos gives a detailed account of Abraham as the inventor of astrology

[1] See A. Jaubert, 'Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân. Ses origines bibliques': *Vetus Testamentum*, iii (1953), 250–64; the same, *La date de la Cène. Calendrier biblique et liturgie chrétienne*, 1957, pp. 13–75 ('Un calendrier juif ancien'); cf. Milik, *Ten Years*, pp. 110–13; J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars*, 2nd edn., Leyden 1961.

[2] Probably to be identified with Eupolemos, son of John, a member of the priestly family of ha-Qôṣ, ambassador of Judas Maccabaeus to Rome in 161 B.C. (1 Macc. 8: 17; 2 Macc. 4: 11).

[3] K. Mras, *GCS* 43. 1 (1954), 502–3. The immediate source of this quotation in Eusebius was Alexander Polyhistor, a Greek compiler of the first century B.C.

(τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ Χαλδαϊκὴν εὑρεῖν) who teaches the Phoenicians 'the evolutions of the sun and of the moon and all other things' (τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα). In Egypt, he initiates the priests of Helioupolis in astrology and in other sciences, revealing to them that 'the invention of these (sciences) goes back to Enoch, and it was he who was the first to invent astrology, not the Egyptians' (τὴν δὲ εὕρεσιν αὐτῶν εἰς Ενὼχ ἀναπέμπειν, καὶ τοῦτον εὑρηκέναι τὴν ἀστρολογίαν, οὐκ Αἰγυπτίους). The Greeks claim that Atlas invented astrology, but Atlas is none other than Enoch; Enoch had a son Methuselah, and he learned all these things through the angels of God: Ἕλληνας δὲ λέγειν τὸν Ἄτλαντα εὑρηκέναι ἀστρολογίαν, εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ἄτλαντα τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐνώχ· τοῦ δὲ Ἐνὼχ γενέσθαι υἱὸν Μαθουσάλαν ⟨. . .⟩ ὃν πάντα δι' ἀγγέλων θεοῦ γνῶναι. At the end of this passage we must take it that there is a clumsy abridgement, and that the last phrase refers to Enoch and not to his son. Eupolemos thus gives us a concise summary of the Astronomical Book of Enoch: an astrological treatise describing the path of the sun and of the moon and other matters, learned by means of angelic instruction, and passed on to Methuselah.

Given the undeniably Samaritan character of this narrative (the primordial role of Abraham as against that assigned to Moses in the Judaean tradition; the allusion to the temple of *Argarizin* named the mountain of the Most High, § 5), an anonymous Samaritan source may be seen in it, the same source as that from which the extract ἀδέσποτος of *Praep. ev.* ix. 18. 2 is derived, which, moreover, is simply a résumé of the first extract from Eupolemos.[1] However, it seems to me more likely that Eupolemos used the Samaritan work and copied it without great changes. The short extract is derived directly from it, and it differs in at least one detail (Abraham's descent from the Giants) from the text of Eupolemos. The Samaritan history used by the latter may well date from fairly far back in the third century, since one of its objectives was the exaltation of the temple of Gerizim, founded in the time of Alexander.[2]

This first reference to the Astronomical Book of Enoch, a reference coming from a Samaritan historian, obliges us to rethink the problem of the priestly milieu in which our document was written. The invention of the calendar of 364 days, its application to Biblical chronology, and the composition of the astronomical work attributed to Enoch could have been effected just as

[1] J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, Hefte 1 und 2: *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltene Reste judäischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*, Breslau 1875, pp. 82–103, 207–8, 223–5.

[2] Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 257–64.

easily by the Samaritan priests of Sichem as by the Judaean priests of Jerusalem. Other early Aramaic works, such as the book of Tobias or the Testament of Levi, seem likewise to have been written by Samaritan writers; it was only subsequently that they were 'adapted' by the Jewish scribes of Judaea.[1]

Less decisive, and this for textual reasons, is the evidence offered by Ecclesiasticus, composed in the first third of the second century and translated into Greek by the grandson of the author around 116 B.C.[2] The Greek text begins the eulogy of the Fathers with:

Ἐνὼχ εὐηρέστησεν Κυρίῳ καὶ μετετέθη
ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας ταῖς γενεαῖς (Sir. 44: 16).

The identical text, apart from the addition, by dittography, of two words taken from the following verse (which concerns Noah), is to be found in MS. B of the Cairo Genizah:

חנוך {נמצא תמים ו}התהלך עם יהוה ונלקח
אות דעת לדור ודור.

However, this passage is missing from the large fragment of Ecclesiasticus found in the excavations at Masada, which dates from the first half of the first century B.C. There the series of the Fathers begins with Noah:

נוח צדיק נמצא תמים ב[...] .

The editor of the Masada scroll develops a suggestion made by G. Bickell (1882) and states: 'The Scroll now clearly indicates that Ben Sira began the history of the "Fathers of old" with Noah, and not with Enoch.' He suggests that 'at an early period an attempt had been made to artificially expunge a portion of Ben Sira's observations on Enoch in the concluding verses [sc. in 49: 14], and to insert them in their chronological order, i.e. before Noah'.[3] But this 'early period' predates the translation by Ben Sira's grandson who, as he emigrated to Egypt in 133–132, carried in his baggage what must certainly have been a very faithful copy of the Hebrew work of his grandfather. In the omission of the Masada scroll (just as in an analogous omission in the Syriac version) there is perhaps evidence of the theological scruple which grew stronger and stronger with regard to Enochic literature. Be that

[1] On the medieval Samaritan tradition concerning the antediluvian 'Book of the Signs' and 'Book of Astronomy', see below, pp. 64–8.

[2] For this exact detail of chronology see U. Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, iii (1906), 320–1.

[3] Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada*, 1965, p. 38.

as it may, it is sufficient for our immediate aim to indicate that the expression אות דעת, whether it was found originally in Sir. 44: 16 or in 49: 14, certainly refers to astronomy, a 'Chaldaean' science *par excellence*—but does not refer to it exclusively. For the function of Enoch in his role as 'sign of knowledge for all generations' was to be formulated by the author of the Book of Jubilees as follows: 'because he was sent down there [to the earth after his removal] as the sign that he might witness against all the children of men and foretell every work of the generations until the day of judgement' (4: 24). This legendary framework certainly corresponds to the situation described in En. 81 and in the Book of Watchers, En. 1–36. This suggests that both the author of Jubilees in the last quarter of the second century and Ben Sira at the beginning of the same century were thinking as much of the Book of Watchers as of the Astronomical Book, when they designated the patriarch 'Sign of science', that is, of natural and apocalyptic knowledge. The grandson of Ben Sira must have been thinking above all of the contents of the Book of Watchers when he translated דעת by *μετάνοια*. A pairing of Enoch and Noah, similar to that in Ecclesiasticus, is found in Jub. 10: 17: '(Noah) during his life on earth surpassed the children of men by his perfect justice, with the exception of Enoch. For the work of Enoch was created as a testimony for the generations of the world, in which he recounted to all generations their actions up to the day of judgement.'

The scientific part of the astronomical Enoch, i.e. the calendar which occupied the major part of the Aramaic document, is mentioned explicitly in Jub. 4: 17: '(Enoch) was the first among the children of men, born of the earth, who had learned writing, science, and wisdom, and he described in a book the signs of heaven according to the order of their months, that the children of men might know the periods of the year according to the order of all their particular months.' The first part of the following verse refers no doubt to En. 80–2, which have an ethical and apocalyptic content: 'He was also the first to write a testimony, and he gave this testimony to the children of men from among the generations of the earth.' But the text of verse 18*b* goes far beyond the content of our astronomical document: 'he had given notice of the weeks of years of the jubilees, made known the reckoning of the years, placed in order the months, and proclaimed the sabbaths of years, (all) that we [the angels] had taught him.' I see in this a reference to various astronomical and calendrical texts, calculated on the cycles of three, six, seven, and forty-nine years, copies of which exist among the manuscripts of Cave 4 of Qumrân (see below, pp. 61–9).

Information analogous to that of Jub. 4: 17–24 is found in a Hebrew fragment from Qumrân, 4Q227. This fragment preserves the upper left-hand corner of one sheet of a scroll:

margin

ח]נ֯וך אחר אשר למדׄנוהו
]◦[ ]ש֯שה יובלי שנים
א]ר֯ץ אל תוך בני האדם ויעד על כולם
] וגם על העירים ויכתוב את כול
ה]ש֯מ֯י֯ם֯ ואת דרכי צבאם ואת֯[החוד]שים
א]ש֯ר לוא ישגו הצ֯[דיקים ?]

The Nun of the last word of line 1 was added by a different hand. The letter in line 2 which is not transcribed is final: perhaps read [הארֿ]ץ [והשמים]; cf. below, p. 25.

It is the angels who are speaking here, 'we have taught him' (line 1), just as in the book of Jubilees (cf. Jub. 4: 18 and 23). Enoch spent 'six jubilees of years' (l. 2) with the angels (Jub. 4: 21; equivalent to 300 years of walking with God, Gen. 5: 22) and then he came back on to the 'earth amongst the sons of men and he witnessed against all of them [. . .], and also against the Watchers, and he described all [. . .]' (ll. 3–4 = Jub. 4: 21). Thus we have an excellent résumé of the first section of the Ethiopic Enoch. The patriarch also described 'the sky and the paths of its hosts and the months [. . .] so that the j[ust?] do not go astray . . .' (ll. 5–6 = Jub. 4: 17). Line 6 of our fragment takes up some phrases of En. 80: 7 ('. . . the sinners . . . will err'), of 82: 4 ('. . . the just . . . do not sin in the reckoning of all their days, during which the sun travels in the skies'), of 82: 5 ('men err, and they do not take account of the reckoning of all time'), of 82: 7 ('for Uriel has shown me the lights, and the months, and the festivals, and the years, and the days, and he has breathed on me what the Lord of every creature of the world has commanded him for me concerning the army of heaven').

This seems the place to emphasize the archaic features of the literary and scientific content of the Astronomical Book of Enoch.

First, the actual legend of the patriarch has not yet taken on the complex form which it possessses in other Enochic books and especially in Jub. 4: 17–25; 10: 17; 7: 38–9; 21: 10 (according to the last two passages, even the knowledge of ritual of Noah and Abraham goes back to the 'words of Enoch').

The origin of the science of Enoch is certainly heavenly, for it is the angel 'Ûrî'el ('Light of God') who instructs him on the luminaries of heaven, in accordance with the express order of the Lord (72: 1; 74: 4; 78: 10; 79: 2 and 6; 80: 1; 82: 7). However, it is during his earthly life, certainly as a creature of flesh and blood, and not as a *redivivus* on leave from his sojourn in Paradise, that the patriarch Enoch explains orally, as father to son or master to disciple, and draws up in writing his scientific and religious teachings, his moral exhortations, and his revelations concerning the future, in short, antediluvian 'wisdom' in all its forms. Methuselah has to transmit to his descendants and to the generations of the world to come 'this wisdom which is beyond their thoughts' (76: 14; 79: 1; 82: 1).

These mythological details remind us of a Sumerian and Babylonian literary genre, namely the epistles with sapiential and other contents, which the antediluvian sages (there were reckoned to be seven of them, as Enoch was the seventh starting from Adam: Jub. 7: 39) addressed to the kings, their contemporaries (from eight to ten in number, the last having been the hero of the flood, Ziusudra, Atra-ḫasîs, Utnapištim, just as Noah was the tenth starting from Adam). The most striking parallel is the 'Teachings of Šuruppak to his son Ziusudra', a fairly popular collection of counsels of wisdom known to us through Sumerian and Akkadian copies dating from between 2500 B.C. and the middle Assyrian epoch.[1] A second striking coincidence is that Šuruppak is the name of an antediluvian hero and at the same time that of a town (modern Fara), the home of the hero of the flood story. Now, Enoch son of Cain saw his father erect 'a town which he named with the name of his son Enoch' (Gen. 4: 17). Enoch, the first citizen, is thus the inventor of urban civilization, sciences and techniques included. An apocryphal letter in Middle Assyrian is addressed to the first antediluvian king: 'To Alulu speak: "Thus said Adapa the sage . . ."'.[2]

The text of En. 81 contrasts strongly with the relative simplicity of the Enochic legend in the Astronomical Book. The moral considerations of 81: 7–9 do not contain any calendrical references like those of chapters 80 and 82. Enoch receives his instruction from the angels at the time of his sojourn in Paradise (this is implied). Then the three angels (v. 5) lead him back to earth and arrange for him an interval of one year for the instruction

[1] W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, p. 95; cf. M. Civil and R. D. Biggs, 'Notes sur les textes sumériens archaïques', in *Revue d'assyriologie*, lx (1966), 1–5, no. 1.

[2] O. R. Gurney, *The Sultantepe Tablets*, no. 176, 14. See also W. W. Halls, 'Antediluvian Cities', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, xxiii (1971), 57–67, esp. 61–4; below, p. 313.

of his son and of his grandsons, after which he will again be withdrawn from amongst them.[1] Now, the three angels are the appointed guides of Enoch according to the Book of Dreams. In 87: 3–4 'these three . . . carried me off . . . and brought me up to a high place' (in order to behold the generation of the flood); in 90: 31 'these three . . . those who had first carried me off . . . made me sit in the midst of the ewes' (for judgement). The first passage is preceded by a reference to the four white men who come from heaven and the three (others) with them (87: 2). This clearly refers to the list of seven archangels of En. 20, in which to the four archangels of 9: 1 (Mîka'el, Śarî'el, Rafa'el, and Gabrî'el; cf. ch. 10 = ch. 88 and 89: 1) are added 'Ûrî'el, Ra'û'el, and Remiel. En. 81 is accordingly later than the year 164, the date of the composition of the Book of Dreams; but it is earlier than the date of Jubilees, where, in 4: 24 (and also in the Hebrew fragment of 4Q which depends on it), we have called attention to the chronology of the teachings of Enoch to Methuselah as it is reflected in En. 81.

In spite of his discreet monotheism ('the sinners . . . will look upon the stars as gods', 80: 7), the author of the astronomical Enoch is not very far removed from the religious concepts of his age when he has the stars guided and the days and the months presided over, in the Egyptian and Phoenician manner, by the angels, as minor celestial beings. The level of his knowledge of astronomy was very severely criticized by O. Neugebauer.[2] It is true that this 'extremely primitive level of astronomy', as revealed in the descriptions of the phases of the moon and the doorways of heaven (Neugebauer, pp. 51–8), and in the ratio 2:1 for the length of days and nights (En. 72), scarcely allows of conclusions on the relative archaism of this type of observation or on mutual influences. But the division of the horizon into 360 degrees, and even the ratio 2:1, certainly seem to come from a scholarly Babylonian milieu which popularized some elements of astronomical observations, of arithmetic and geometry—in short the *Chaldaica* of which Eupolemos speaks (above, p. 9). The essential interest of the author of Enastr is centred, however, on the ideal calendar, with days of weeks and festivals fixed in relation to the days of the months. He admires the beauty of his sacred arithmetic so much that he accuses the peoples and even the chiefs of the stars (En. 80: 6) of not following this reckoning of heavenly origin.

[1] In v. 5 we must certainly read 'and these three saints (brought me and set me down on the earth in front of the door of my house)', with the second group of Ethiopic manuscripts and not 'and these seven saints'.

[2] *Orientalia*, 1964, pp. 58–61 ('The Astronomy of the Book of Enoch'); see below, p. 277.

On the other hand, the description of the terrestrial orb in En. 77 leads us, with complete certainty, to the Mesopotamian centres of scholarship. The original wording of 77: 3*b*, preserved in large part by Enastr[b] 23 8–9 (below, p. 289) is as follows: '[And I saw the three circle]s(?) of the earth: one of them was for the dwelling of the sons of men on it; and one of them was for all [the seas and the rivers; and one of them] was for the deserts and for the Seven and for the Paradise of righteousness.' In the same way as the plural of מדברין in this passage expresses only the nuance of spatial greatness, since 'the deserts' is equivalent to מדברא רבא, 'the great desert', of the Book of Giants (below, p. 306), so 'the rivers', [נהרין] must here signify 'the great river', in other words the Ocean which surrounds the earth. The term שׁ̊[ב]ע̊ 'seven, the seven' denotes the regions situated beyond the circular Ocean, which float in the dark emptiness, שהוין מדברא רבא in the Book of Giants, חשוכא in En[e] 1 xxvi 21 (En. 32: 2).[1]

This picture of the world is remarkably similar to that in the Babylonian map compiled some time after the ninth century (the surviving copy dates from the late Babylonian Period, *ca.* 600 B.C.).[2] In this map the earth is represented by a circle surrounded by the 'Bitter River' (or 'Circular River'), *nâru marratum*, beyond which seven triangular regions (*nagû*, 'region, district, island') appear (see our Fig. 2). In one of these distant corners of the universe is the dwelling-place of Utnapištim (text, obv., line 10), the hero of the flood according to tablet XI of the Gilgamesh epic.[3]

[1] For the substantival use of cardinal numbers cf. the Assyrian *sibittu* 'Seven (gods), Seven (as the name of a god)'; 'the seven', 'the four' (ארבעתא in En[e] 4 i 13), 'the three' angels in the Book of Dreams; 'seven from among them (sc. the angels)', שבעת<ה>ן, in the Bodleian fragment of the Aramaic Testament of Levi, col. *a* 9; cf. the Syriac *š^{e}bîʿâyê* 'the seven planets', etc.

[2] Edited by E. A. W. Budge, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets . . . in the British Museum*, Part XXII, 1906, pl. 48 (No. 92687) and p. 12; see F. E. Peiser, 'Eine babylonische Landkarte', *ZA* 4 (1889), 361–70 (*editio princeps*); E. F. Weidner, 'Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien', *Boghazöi-Studien*, 6. Heft (1922), 85–93 (reliable translation of the text, unacceptable interpretation); E. Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt, nach der Beschreibung der Babyloner*, 1931, pp. 254 ff. and pls. 3–4 (unreliable translation and interpretation; cf. id., 'Ancient Babylonian Maps and Plans', *Antiquity*, ix (1935), 311–22); E. Douglas van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1930, p. 273, no. 1309 (description of the map and bibliography); W. W. Hallo, *JCS* xviii (1964), 57 and 61 (on Babylonian cartography, 'climaxing as they did in the famous but wholly fanciful *mappa mundi* of the Babylonians'); G. Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten, ein Beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des hebräischen Altertums*, 1949 (old Hebrew parallels); B. Meissner, 'Babylonische und griechische Landkarten', *Klio*, 19 (1925), 97–100 (early Greek parallels); P. Grelot, 'La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales', *RB* lxv (1958), 33–69 (*Une mappemonde babylonienne*, pp. 64–8 and Fig. 2).

[3] Weidner (loc. cit., pp. 90 and 91 n. 2) supposed that the text mentioned *eight* regions, and suggested the restoration of eight triangles

It is significant that the Jewish author of our astronomical treatise is not explicit about the exact location of Paradise, his casualness in this respect being quite the reverse of the interest shown by the author of the Book of Watchers and by a later redactor (Greek Jewish or Christian ? Abyssinian ?) of the same passage in En. 77: 3.

The information provided by En. 77: 4–8 already points to real, not mythological geography, though highly schematized and lacking any toponymy, in marked contrast to the profusion of angels' names in the astrological part of the work. No precise details are given of the site of the seven mountains permanently covered with snow (v. 4). Of the seven great rivers, on the other hand, described in verses 5–7, three are identifiable: the Nile, western tributary of the Mediterranean, which is 'the great sea' (ימא רבא), the Tigris, and the Euphrates, north-eastern tributaries of the Red Sea (ימא שמוקא).[1] Of the seven islands (v. 8) two are in the 'Red Sea': perhaps the semi-legendary Babylonian countries of Dilmun (Bahrein Island in the Persian Gulf) and Magan (Arabia and Ethiopia). Five others are in the Mediterranean: Cyprus, Crete, the Peloponnesian islands, etc. (See Fig. 3.)

on the map (only four are preserved). In my opinion he was quite wrong. On rev., line 23, one reads *a-na* 7^{i} *na-gu-ú a-šar tal-la-ku 7 bêri* [. . .], 'to the seventh district, where you go, 7 double hours [. . .]'. Weidner corrected 7^{i} to 8^{i} on the ground that the seventh region had already been described in line 20 [*a-na si-bi*]-*i na-gu-ú a-šar tal-la-ku* [. . .]. He failed, however, to notice that yet another mention of the same region occurs in the description of the fifth district, [*a-na ḫa-an*]-*šú na-gu-ú a-šar tal-laku 7 bêri* [. . .], line 10; [*a-na* 5^{u} *na-gu-ú a-šar t*]*a-al-la-ku 7* [. . .], line 15. As for the map, one cannot restore eight triangles; on such a supposition, the alternate 'regions' would lie at right angles, which is certainly not the case. The fact is that the text mentions, and the map represents, only seven *nagû*, as is admitted by several other scholars.

Moreover, subsequent scholars have rejected Weidner's proposed identification of our text as a recension of the epos *šar tamḫâri* ('King of the battle'), describing the exploits of Sargon I of Akkad; it follows that his interpretation of the map as 'ein spätbabylonischer Versuch, das Weltreich Sargons graphisch darzustellen' (p. 92) must also be rejected. Consequently, the mention of $^{[din]gir}$*Ut-napištim*^{tim} may stand, as against Weidner's reading $^{[din]gir}$*Šamaš napištim*^{tim}, 'Šamaš das Leben', obv., 10, where it appears beside *Šarru-kîn u Nûr-*^{d}*Da-gan*. Following H.-G. Güterbock, *ZA* 42 (1934), 22, one has to understand this passage as meaning 'dass ausser Utnapištim, Sargon und Nûr-Dagan niemand die im Vorhergehenden beschriebenen Gegenden gesehen hat'; cf. H. Hirsch, *AfO* xx (1963), 7*a* ('eine allgemeine Wendung, dass niemand ausser den genannten Sagenhelden die fernen Gebiete gesehen hatte'); W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-Ḫasîs*, 1969, p. 137 ('. . . the Babylonian Mappa Mundi, where under the name Ut-napištim the flood hero is described as living in a remote corner of the universe').

[1] On four northern rivers see my paper in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 1971, no. 92, 335–6; compare also the four rivers of Paradise in Gen. 2: 10–14, as interpreted by G. Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, pp. 35–44 and Fig. 1.

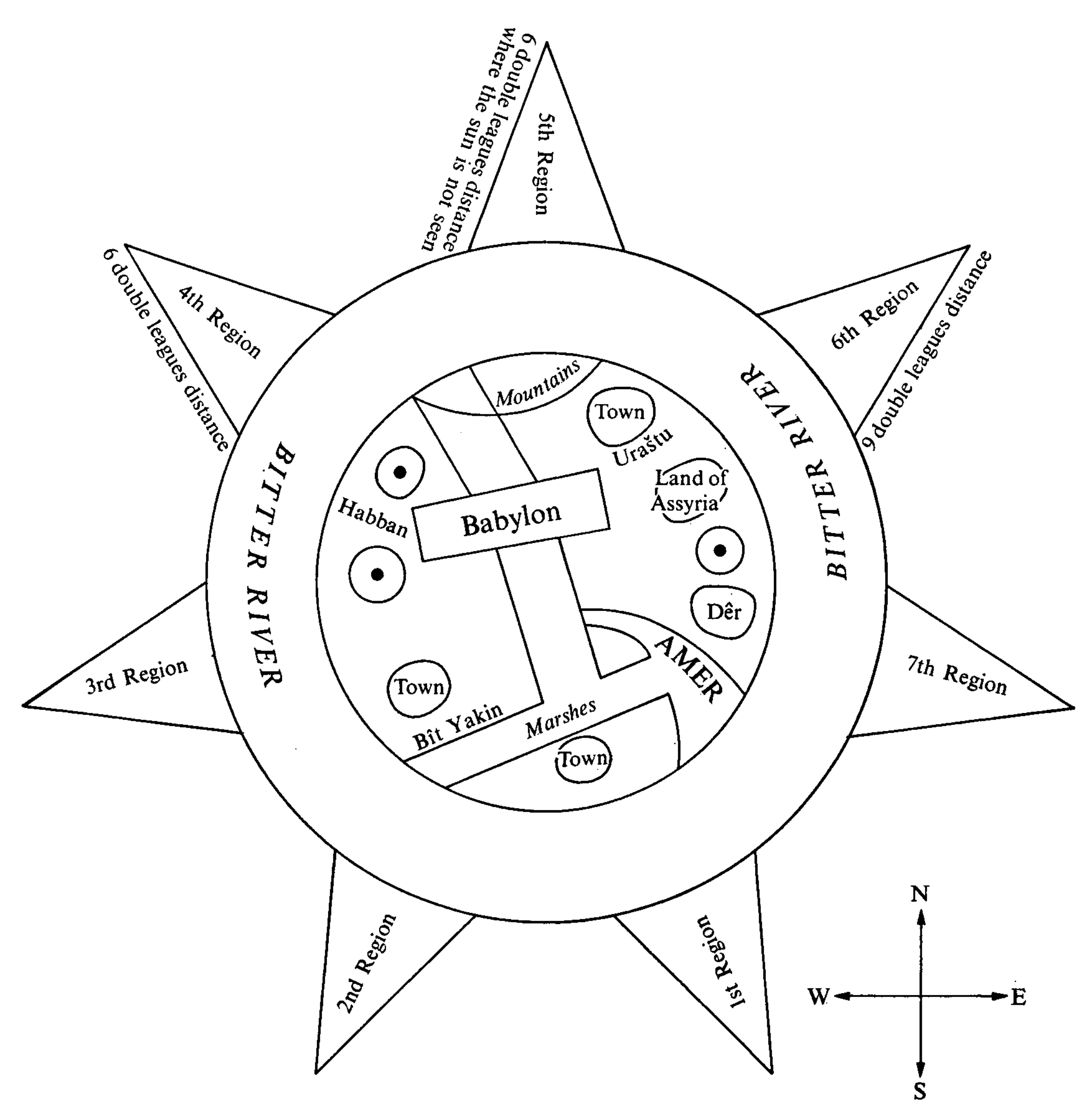


FIG. 2. The Babylonian map of the world

The geographical horizons of the author are astonishingly wide, and they correspond well with the boundaries of the enormous Persian empire, with those of the Hellenistic empire less well. The cartographic information at his disposal is in remarkable contrast to that reflected in the Babylonian map of the world, going back to an original from the beginning of the first



FIG. 3. The map of the world of Enoch 77

millennium. In that map Babylon is at the centre; the northern horizon does not go beyond the mountains in which the Euphrates has its source, nor the southern horizon beyond the Persian Gulf; the towns or countries cited by name all belong to Mesopotamia or to neighbouring territories.

The character of the Greek version of the Astronomical Book may be gleaned from the Ethiopic adaptation. It can be seen clearly now that the Egyptian Jews responsible for the translation from Aramaic were at pains to shorten the voluminous, prolix, and terribly monotonous original. The lunisolar calendar, which occupied the major part of the book, was transposed into simple tables, one of which, containing the distribution of the 'doorways' of the moon by days of the months of the solar year of 364 days, is given below. The introduction and the remainder of the work were freely adapted, in an attempt not only to abridge it, but also to bring it up to date here and there, in relation to the state of astronomical knowledge in the Hellenistic world.[1] As ill luck would have it, the Greek translators were not able to procure a complete copy of the Aramaic, and had to use one from which a good part of the final section of the work was missing. This suggests that there were only very few copies of the Astronomical Book in circulation among the Egyptian Jews of the Graeco-Roman era. (Alternatively, it was the Ethiopic translator who could not find a complete copy of the Greek version, and the scarcity of the work was among the Christians of the Byzantine period.)

Until recently there were no known samples of the Greek text of this book. However, I have now identified two small scraps of a Greek papyrus, Oxy. 2069, fragment 3ᵛ and 3ʳ, as being parts of En. 77: 7–78: 1 and 78: 8.[2] Otherwise there exist merely an allusion to *Μαθήματα 'Ενώχ* (the Greek title of the Astronomical Book of Enoch) made by Anatolius the Alexandrian, bishop of Laodicea in 269 (Eus., *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 32. 19), and a brief summary preserved in the Chronography of Syncellus, drawn no doubt from the chronicles of the Alexandrian monks, Panodorus and Anianus (*ca.* A.D. 400):

1. *Τοῦ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον παρ' Ἑβραίοις μῆνα περὶ ἰσημερίαν εἶναι παραστατατικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ 'Ενὼχ μαθήματα*: extract from the Canons of Anatolius on Easter, quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. Eccl.* (ed. G. Bardy, *SC* 41 (1955), 277); cf. En. 72: 6–10.

2. *'Εν τούτωι* (Anno Mundi 1286) *γὰρ κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ· ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄστρων ἀρχάγγελος Οὐριήλ· ἐμήνυσε τῶι 'Ενώχ· τί ἔστι μήν· καὶ τροπή· καὶ ἐνιαυτός. ὡς ἐν τῆι βίβλωι αὐτοῦ 'Ενὼχ φέρεται καὶ τὸ ἔχειν· τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν νβ'* (in Barb. *ηβ'*, corrected in margin to *νβ'*) *ἑβδομάδας* . . . (in the year 956 before the Flood) *ἐγνωρίσθη τῶι 'Ενώχ. καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ*

[1] Cf. Charles's notes to 78: 15–16 and to 79: 5.

[2] See below, p. 75, and my paper in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 1971, no. 92, 333–41.

ἐνιαύσιος χρόνος· καὶ (in B. added in marg.) *ὁ τετραμερὴς αὐτοῦ τροπικῶς* (*sic*; B. *τροπικὸς*)· *καὶ ὁ* (in B. added in marg.) *δωδεκαμερὴς μηνιαῖος, ἆρα ἐγίνωσκον* (B. *ἐγιγν'*)· *καὶ οἱ πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἄνθρωποι χιλίοις που ἔτεσιν· ἤγουν ͵αλν', καὶ τοῖς ἡλιακοῖς ἔτεσιν· καὶ μησὶ καταμετρεῖν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν ἔτη*: Chronography of George Syncellus in Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. grec 1711, p. 22, 5–7, 13–17 (ed. Dindorf, pp. 60–1), and in Rome, Vat. Barberini Gr. MS. 227, f. 30[r], 19–30[v], 1. 9–14.

3. This passage of Syncellus has been summarized by George Cedrenus: *περιέχεται δὲ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ἀποκρύφων 'Ενώχ, ὅτι Οὐριὴλ ἐμήνυσε τῷ 'Ενὼχ τί ἐστι μήν· καὶ τροπήν* (*sic*)· *καὶ ἐνιαυτός. καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἔχειν πεντήκοντα δύο ἑβδομάδας* in Sinai, Gr. MS. 1184, f. 12[r], 6–9 (cf. ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838, i, p. 21, 11–13, and *PG* 121, col. 45 B–C).

A clear reference to the last section of the Astronomical Book of Enoch, which lists many names of angels, presiding stars, seasons, and days (probably continuing to the end of the book, which is missing in the Ethiopic version), is given by Origen in the homily to Num. 28: 2 (ed. W. A. Baehrens, *GCS* 30 (1921), 282, 1–7, Rufinus' translation): 'fortasse et in coelestibus regionibus erunt locorum differentiae non minimae, videris quibus vel appellationibus vocabulisque distinctae, et nomina non solum plagarum coeli, sed etiam omnium stellarum siderumque signata. "Qui enim fecit multitudinem stellarum"—ut ait propheta—"omnibus iis nomina vocat." De quibus nominibus [names of stars and seasons, En. 75: 3 and 82: 10–20; names of heaven-quarters, En. 77: 1–3] plurima quidem in libellis, qui appellantur Enoch, secreta continentur et arcana.'

For an allusion to En. 80: 2 in the Epistle of Barnabas, see p. 74. The passage in Syncellus on the role of the angel Kôkab'el, 'Star of God' (quoted below, p. 319), also refers no doubt to the final part of the astronomical document which described the movements of the stars; see Enastr[d], below, pp. 296–7.

On the other hand, we must eliminate the Latin allusions which were thought to have been found in Tertullian (Martin, p. 187, note to 81: 1) and Lactantius (ibid., p. cxxxi, and Charles, p. xc). The first is in *De cultu feminarum*, i. 3 (A. Kroyman, *CSEL* 70 (1942), 63): 'cum Enoch filio suo Mathusalae nihil aliud mandaverit, quam ut notitiam earum [that is, sermons on the fallen angels] posteris suis traderet.' This statement remains very vague, and since Tertullian knew the Epistle of Enoch very well—he gives a very faithful quotation of 99: 6–7 in *De idololatria* 4—the reference must

surely be to the mention of Methesulah and his descendants in the Epistle. In the *Divine Institutions*, vii. 16 (S. Brandt, *CSEL* 19 (1890), 636), Lactantius, describing the end of the world, employs several phrases which recall En. 80: 2–6: 'nec terra homini dabit fructum; non seges quicquam, non arbor, non vitis feret . . .; luna . . . meatus extraordinarios peraget, ut non sit homini promptum aut siderum cursus aut rationem temporum agnoscere . . .; tunc annus breviabitur et mensis minuetur et dies in angustum coartabitur.' But the principal source for this part of his work is the Sibylline Oracles,[1] and it is to the anonymous authors, Jewish and Christian, of these Oracles (who were certainly influenced by Enochic literature) that we must assign the direct borrowing of the apocalyptic texts that reappear in Lactantius.

The Astronomical Book of Enoch was well known in Eastern and Western Christian iconography. The Octateuch illustration of three manuscripts, at least, contains a miniature where, on the right, Enoch is standing with an unrolled scroll; to the left of him Death is cowering and flinching from him (an allusion to Enoch's immortality); open tombs in the lower left part of the miniature represent the Resurrection (prefigured by Enoch's assumption to heaven). The upper left is occupied by twelve busts and the attributes of twelve months, and the upper right by busts of Sun and Moon in the starry heaven.[2]

In the famous Caedmon Manuscript (Oxford, Bodl. MS. Junius 11) the lower part of the picture on p. 51 represents Enoch (in text: *Enos*), son of Cain, together with his wife holding a child, standing inside the City of Enoch. He is, however, confused here with his homonym, the seventh just Patriarch, as above him appears the symbol of Aries, the sign of the first month of the year. This picture is quite independent of the Anglo-Saxon text, where no mention of astrology occurs.[3]

In the Monophysite Churches of Egypt and Abyssinia the Astronomical Book was to become the indirect object of a festival, that of 'the archangel

[1] In particular book VIII (cf. lines 178–81 and 214–15) which has many lacunae; J. Geffcken, *GCS* (1902), 150 ff.

[2] See Th. Ouspensky, *L'Octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople* (Bull. de l'Inst. Arch. Russe à Constantinople, xii), 1907, pp. 119–20 and pl. XII, 32 (MS., f. 53ᵛ); D.-C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne* (Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti, Suppl. VI), 1909, p. vi and pl. 27 (MS., f. 18ʳ); the latter is identical with the miniature in the Vatican MS. Gr. 746, f. 48ᵛ, according to J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus, des Kosmas Indikopleustes und Oktateuch nach Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Smyrna* (Byzantinisches Archiv, Ergänzung der Byzantinischen Zeitschrift, Heft 2), 1899, p. 115 and pl. XXXIV (miniature of the Smyrna MS.).

[3] See the facsimile edition by I. Gollanch, pp. xlii–xliii and illustration p. 51.

Uriel who showed Enoch the revolutions of the celestial luminaries' celebrated on 28 July (21 Hamle).[1] A sermon for this feast, published by A. Caquot,[2] was evidently well known and appreciated, for a long passage of it is quoted in a 'Life' of an Abyssinian Saint.[3]

THE BOOK OF WATCHERS

(En. 1–36)

We give this convenient title to the first section of the Ethiopic Enoch, drawing on Syncellus' *ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου* (or *λόγου*) *'Ενὼχ περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων*; it corresponds well with the theme of the section (and matches the title of the Book of Giants from Cave 4 of Qumrân), the fragments of which, with their Aramaic context restored, overlap with half of the Ethiopic text: En. 1: 1–6; 1: 9–5: 6; 5: 9–9: 4; 10: 8–19; 12: 3; 13: 6–14, 16; 14: 18–20; 15: 11 (?); 18: 8–12; 18: 15 (?); 21: 2–4; 22: 3–7; 22: 13–24: 1; 25: 7–27: 1; 28: 3–32: 1; 32: 3, 6; 33: 4–34: 1; 35: 1–36: 4. The first copy, 4QEn^a dates from the first half of the second century B.C. It was, therefore, like the second copy, En^b (mid second century), brought to Qumrân from elsewhere. Both of them probably contained only the Book of Watchers, whilst the three others—copied in the scriptorium of Qumrân in the course of the first century A.D.—formed part of the Enochic collection, in particular En^c, the original scroll of which brought together in all probability the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch. The practice of copying into the same volume at the very least the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams called for recensional alterations, which are quite obvious if one compares the passages common to En^a and to En^c (see the notes to En^c 1 i, below, pp. 186–8). The Greek version was to follow this more recent recension.

The orthography of En^a is very striking: on the one hand archaistic, as in חנך or נני 'fish'; on the other, 'popular' and phonetic in character (e.g.

[1] I. Guidi, *Le synaxaire éthiopien*, ii (*PO* vii, 3), p. 377 (361).

[2] 'L'homélie en l'honneur de l'archange Ouriel (Dersāna Urā'ēl)' in *Annales d'Ethiopie*, i (1955), 61–88.

[3] S. Kur, *Actes de Iyasus Mo'a abbé du couvent de St-Etienne de Hayq*, *CSCO* 259/*Aeth.* 49, p. 19 (translation: 260/50, pp. 15–16). On Uriel in iconography (and in magic) see P. Perdrizet, 'L'archange Ouriel' in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 2 (1928), 241–76; and S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mékhitharistes de Venise*, 1936, pp. 95–6.

סגי 'many'), with the article of the singular and the plural marked by the He and with the Aphel causative. This 'popular' orthography was to remain in use among the Samaritans up to the present time, whilst in Judaea from the Hasmonaean era onwards archaistic orthography with the Aleph for the article and the Haphel for the verbal causative form was gradually introduced. The more recent copies of 4QEn follow this style of writing without entirely doing away with forms peculiar to the archetype, in particular the use of the Aphel, which is preserved in all five manuscripts (with a few exceptions in En[e]). En[c] dates from the last third of the first century B.C., but it was copied from a manuscript of about the year 100 B.C., written in orthography identical with that of 1QIs[a] and 1QS. En[c] served in turn as a model for En[d].

The earliest allusion to the Book of Watchers is found in Aramaic in 4QTestLevi[a] 8 iii 6–7.[1] The context of the column mentioned is that of chapter 14 of the Greek Testament of Levi, but with phrases which are encountered again in chapters 15 and 16; all this part of the Testament contains invectives against the Israelite priesthood. Lines *2b–8a* of Test Levi[a] 8 iii read:

] שמשא וש]הׄרא וׄכוכביא
]]מן
]עלא ארעא הלא אנתן מנירין כשמשא וכ]שהרא
]הן אנ]תׄן תחשכון [ברשע מא יעבדון כל]
]עממי]א הלא קבל חׄנׄוך [על]
]]נא ועל מן תהוא חובתא
]הן]הׄלא עלי ועליכן בני[2]

[1] This manuscript dates from the second century. I have published an important fragment from it in *RB* lxii (1955), 328–406.

[2] Cf. Test. Levi, 14: 3–4:

1. *καθαρὸς ὁ οὐρανὸς* (*ἥλιος a*, om. *f*) *ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* (*Ἰσραήλ efa*). *ὡς ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη,* [4] *Τί ποιήσουσι* (*-σιν e, -σωσι f*) *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς σκοτισθῆτε* (*-θήσεσθαι e, -θε fa*) *ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ· καὶ ἐπάξετε* (*-ξηται e, -ξητε a, ἐπατάξετε f*) *κατάραν ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν. ὑπὲρ ὧν* (*οὗ fa*) *τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου* (*νόμου efa*) *τὸ δοθὲν ἐν* (del *e*) *ὑμῖν* (plus *καὶ*(?) del *e*) *εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου*: recension *β* according to MS. *b*, Cambridge, Univ. Library Ff I, 24, f. 216[v] i 12–ii 2 (cf. edn. M. de Jonge, 1970, p. 19); variant readings of *e* (Athos, Koutloumous MS. 39, f. 204[v] i 38–ii 8), of *f* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. MS. 2658, f. 18[r], 3–10), of *a* (Oxford Bodl. Barocci 133, f. 188[v], 23–7).

2. *καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ὡς φωστῆρες εἰσίν· ὡς ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη· καὶ ἐὰν ὑμεῖς σκοτισθῆτε, τί ποιήσουσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ ὑμῶν· ἐπάξετε κατάραν ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· καὶ τοῦ νόμου τὸ δωθὲν ὑμῖν καὶ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰς φωτισμόν*: MS. *d* (Rome, Vat. Gr. 1238 III, f. 357[r], 20–4).

3. *οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ ἥλιος καθαρὸς ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστέ. οἱ φωστῆρες τοῦ Ἰσραήλ· παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη·*

'[. . . the sun], the moon, and the stars [. . . shine] above [the earth. Do you not shine as the sun and as] the moon ? [If] your light is obscured [through impiety, what will all] the [peoples do] ? Did not Enoch accuse [. . .] ? And with whom will the blame lie, [if] not with me and with you, my sons ?'

The restoration at line 4 is given only *exempli gratia.*

At lines 6–7 of this passage there was certainly an allusion to the accusations made by the patriarch against the Watchers (En. 13–16), who were responsible for the evil which had spread among men (En. 13: 2 and 16: 3). The priests are likened to the angels, both groups being upholders of wisdom and of the true cult of God; the corruption of man is due to the corruption of the two groups. The word at the beginning of line 7 was made up of five letters [אבד]נא, or else [חר]בֹנא, for I think I detect on the edge of the rent the joining of the Beth to the Nun (but it could just as easily be a Nun, the hook of which forms a pointed angle); at the end of line 6 only one word is missing. In the context we need an expression like '(to accuse) those who cause perdition (or ruin)', or else 'those who are doomed to perdition', [על חיבי אבד]נא.

This is not the place to discuss the references to the Books of Enoch in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, even those in the Testament of Levi, at 14: 1, for instance. This difficult task falls to the editors of the Greek work, which certainly dates from the Christian era. In a future edition of the original Testament of Levi (based on the Aramaic fragments of 1Q, 4Q and the Cairo Genizah, and the Greek fragments of the Koutloumous MS. 39) I shall try to prove that it is Samaritan in origin and was composed in the course of the third century, if not towards the end of the fourth. For the moment we will maintain that its attestation of the Book of Watchers (or more precisely of the Visions of Enoch, chs. 6–19) dates from towards the end of the third century. The altogether incontestable *terminus ante quem* falls in the year 164 B.C., the date of the composition of the Book of Dreams, which is closely dependent on the Book of Watchers (see below, pp. 43–5).

The Book of Watchers is plainly quoted by the book of Jubilees, 4: 21–2: '(Enoch) had spent six jubilees of years with the angels of God and they

καὶ ἐὰν ὑμεῖς σκοτισθεῖτε ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ τί λοιπὸν τὰ ἔθνη ποιήσωσιν· ἐν τυφλώσει διάγοντες· καὶ ἐπάξετε κατάραν ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ οὗν (*sic*) *τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου· τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου*: MS. *c* (Vat. Gr. 731, f. 112v, 15–25), recension *α*. See edn. Charles, 1908 [1966], pp. 55–6.

The text of the recension *α* retains *ὁ ἥλιος* instead of *οὐρανός* (but omits, further on, the reference to the moon and the sun), and, at v. 4, inverts the interrogative and conditional phrase—two readings which seem superior to those of recension *β*.

showed him all that is on the earth and in heaven {the dominion of the sun},[1] and he described all (that). He witnessed against the Watchers who were sinning with the daughters of men. For they had begun to go unto the daughters of men, so that they became impure, and Enoch witnessed against them all.' This is a clear reference to the two parts of the Book of Watchers: angelological (En. 6–16) and cosmographical (En. 17–36). The text of the Hebrew fragment (quoted above, p. 12), lines 1–4, is even more detailed: '. . . Enoch, after we had instructed him [in all that concerns the ear]th [and the sky], during six jubilees of years, [came back to the] earth in the midst of the sons of men, and he witnessed against them all [because of their sins?] and also against the Watchers.' The witnessing against men is the initial part of the work (En. 1–5).

In any case, the dates of our manuscripts of 4Q allow us to establish that from the first half of the second century B.C. onwards the Book of Watchers had essentially the same form as that in which it is known through the Greek and Ethiopic versions. All the laborious critical 'vivisection' of our document by 'many hands' (Charles, p. 1) accomplished during the last century and a half is shown to be useless and mistaken.

We can accept as obvious, however, the fact that the author of the Book of Watchers used an early written source which he incorporated without any great changes in his own work (En. 6–19). While treating his venerable model with due respect, he judged it opportune to complete and revise it in terms of his own preoccupations. For the four archangels mentioned in 9: 1 and 10: 1, 4, and 11 he substituted seven (En. 20), one of which, namely Uriel, was already to be found in the Astronomical Book. The description of the western journey of the patriarch, the only one mentioned in his source (En. 17–19), was reworked in chapters 21–5, mainly from the eschatological point of view—with descriptions of the places of abode, on the one hand, of God and the blessed, and on the other, of sinners, the wicked angels, and the stars.

The rest of the work, En. 1–5 and 26–36, is to be attributed exclusively to the author of the existing book. The most original part of his literary composition, that which describes the surroundings of Jerusalem and the lands of spices (En. 26–32), reveals some details about the actual person of the author and the approximate date of his work. He was certainly a Judaean, since he looks upon Jerusalem as the centre of the earth, and the hill of the temple of Jerusalem as 'the sacred mountain' *par excellence* (26: 1–2).[2]

[1] A Greek or Ethiopic addition?

[2] Cf. the reference to the temple of Gerizim, mountain of the Most High, in the Samaritan source of the historian Eupolemos (above p. 9).

He was perhaps himself a Jerusalemite, for he has an excellent knowledge of the environs of the Holy City (26: 2–27: 1); at the very least he must have travelled there frequently (see below, p. 36). His information about the aromatics and their botanical habitats—obviously gained from hearsay—suggests fairly clearly, in my opinion, that he was engaged, in his role as a modest official, in the perfume and spice trade. This hypothesis is confirmed by his reference to a second town which he must have known *de visu*, namely Petra,[1] the capital of the Nabataeans. He admires above all the aqueduct of the city, impressive remains of which can still be seen today in the es-Sîq gorge of the Wâdi Mûsa.

The Nabataeans were already fully engaged in transcontinental trade during the fourth century B.C.; their merchant caravans—according to Diodorus Siculus (*Bibl. Hist.* xix. 94. 5)—'carried as far as the [Mediterranean] Sea, incense, myrrh, and the most precious aromatics, which were delivered to them by convoys from the so-called *Arabia Felix*'. By the year 312 B.C. the fame of the riches which they had accumulated, thanks to this trade, was such that it gave rise to two abortive expeditions sent by Antigonus, who controlled a large part of Alexander's empire. But at the time when the author of the Book of Watchers was living Petra was already a fully constituted town. This development took place gradually only in the course of the third century, and still on quite a modest scale, as has been shown by the soundings (since 1929) and the systematic excavations undertaken by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan and by the British School of Jerusalem from 1954 onwards. These excavations unearthed the pavement of the *cardo maximus* of the Roman town of Petra, along the Wâdi Mûsa (the place where the canal admired by our Jewish writer flowed). Underneath, several streets were recognized, one on top of the other, of simple stone, covering two levels of buildings: the oldest, flush with the virgin soil, showed the remains of partitioned habitations, with walls made of shingle and clay, the latter also forming the floor. The fragments of pottery collected in these modest houses enable us to attribute them to the Nabataeans of the second and even the third century. 'There is evidence, in the shape of Hellenistic pottery and coins of the third century B.C. [the currency of coastal Phoenician towns of the third century], of settlement in Petra by that date.'[2]

[1] רקם or רקם דגאיא in Aramaic; *rqmw* in a Nabataean inscription, *RB* lxxii (1965), 95–7 (En. 28: 1–29: 1); see the notes to En[e] xxvi 3–5 (below p. 233).

[2] P. Parr, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1960, 135; cf. id., *RB* xlix (1962), 76–7, and 'A Sequence of Pottery from Petra' in *Essays in Honor of V. Glueck*, 1970, pp. 352–4 and 369–70; K. Schmitt-Korte, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1968, 501–2; J. Starcky, *Dict. de la Bible-Supplément*, fasc. 39, 1964, col. 943.

We can readily imagine that the Judaean author of the Book of Watchers accompanied the Nabataean caravans from Petra to Gaza across the desert of Idumaea. We can familiarize ourselves in concrete detail with the age in which our trader and writer was living, and bring it to life in imagination, by examining the enormous mass of papyri from the archives of Zenon of Philadelphia, who was the agent of Apollonios, the minister of finance (διοικητής) of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[1]

At the very least forty documents from the Zenon archives directly concern Syria–Palestine and Transjordan, in particular those which refer to the journey in Palestine and Jordan made by Zenon in 259–258 B.C., the 27th and 26th years of Ptolemy Philadelphos. The Nabataeans are specifically mentioned as living in the neighbourhood of Auranitide in western Syria (*PSI* iv. 406).[2]

During his tour in the east of Jordan, in the summer of 259 B.C. Zenon assigned deliveries of corn 'to the people of Rabb'el', *τοῖς παρὰ Ῥαββηλου*.[3] This expression is analogous to *τοῖς παρὰ Τουβιου*, 'to the people of Tobias', *Ṭobyah* being the Jewish head of an important district situated in the west of Amman. Rabb'el cannot be other than a Nabataean ethnarch resident in Petra; this is a Nabataean dynastic name *par excellence*. The trade in aromatics was dependent on the royal monopoly, and the convoys had to pay a heavy tax at the Gaza customs, which was gathered by the official *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς λιβανωτικῆς* (*PSI* 628. 2–3). In the Zenon papyri there are numerous invoices for aromatics, several of which are also mentioned in our Book of Watchers—for example *ζμύρνη* (or *σμύρνη*), *λίβανος* (Minaean and Gerrhaean), *νάρδος*, *κιννάμωμον*, *κασία*.[4] The Gerrhaean incense[5] arrived at Gaza with other

[1] See *PSI* iv–vi = G. Vitelli, *Papiri greci e latini* (Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri), 1917 (vols. iv and v) and 1920; *PCZ* i–iv = C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri* (Catalogue du Musée du Caire), i–iv, 1925–31, and vol. v, edited by O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet (Société Fouad I de papyrologie, Textes et Documents, v); *P.Mich.Zen.* = Edgar, *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, 1931; *P.Col.Zen.* = W. L. Westermann and E. J. Hasenoehrl, *Columbia Papyri, Greek Series* No. 3: *Zenon Papyri*, i, 1931, and ii, 1940; etc. Cf. V. Tcherikover, 'Palestine under the Ptolemies (contribution to the Study of the Zenon Papyri)', *Mizraim*, iv–v (1937), 9–90; id. and A. Fuks, *CPJ* = *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, i (1957), pp. 1–47 and 115–30.

[2] *PCZ* 59008 III 25 and 33 refers to the same mission of Zenon and his companions *εἰς Αὔρανα* in 259.

[3] *PCZ* 59004, 28–9 *Περιτίο*[*υ* . .], *τοῖς παρὰ Ῥ*[*α*]*β*[*βη*]*λου ἀλεύρων ἀρ*(*τάβας*) *α'*) and 46–7 (*γ'*, sc. the third Xandikos, *τοῖς παρὰ Ῥαββηλου σεμιδάλιος ἀρ.* ½); cf. *CPJ* i. 2, pp. 121–2.

[4] *PSI* 628 and 678, *PCZ* 59009, 59011, 59069, 59536, etc.; cf. En[c] 1 xii and En[e] 1 xxvi and the botanical notes in *RB* lxv (1958), 72–5.

[5] *PCZ* 59009 *f* i 5–7 and 59536, 11–12: *λιβάνου Μιναίου τά*(*λαντα*) *δ' καὶ Γερραίου τά*(*λαντα*) *α'* (the year 261).

exotic merchandise from Gerrha, an important commercial town situated on the Persian Gulf, whose caravan merchants and traders could naturally tell stories about the Far Eastern countries from which the perfumes and the spices such as nard, mastic resin, cardamom, and pepper were obtained (En. 32: 1).

The commercial convoys of Zenon also plied the coastal routes of Palestine and Phoenicia, from Gaza towards Jaffa, Tower of Straton (later Caesarea), Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli; from these ports his representatives ventured towards the interior, to Galilee, Hauran, Lebanon.

The author of the Book of Watchers must have drawn on itineraries such as Zenon's according to the needs of his profession as a trader, for he seems to be well acquainted, perhaps through a personal visit, with the lake and marshlands of 'Ain el-Ğarr in Lebanon, where the sweet reed and calamus grew (En. 30: 1–3). For every Jew, however, whatever his actual dwelling-place might be, the holy city of Jerusalem was invested with particular importance. Jerusalem, for instance, was where the people of Tobias awaited Zenon's caravan before accompanying him in his tour of Transjordan: [*Ἱεροσολ*]*ύμοις ἀλεύρ* (*ων*) *ἀρ*(*τάβας*) *α'*; [*τοῖς πα*]*ρ̣ὰ̣ Τουβιου ἀρ*(*τάβας*) *α'*.[1]

We may conclude that it was in Palestine under Lagid hegemony, towards the middle of the third century B.C., at the height of the intensive commercial and cultural exchanges between East and West, that the Judaean author of the Enochic Book of Watchers lived and prospered, as a merchant and a writer.

But the problem of the date and literary connections of the source incorporated by this author into his work at En. 6–19, is much more delicate. Let us analyse briefly the angelological content of this document, En. 6–16.[2] The religious thinker reflects here on the problem of the evil existing in the world and sees the origin of it in the union of the sons of heaven with the daughters of men. The basic theme, which he develops in his own way, is the celestial provenance of human technique and sciences. This myth, like that of the universal flood, occurs in the religions of all peoples up to the primitive tribes of the present time. So among the Indians in the interior of Brazil: 'A man, the first that they [the two sisters] had ever seen except in dreams, came down from the sky and taught them agriculture, cookery, weaving, and all the arts of civilization'; 'In an aquatic dwelling-place which he has created the Father invents the finery and the adornments which are thus taught

[1] *PCZ* 59009, 6–7. The itinerary of 59004 refers to the same journey, mentioning '*Ἱεροσο-λ̣ύμ̣*[*οις*] in col. i 3.

[2] For Enoch's journey to the West (En. 17–19, see below, pp. 38–9.

to men'; 'Moon (male) gave to men the cultivated plants . . . and instructed in all these arts a young girl whom he finally married.'[1]

The book of Jubilees presents a more archaic form of this myth: the Watchers, angels of the Lord, come down to the earth to instruct the children of men and to bring about justice and equity on the earth (4: 15); it is not until later that the corruption and punishment of the Watchers and their children will occur (5: 1–10). According to the author of En. 6 ff., on the contrary, sexual appetite dominates the angels from the beginning (6: 1–6 and 7: 1), and the sciences they teach are all turned to wicked ends (7: 1 and 8: 1–3). The writer imagines two chiefs of the fallen angels, a king (*Šemî-ḥazah*) and a sage (*'Aśa'el*), each presiding over about ten Watchers (and each of these ten presiding over about ten anonymous angels), thus drawing on the Babylonian model of antediluvian kings and sages. With these two chiefs of demons must be contrasted two chiefs of men, the king Son-of-Lamech (a rather passive figure, just like his angelic partner) and the sage Enoch, who is at least as active as his celestial counterpart, 'Aśa'el. The names of the twenty principal Watchers (En. 6: 7), of which the fragments of 4Q give the correct form (with the exception of the name of the fifth), are for the most part derived from astronomical, meteorological, and geographical terms. The eleventh, *Ḥermonî*, takes his name from mount Hermon (6: 6), whilst *Danî'el* is none other than the Canaanite hero *Dan'el* whose wisdom is sung in Ugaritic poems and mentioned in Ezek. 28: 3 and 14: 14, 20. His position in the seventh place on the list is highly significant, for it corresponds exactly to the position of Enoch in the list of antediluvian patriarchs. According to Jub. 4: 20 Enoch marries the daughter of Dan'el. If we are to judge by the reference to Dan'el alongside Noah in Ezek. 14, the former could be the protagonist in the Phoenician history of the flood, a role comparable with the Babylonian 'Most-wise', Atra-ḫasîs. The dethronement of the Phoenician wise man to the rank of the wicked angels was to be copied by the author of the Book of Giants, who included in his list of giants one *'Aḥîram*,[2] one *Gilgameš*,[3] who visited Utnapištim, the hero of the flood, in his ultra-terrestrial retreat, and one *Ḥôbabiš*,[4] without doubt the giant Ḫumbaba, guardian of the cedar-forest and adversary of Gilgameš.

Another extremely archaic Babylonian feature is retained in the name of the prison of 'Aśa'el. He is to be thrown into the darkness and hurled down

[1] C. Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques*, ii: *Du miel aux cendres*, 1966, pp. 156, 265, 273.

[2] אחירם in a fragment of 4QEnGiants[c]; a king-type of Tyre (cf. Ezek. 28).

[3] Below, p. 313.

[4] Below, p. 311.

into a gulf which will open up in the desert which is in (or between) Dadouel, τὴν ἔρημον τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ Δαδουήλ (10: 4).[1] *Daddu'el* 'the (two) breasts of 'El' is the exact replica of the Akkadian *Mašu*, 'twin mountains', the mountain which 'looks upon the sun at its setting and at its rising' (*Gilgameš*, IX. ii. 9). From the third millennium Mesopotamian cylinders represent the star-god appearing between these twin summits. The gloomy desert which stretches between the mountains of the West and the East, according to En. 10: 4, is identical with the ἔρημος of En. 18: 12, the מדברין of En. 77: 3 (4QEnastr[b] 23 9), and the מדברא רבא of the Book of Giants (see below, p. 306). The prison of 'Aśa'el is thus situated in the extreme North, just like the prison of the seven erring stars and of the fallen angels in En. 18–19. In Christian times the author of the Book of Parables was to place in the same region the male monster with the name Behemoth, 'who occupies with his breast the immense desert, named *Dêndâin*', situated to the east of Paradise (En. 60: 8; and for the north-western position of Paradise, 70: 3). The place-name is obviously *deddain*, 'twin breasts'.[2] The punishment of the wicked angels and of their progeny is synchronized by the author of En. 6–19 with the destruction of humanity by the flood, both these happenings being predicted by Enoch and carried out by the four archangels, *Mîka'el*, *Śarî'el*, *Rafa'el*, and *Gabrî'el* (En. 9–10).[3]

The crucial problem of En. 6–19 is its literary relationship to Gen. 6: 1–4, as well as to other elements of the antediluvian history of Gen. 4–8. In his excellent study 'La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: son origine et signification',[4] P. Grelot finds 'une référence immédiate de l'Hénoch juif à ses modèles mésopotamiens' (p. 24), making explicit

[1] The reading of C must be kept, as against Δουδαήλ in Syncellus and the Greek model of the Ethiopic version, for דדא, pronounced *daddâ*, signifies in Aramaic 'breast'.

[2] By a strange coincidence the Babylonian name for 'twin mountains', *Mašu*, reappears in the Greek Romance of Alexander, with the same meaning as in Aramaic. This new Gilgameš too will visit the mountain of the west, called *Masis* or *Musas*. An alternative transcription of *Mašu* would be Μαζος (cf. 'Aśa'el ⩾ Ἀζαήλ in Enoch; Μαρεσα and Μαρεζα, for *Marišah*, in the Zenon papyri). Now, when Alexander, having arrived in the far North wishes to construct a doorway to enclose the northern tribes, he asks the god to bring together the two mountains which are designated by the term *Μαζοὶ Βορρᾶ*, *Ubera Aquilonis*. See, e.g., A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Enclosed Nations*, 1932, *passim* and in particular p. 43 (an explanation, in my opinion inexact, of this term).

[3] The fragment 4QEn[b] 1 iii 7 gives the exact form of the name of the second angel, שריאל (cf. also IQM ix 15–16: *Mîka'el*, *Gabrî'el*, *Śarî'el*, *Rafa'el*). The inattentiveness of a Greek copyist was to change it to Οὐριήλ, the form which it henceforth retained in Christian and Jewish tradition.

[4] *Recherches de science religieuse*, xlvi (1958), 5–26 and 181–210.

that 'la tradition juive avait bloqué sur le personnage d'Hénoch deux sortes de renseignements puisés dans la legende mésopotamienne: le rôle d'Enmeduranki [seventh or eighth antediluvian king] comme initiateur de la civilisation et celui de Xisouthros comme transmetteur de la sagesse antédiluvienne par ses livres, les seuls qui aient survécu à la catastrophe' (p. 25). He assumes that 'le cadre de la captivité babylonienne constitue le *Sitz im Leben* où la légende en cause trouve sa place idoine et où son origine s'explique au mieux' (p. 195). However, in his opinion, it was at first just haggadic, anonymous tradition, transmitted orally, and the earliest written version was not made until the fifth century, by the redactors of the Pentateuch in their sacred priestly history (source P) represented by the current text of Genesis.

The very close interdependence of En. 6–19 and Gen. 6: 1–4 is perfectly obvious; the same phrases and analogous expressions are repeated in the two texts. The table which follows on p. 32 shows this clearly.

The ineluctable solution, it seems to me, is that it is the text of Gen. 6: 1–4, which, by its abridged and allusive formulation, deliberately refers back to our Enochic document, two or three phrases of which it quotes verbatim. We should recall that this kind of stylistic usage was quite widespread in early times. In the same brief and recapitulatory way the author of the Book of Watchers refers, in his last chapters, to the Astronomical Book of Enoch; similarly, the author of the Epistle of Enoch summarizes in En. 106–7 a more detailed account of the birth of Noah. If my hypothesis is correct, the work incorporated in En. 6–19 is earlier than the definitive version of the first chapters of Genesis. It is thus contemporary with, if not older than, the calendrical document attributed to Enoch, which was also exploited thoroughly by the final redactors of the Pentateuch.[1] Both are perhaps of Samaritan origin.

We should note in addition that the ideas of the author of En. 6–19 on the antediluvian patriarchs scarcely correspond to those in list P in Gen. 5. The downfall of the angels certainly takes place.[2] But it takes place after the removal of Enoch to paradise (12: 1–4), which agrees better with the *Enoch–'Irad* sequence of Gen. 4: 18 than with the sequence *Jared–Enoch* of Gen. 5: 18. Noah, besides, is certainly 'son of Lamech' or even, since his name is not mentioned, quite simply **Bar-Lamk* (En. 10: 1).

[1] Above, p. 8. Below, pp. 248–52, we shall prove the existence of a sacred history divided into seventy weeks, which in turn precedes En. 6–19, since there is an unquestionable allusion to it in En. 10: 12.

[2] ביומי ירד (En^{a} 1 iii 4; En. 6: 6), but not yet ביומי ירד א[בי] (En^{c} 5 ii 17; En. 106: 13).

En. (C et 4Q)

(6:1) *Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅταν* (והויא כדי) *ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐγεννήθησαν* (+*αὐτοῖς* S et E) *θυγατέρες ὡραῖαι καὶ καλαί* (שפירן [. . .]ן). (2) *Καὶ ἐθεάσαντο αὐτὰς οἱ ἄγγελοι* (*ἐγρήγοροι* S) *υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ* . . .

(7:1) [נסבו להון] נשין מן כל די בחרו . . .

Cf. 15:11; 16:1; En[a] 1 iii 17 (En. 7:1): הוו מתילדין על ארעא (cf. En. 7:2 f.: *καὶ ἦσαν αὐξανόμενοι κατὰ τὴν μεγαλειότητα αὐτῶν*)

(7:1) [a] *καὶ ἤρξαντο* (ושריו) *εἰσπορεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὰς* . . .

(2) והויה בטנן מנהון ויל[דה גברין][a]

(15: 8–9) *οἱ γίγαντες . . . πνεύματα ἰσχυρά . . . διότι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωτέρων ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἐγρηγόρων ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχὴ θεμελίου*

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a–a Cf. 9: 8–9: *καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς γῆς . . . καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐγέννησαν τιτᾶνας* (*καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ αἱ θυγατέρες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔτεκον ἐξ αὐτῶν υἱοὺς γίγαντας* S); 15: 3: *καὶ ἐλάβετε ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας . . . καὶ ἐγεννήσατε ἑαυτοῖς τέκνα υἱοὺς γίγαντας*

Gen. (LXX)

(6: 1) *καὶ ἐγένετο ἡνίκα ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγενήθησαν αὐτοῖς.* (2) *Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι καλαί εἰσιν, ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πασῶν, ὧν ἐξελέξαντο . . .* (4) *οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνο, ὡς ἂν εἰσεπορεύοντο οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐγεννῶσαν ἑαυτοῖς· ἐκεῖνοι οἱ γίγαντες οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος, οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ὀνομαστοί.*

Gen. (MT)

(6: 1) ויהי כי החל האדם לרב על פני האדמה ובנות ילדו להם (2) ויראו בני האלהים את בנות האדם כי טבת הנה ויקחו להם נשים מכל אשר בחרו . . . (4) הנפלים היו בארץ בימים ההם וגם אחרי כן אשר יבאו בני האלהים אל בנות האדם וילדו (ויולידו Sam.) [a]להם המה הגברים[a] אשר מעולם אנשי השם

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a–a להם om. Onq; להם גברים 4Q 180 1 8, להמה גבורים 4Q 181 2 2—Gen. 6:1, 2, 4*b* taken over by Jub. 5:1 (for 'sons of God' 'angels of God, in a year of this Jubilee'.

The dwelling-place beyond the earth to which Enoch was carried is not located in detail in En. 12: 1–2: *Πρὸ τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐλήμφθη Ἐνώχ, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔγνω ποῦ ἐλήμφθη καὶ ποῦ ἐστιν καὶ τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ. Καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῷ* (MS. *αυτων*) *μετὰ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτοῦ.* This certainly recalls ואיננו כי לקח אתו אלהים of Gen. 5: 24, but also the account of Berossus, the Babylonian priest who was a contemporary of Alexander and Antiochus I. In the summary of Berossus' work by Polyhistor, Xisouthros, having alighted from the ark, offered sacrifice, 'and then he disappeared . . . and did not appear any more . . . he went to dwell with the gods because of his piety' (Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, iii C, p. 381); according to the summary of Abydenos 'the gods took him away from mankind' (ibid. 402). Similarly, as we have shown above (pp. 15–16), neither the Astronomical Book of Enoch nor the map of the world of the late Babylonian period gives precise details of the location of the פרדס קושטא or the abode of Utnapištim.

In an indirect way, however, the author of En. 6 ff. seems to indicate the direction in which Enoch's paradise is situated. He makes his hero accomplish only a vertical ascent towards the polar star (En. 14: 8–16: 4) and a sea-voyage towards the West and the North (En. 17–19). These visits to the abodes of God—the palace of ice, and the mountain-throne of God situated in the North-West—up till now inaccessible to the patriarch, lead us to understand that he resided with the angels somewhere in the opposite direction, i.e. towards the East or in the North-East. This eastern itinerary is not described here in detail. The position of paradise in the Levant, that of Gen. 2: 8, is identical with the location of the abode granted by the gods to the Sumerian hero of the flood: An and Enlil 'elevated him to eternal life, like a god. At that time, the king Ziusudra who protected the seed of mankind at the time (?) of destruction, they settled in an overseas country, in the orient, in Dilmun'.[1] In Babylonian tradition, on the other hand, Gilgameš would have to undertake a long journey to the West and the North in order to arrive at the abode of his hero of the flood, for, according to the decree of the gods, 'hitherto Utnapištim has been but human, henceforth Utnapištim and his wife shall be like unto us gods; Utnapištim shall reside far away, at the mouth of the rivers'.[2]

Although it is the oldest of the Enochic documents, En. 6–19 was composed

[1] M. Civil, 'The Sumerian Flood Story', *apud* W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-Ḫasīs, The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, 1969, p. 145.

[2] Gilg. xi. 193–5; cf. Grelot, *RB* lxv (1958), pp. 54–64.

in a remarkably skilful and dramatic way by an accomplished writer who knew how to knit together and interweave the two almost equal parts of his work (En. 6–13 and En. 14–19) by means of various stylistic and phraseological devices. The first section is objective and 'historical', told in the 3rd person, but in 12: 3 and at the end of this part (13: 3–10) the author allows his protagonist to speak. The dramatis personae are introduced into the action one after the other, according to the degree of their spiritual eminence, and move on the opposite poles of heaven and earth, of eternity and history: the daughters of men and the sons of heaven (6: 1–2). Šemîḥazah and his companions who have existed since eternity (14: 1) come down from heaven to earth at a precise age and in a specific place (6: 3–8: 4); the clamour of men rises to the gateways of heaven and to the ears of the four archangels who dwell in the celestial sanctuary (8: 4–9: 3, anticipated in 7: 6 and taken up again in 9: 2–3); the archangels consult other angels and plead the cause of men to the Lord of Lords, master of eternity (9: 4–11); the Most High orders four missions to the earth, which he assigns to the four archangels, and delivers a discourse in which the decree of the punishment of the fallen angels is contrasted with the promise of a chiliastic peace for the just and benediction for all the children of men (10–11). On this grandiose tableau, which is dominated by the theological aspect of the history of the universe, Enoch is now projected, a hero who is at the same time human and divine (12: 1–2, anticipated by the fleeting reference to the Son of Lamech, 10: 1–3). To the four angelic missions there will correspond four journeys of the patriarch. The first mission of Enoch, the most modest because commissioned by an anonymous archangel, 'the great Watcher and Holy One' (En. 12: 3; 4QEn[c] 1 v 19–20), is to the second chief of the fallen Watchers (13: 1–2); as a professional scribe, Enoch addresses 'Aśa'el in an epistolary style, but with a grim inversion of the usual formula: instead of 'peace to you', he begins 'there will be no peace for you'. As a dramatic consequence it is the Watchers themselves who attempt to win over the inhabitant of paradise to their cause; still acting as a scribe of justice, Enoch draws up their petition, but it will prove to be legally ineffectual by virtue of the visions which descend on him while he sleeps (13: 3–10). The first part begins and ends on earth, at the beginning in a general way, at the end with great precision: 'close to the waters of Dan, in (the territory of) Dan, which are to the south-west of Hermon' (13: 7), 'in 'Abel-mayâ which is situated between Lebanon and Śenîr' (13: 9).

The second section of the work (En. 14–19) is conceived as a letter and

bill of indictment,[1] which Enoch reads in the presence of the children of heaven gathered together in mourning (אבלין En[c] vi 6) at 'Abel-mayâ; the beginning of this missive takes up the subject dealt with previously (14: 1–7, cf. 13: 4–8). There follows the account of the ascent of the patriarch to the palace of God; the latter sends the visionary back on his mission and bids him deliver a second discourse (14: 8–16: 4), which is to end with the 'anti-epistolary' formula of the first: 'for you there is no peace'. The two other missions of Enoch are carried out mainly in a 'horizontal' sense, in contrast with the descent from Paradise and the ascent to the celestial Palace of the first two missions. The theological interest is blurred by scholarly curiosity in such fields as cosmography, astronomy, meteorology. None the less, the western journey leads Enoch towards the mountain of God, and the journey round the world (En. 18) concerns above all the winds in their role as 'pillars of heaven'. The expedition to the West ends in the far North, where the hero beholds with terror the prison of the angels who have consorted with women.

In the subscription to this work (19: 3), *κἀγὼ 'Ενὼχ ἴδον τὰ θεωρήματα μόνος, τὰ πέρατα πάντων, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ οὐδὲ εἷς ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐγὼ ἴδων*, the expression *τὰ πέρατα πάντων* is certainly a mistranslation. The Greek translator wrongly read סוף 'end' as סיף 'extremity', and we must restore סוף כלא (or סוף כלהן), the phrase whose equivalent is found in עד כה סופא די מלתא (Dan. 7: 28) and עד כא סוף חלמא (4QEnGiants[b]; below, p. 305). In any case we can discern here the title of this early Enochic document, which is 'Visions of Enoch', חזות חנוך*, *Θεωρήματα 'Ενώχ*.

The third-century Judaean author (above, pp. 27–8) who included the Visions of Enoch in his Book of Watchers gave it an unsymmetrical setting. It is preceded by a brief introduction in which he traces in grandiose terms the final epiphany of the Great Holy One on the mountain of Sinai and the judgement of the just and of sinners (En. 1); calls for admiration of the order of the universe (2: 1–5: 3), drawing, particularly for the description of the seasons, on the final section of the Astronomical Book; and finally adduces some considerations on the destinies of sinners and of the elect (5: 4–9). After reproducing his source, unchanged or perhaps with some slight alterations, in En. 6–19, he goes on to give a substantially rewritten version of the western journey of the patriarch (21–5, corresponding to 17–19). The remainder of the Book of Watchers, devoted to the eastern voyage of Enoch, constitutes our author's original, even in places individualistic, contribution.

[1] ספר (4QEn[c] 1 vi 9) with the meanings it had in imperial Aramaic.

He shows, in En. 26, an astonishingly detailed knowledge of the surroundings of Jerusalem, with their mountains and rivers.[1] Judaea, the centre of the earth, is considered by him to be a blessed country, full of trees with imperishable foliage (En 26: 1). There he sees a sacred mountain, the hill of the Temple, whose continuation is the hill of Ophel; from its eastern slopes comes the spring—the Biblical Gîḥôn, ʿAin Sitti Mariam in Arabic—which gives birth to the Cedron, flowing (at first) towards the South (v. 2). To the east of Sion, separated by the valley of Jehoshaphat, is situated a higher hill, the Mount of Olives, whose continuation is the Ğebel Bâtn el-Hawâ, at the foot of which rises an important ravine, the Wâdi Qaddûm (v. 3).[2] To the west of the Mount of Offence (to the south-west of the Mount of Olives) is situated the imposing spur of er-Râs running from the Ğebel 'Abû-Ṯôr, at the foot of which opens up the deep and dried-up vale of Gehenna (v. 4*a*), the accursed valley of En. 27. Another valley is situated at the foot of three mountains (26: 4*b*): this refers to the sheer slopes of the Silwân, especially the Wâdi Bîr 'Ayyûb, and as far as the barren rocks of Ḫallet eṭ-Ṭûri.[3] Fig. 4 represents the map of En. 26–7, as the author himself might have drawn it.

On the site of the lands of the aromatics (En. 28: 1–32: 1) I have written elsewhere.[4] Here just a general remark. The constantly eastern (and, towards the end, north-eastern) direction of the journeys of the patriarch is necessarily imposed by the final destination of his journey, namely the eastern Paradise. In fact the author—who knew a lot about the natural habitats of perfumes and spices—by implication makes two independent expeditions from Mediterranean ports: one from Gaza to Timna in the Yemen, the principal centre of the trade in incense and myrrh, towards the East and then towards the South; the second, for all the other aromatics, from a Phoenician port

[1] An Aramaic fragment, 4QEn^{d} 1 xii (En. 25: 7–27: 1), overlaps in part with this description, but for the rest the Greek text of C must be our primary witness. Commentators on the Ethiopic Enoch, such as Charles and Martin, are strangely satisfied with the explanations of Dillmann, who knew no version but the Ethiopic (hence certain mistakes and the vague nature of the identifications). Neither is it true that this account 'mixes with real geography features drawn from eschatological texts of Ezekiel and Zachariah' (Grelot, *RB* lxv (1958), 42).

[2] Equivalent to the נחל השטים of Joel 4: 18 and the *Neḥel Šanṭayâ* of the Byzantine era; see Milik, *RB* lxvi (1959), 553–5.

[3] For this area see Milik, *Studii Bibl. Franc. Liber Annuus*, vii (1956–7), pp. 232 ff., fig. 1. Note that in the last-named place-name the Palestinian Arabic dialect has kept the Aramaic term חלתא: 4QEn^{d} 1 xii 5 (חלה), 1QGenAp xxii 4 (חלתא).

[4] See my article in *RB* lxv (1958), 70–7; and below, notes to En^{e} 1 xxvi (28: 3–29: 2 and 31: 2–32: 3) and En^{c} 1 xii (30: 1–32: 1).

towards Beqâ', Amanus, Elymais(?), the lands of India, in the directions East, North, East, North-East.

More complex, less clear, more difficult to sort out, are the mythological journeys of Enoch. The itinerary of the second expedition to the lands of the aromatics is relatively simple. In order to reach the mountains where nard, mastic, cardamom, and pepper grow, the patriarch takes the north-easterly direction. Following the route towards the East, he flies over the Red Sea,

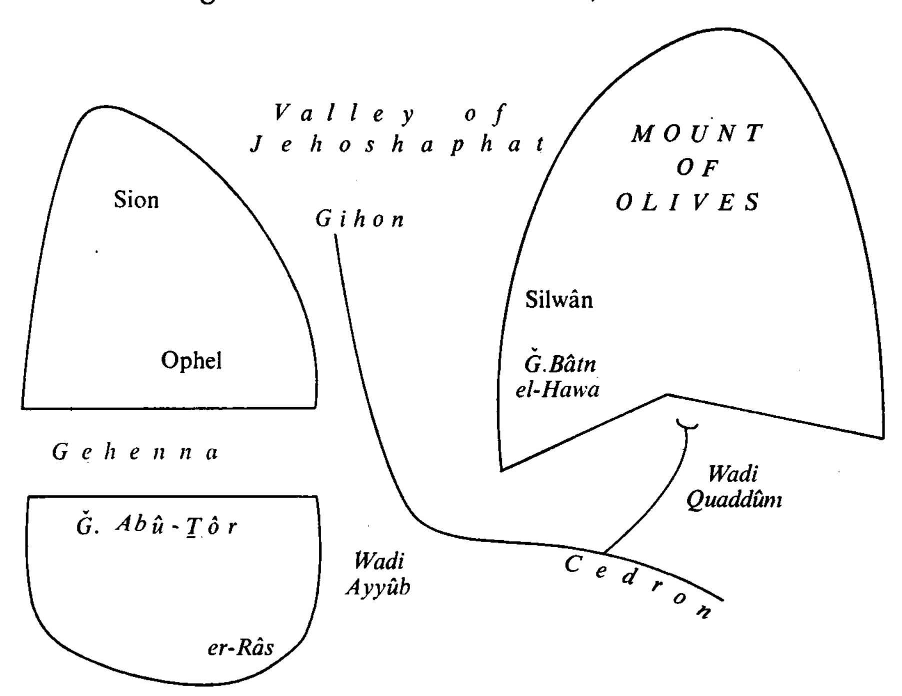


FIG. 4. The environs of Jerusalem according to Enoch 26

crosses the barrier of darkness, and arrives in the Paradise of righteousness (4QEn[e] 1 xxvi 18–21; En. 32: 2–3). This paradise is thus situated exactly in the North-East of the universe; it contains the tree of knowledge, *τὸ δένδρον τῆς φρονήσεως* (32: 3–6).

Towards the east of the ends of the earth, the patriarch notices a region filled with huge beasts and birds (33: 1). This is a striking parallel to a passage in the text accompanying the Babylonian Mappa Mundi (above, p. 15), obv. lines 6 to 9, where various beasts, including monkeys and sea-monsters, but especially desert-animals, are enumerated. There is surely an allusion here to the eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula and to Ethiopia. We shall see presently that five other regions of the Seven (שבע) mentioned

in the Astronomical Book are described in detail by the author of the Book of Watchers.

After his linear journey towards the East Enoch makes a circular flight along the boundaries of the sky and the earth; he quickly inspects the twelve doorways of the sun and the moon (six in the East and six in the West), the twelve doorways of the winds (three on each side of the universe), and the small doorways of the stars (33: 2–36: 3). In reality all this final part of the work is just a summary of the Astronomical Book or, more exactly, a reference to that book. The angel Uriel appears here too, but his role is expanded. He no longer contents himself with oral instruction, but writes down all his knowledge for the benefit of the patriarch (33: 3).

As we saw, Enoch's first journey towards the setting of the sun appears in the Book of Watchers in a double recension (En. 17–19 and 21–5). The first, which forms part of the Visions of Enoch (above, p. 25), is rather imprecise as regards the siting of mythological geographical features along the western and northern boundaries of the universe. The explorer shows an interest, in the first place, in natural phenomena (En. 17). Carried off to the far West he finds himself in a region watched over by the beings of fire (17: 1), and in a dark place, *εἰς ζοφώδη τόπον* (17: 2*a*). The latter must be the region of the Babylonian map of the world situated right in the North, 'where the sun cannot be seen', *ašar* [d]*Šamši la innamar*(*u*). The mountain of the West is described above all as the reservoir of the stars, of thunder, and of other natural phenomena; close by are situated the living waters (17: 2*b*–4*a*). The depository of the luminaries was to become, in the Judaean author's version, the quadruple ***depositorium*** of souls, one of which contains the luminous source of water (En. 22). The fire of the setting sun (17: 4*b*) is described in more detail in En. 23.

The Judaean author does not take up in the second recension any of the elements enumerated rapidly in 17: 5–18: 5. Enoch first crosses the river of fire (Pyriphlegethon of the Odyssey), then 'the great rivers' (17: 5–6*a*; the Greeks counted three of them), and ends up 'as far as the Great River and as far as the Great Darkness there where no being of flesh may go' (17: 6*b*). We easily recognize in this the circular Ocean, the Bitter River of the Babylonian map, and the sphere of darkness already located by our author in front of the north-eastern paradise.[1] It is in the region of the darkness of winter winds,

[1] Note how נהרין, which in the Astronomical Book denotes only the Ocean, here comes to be extended to several rivers, נהרין רברבין and to נהרא רבא *par excellence*; analogously the מדברין of the Astronomical Book is called מדברא רבא in the Book of Giants; see above, p. 15.

and hence in the far North, that the effluence and the mouth of the Abyss are situated (17: 7–8).

Then the author of the Visions of Enoch makes the patriarch go on a journey round the world in order to explore the reservoirs of the winds, the corner-stone of the earth, the four cardinal points pictured as 'the pillars of heaven' (according to E; omitted in C by hmt), the winds which drive the stars, and the firmament of heaven (18: 1–5). The account of this circular journey will inspire a similar itinerary during the eastern expedition (En. 33–6).

After this orbital flight the patriarch takes up again his western route and arrives at the mountain of God surrounded by six other mountains, all made of precious stones (18: 6–8). The precise detail, 'three mountains on the eastern side and three on the southern side', shows clearly that the mountain-throne of God occupies the north-western corner of the universe. (In the parallel description (En. 24–5) the divine mountain is surrounded by the garden of sweet-smelling trees which is dominated by the Tree of Life.) Behind the seven mountains of God, in the place where the heavens end, the patriarch sees a deep abyss formed of columns of fire. Beyond is a place without water and without birds, a forsaken and terrible place (*τόπος ἦν ἔρημος καὶ φοβερός*, 18: 2; cf. *τόπος ἀκατασκεύαστος καὶ φοβερός*, 21: 2), where the prison of the seven stars and of the fallen angels is situated (18: 9–19: 1). (In the parallel text (En. 21) the prisons of the angels and the stars are separate; the former suffer in the place which has a 'cleft (*διακοπή*) going as far as the abyss', filled with columns of the great fire, and identical therefore with the great gulf of the Book of the Visions of Enoch.)

The gulf or cleft of apocalyptic imagery reflects the mouth of the abyss of mythical geography. Now the residence of Ba'l, according to Ugaritic poems, is situated 'on the heights of the North . . . at the source of the rivers, in the middle of the channels of the two Oceans', *mrym ṣpn . . . mbk nhrm qrb apq thmtm.*[1] These Ugaritic expressions are found almost unaltered in En. 17: 7–8: *mbk nhrm* is equivalent to *ἡ ⟨πη⟩γὴ πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν* (v. 8); *apq thmtm* is *ἡ ἔκχυσις τῆς ἀβύσσου πάντων ὑδάτων* (v. 7), taken up by the simple *ἡ ἄβυσσος* in v. 8, *ἴδον τὸ στόμα τῆς ⟨πη⟩γῆς πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς ἀβύσσου.*

For the two authors of the Book of Watchers the abode of God, which is located by the second writer in paradise, is also situated essentially in the North, in particular if one looks at it on the vertical axis. It is into the pit beneath (or: below) *Ṣafôn*, the mountain of the North, that rebels are hurled

[1] Ed. Gordon, text 51 iv 19–22; cf. 49 i 5–6; 129: 4; II Aqhat vi 47–8; 'Anat pl. VI, v 14–15.

down (the star Hêlêl of Isa. 14: 12–15, the king of Tyre of Ezek. 28: 16–18). None the less, the needs of a cartographer and an apologist who are attempting to put into order conflicting traditions on the abodes of the gods, of the

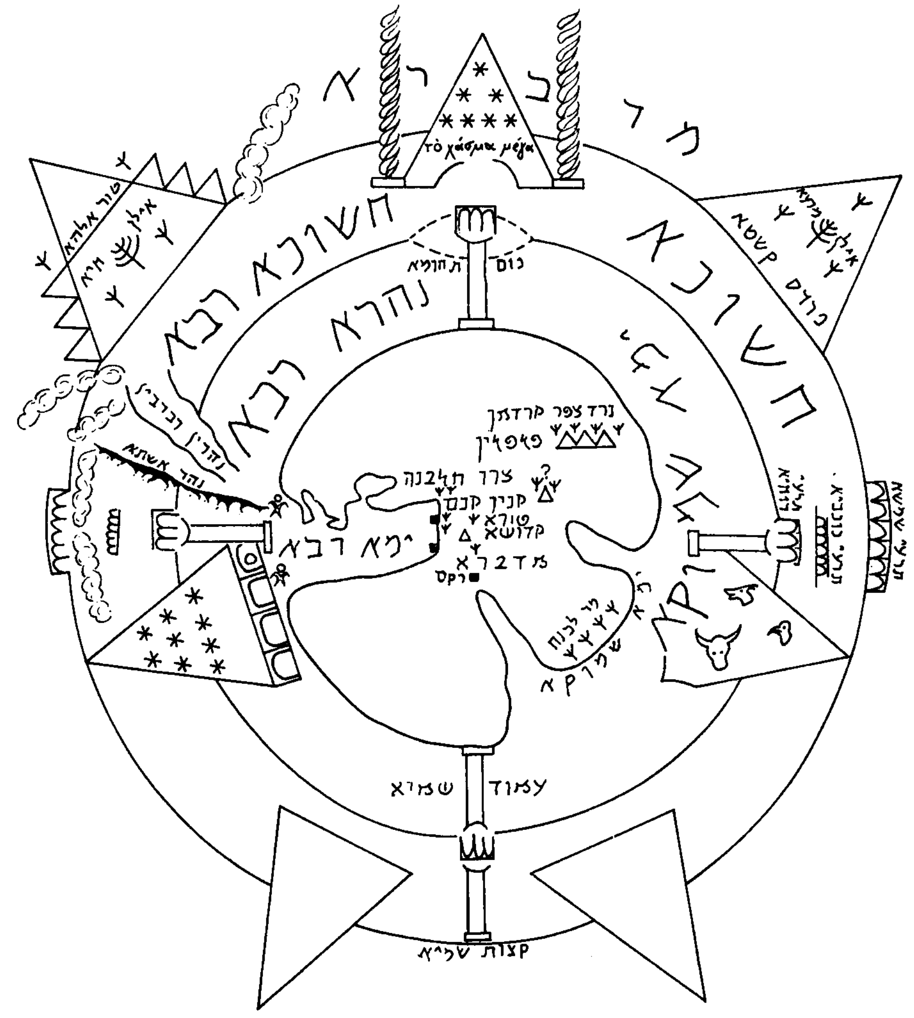


Fig. 5. The map of the world of Enoch 1–36

blessed, and of the damned, places scattered from the East, across the North, and as far as the West, will produce a mythical (and real) geography like that drawn in Fig. 5.

When this map of the world is compared with that in Fig. 3, it can easily be seen that the bipartite division of the 'World' beyond this world (the circular Ocean—seven regions and Paradise) shown in the maps of the

Astronomical Book and the Babylonian tablet now becomes distinctly tripartite (Ocean and Abyss—darkness and fire—double Paradise). Paradise is thus to be found in the third supra-terrestrial sphere (cf. 2 Cor. 12: 2–4).[1] The belief that Paradise is situated in the North (or in the North-West) is given practical, visual expression in the orientation of the Essene tombs at Ḫirbet Qumrân: the bodies are stretched out South–North, with the head on the southern side so that when brought to life the just elect will be facing the Paradise-Abode of God.[2]

THE BOOK OF DREAMS (En. 83–90), THE EPISTLE OF ENOCH (En. 91–108), AND THE BOOK OF GIANTS

The fourth section of the Ethiopic Enoch, the Book of Dreams, is represented by the fragments of four manuscripts, 4QEn[c] to 4QEn[f]. The last-mentioned, of which only one piece is preserved, is the oldest, from the third quarter of the second century B.C. The three others, En[c], En[d], and En[e], are from scrolls on which this book was combined with the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, and the Epistle of Enoch. A quarter of the original text of the Book of Dreams can be recovered from these fragments with their Aramaic context restored. In the orthography we should note the representation of the article by He (ערבה and ענה in En[e] 4 i 20 and 4 iii 21), rare exceptions in comparison with 'classical' forms.

The first dream of Enoch, which concerns the Flood (En. 83–4), is not preserved by any piece of 4QEnoch, but the second dream is well represented by many pieces. It has a more developed form in the Ethiopic version than in

[1] This observation is the starting-point from which I believe we can resolve the crux of 1QGenAp ii 23, where the editors have read ואזל לארקמת לפרוין ותמן אשכחה, and translated 'and he [Lamech] went off to . . . and he found him [Enoch] down there'. The term פרוין, 'paradise of mountains and trees in precious stones', has been adequately explained by P. Grelot in *Vetus Test.* xi (1961), 30–8 (with reference to a Jewish text which I have published in *RB* lxvi (1959), 567–75). Less successful, however, is his explanation of the first enigmatic term, which he proposes to read as לה קדמת ('straight away'), a reading which seems to me to take insufficient account of the traces of the letters which can be seen on the photograph. If the reproduction is examined more closely, only one letter in the transcription of Avigad, namely the penultimate, will be found to need alteration. The lower part of it is destroyed, but the upper part corresponds better to the upper stroke of Beth than to that of Mem. Accordingly I read לארכבת as one single word, in spite of the final form of the Kaph in the middle of a word (which does occur occasionally in the script of Qumrân manuscripts). I find this term again, just as it is here, in the Judaeo-Aramaic ארכבתא, meaning 'the upper layer, stratum (of the three)'. So here we are in the Paradise of precious mountains which constitutes the third and highest celestial sphere.

[2] Milik, *RB* lxv (1958), 77 n. 1.

the 4Q fragments; this may be the result of the paraphrastic work of translators, mainly of Abyssinian copyists, for two of the three Greek fragments which are still extant (En. 85: 10–86: 2 and 87: 1–3 in Oxyrhynchus Pap. 2069, fragments 1^r+2^r and 1^v+2^v, and En. 89: 42–9 in a Vatican manuscript) are fairly close to the Aramaic text.[1]

The fictitious framework of these two dreams, the teachings of Enoch to his son Methuselah (83: 1 and 85: 1–2), was borrowed from the Astronomical Book. The genealogy of the antediluvian sage is already that of Gen. 5: 15 ff., as his grandfather Mahalal'el is mentioned (83: 3 and 6). A new legendary detail is provided in the form of his wife's name, *Edna*: this was chosen deliberately, for *'ednâ* means in Aramaic 'The Paradise' (in Hebrew, *'ednah* is the feminine form of the masculine *'eden*). We know that the hero of the Babylonian flood, Utnapištim, lived at the mouth of the rivers with his wife;[2] so, it would seem, did the Sumerian Ziusudra.[3] In Berossus Xisouthros, at the time of his being carried off by the gods, was accompanied by his wife, his daughter, and his guide. Our writer also probably envisaged Enoch, as the resident of Paradise, in the company of his wife named 'Paradise'; according to Jub. 4: 20 she was called *Edni*, thus 'My Paradise', and *Edna* was Enoch's daughter-in-law (Jub. 4: 27).

The author emphasizes that Enoch had his dreams while he was still unmarried, the first when he was learning to write, and the second just before his marriage, En. 83: 2. We must not look in this for an 'ascetic' tendency, but rather an allusion to the rites of incubation which demanded temporary continence.

The second dream (En. 85–90) presents a tableau of world-history from the creation of the first man to the eschatological advent of the Kingdom of God. Individuals and peoples appear in this in the guise of various animals, whilst the angels are transformed into men dressed in white; the great protagonists of the sacred history, such as Noah (89: 1, 9) or Moses (89: 36, 38), are changed into men at the culminating moments of their careers. To retrace rapidly the distant past the writer uses books of the Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), Joshua, Judges (?), Samuel and Kings, perhaps the great prophets, and finally Ezra.[4]

[1] See below, notes to En[d] 2 iii (En. 89: 43–4) and to En[f] 1 (En. 86: 1–3).

[2] Text of *Gilgameš* quoted above, p. 33.

[3] '[provided] Ziusudra with a wife'; M. Civil, loc. cit. pp. 144–5, line 255*a* and the note on p. 172.

[4] It would be useful to undertake a detailed study of the Enochic text with a view to discovering whether it contains elements foreign to these books which later became canonical.

At the beginning of his 'zoomorphic' history, after the brief résumé of Gen. 2–5 (with the reference to the wife of Cain; see Jub. 4: 1, 9), the author interpolates a résumé of the Book of Watchers (En. 86 ff.), not without some significant alterations. The first star which falls from the sky (86: 1) is certainly identified with 'Aśa'el, as follows from 88: 1 which summarizes 10: 4 (cf. 90: 21). We infer, therefore, a fairly lenient attitude towards Šemîḥazah, which will be taken up by the author of the Book of Giants, who represents Šemîḥazah as a penitent (below, p. 328). The author of the Book of Dreams distinguishes three categories of children born of the union of angels and women (86: 4; 87: 3; 88: 2; 89: 6). They are not known to the author of the Book of Watchers, but they will reappear in Jubilees (7: 21–2). The four and the three 'white men' of 87: 2 obviously reflect the four archangels of 9: 1 and 10: 1–11 and the three additional angels of the list of the seven archangels given in 20; we find the same number again in 'these first seven white [men]' (90: 21). The role of guides to the patriarch, which 87: 3–4 and 90: 31 attribute to Uriêl, Raguêl, and Remiêl, is without exact parallel, certainly not for the last-named angel, in the Book of Watchers. The high tower in a high place from which Enoch will behold the destruction of the angels, giants, and men (87: 3–4) unites into a single place the first paradisiac abode of Enoch, the heavenly palace, and the mountain-throne of God (14, and 24–5 = 18). In 88: 1–89: 1 En. 10 is faithfully summarized. According to 89: 52 the Lord of the flock brings a ewe, Elias, up to Enoch, who is lodging in the tower.

From the fall of Israel and Judah onwards (89: 56 and 66) the author introduces the seventy shepherds and their servants, who in succession rule the people of Israel (89: 59 ff.). On this part of the Book of Dreams, which presupposes the existence of a document dividing the sacred history into seventy periods, see pp. 248–54. It is possible that the author of the Book of Dreams attributed the composition of this chronological document to Enoch himself, for he makes the patriarch intervene at this point: 'And I began to cry out with all my strength, and to call upon the Lord of the sheep, and I showed him that the sheep were devoured by all the wild beasts' (89: 57; cf. vv. 67 and 69).

From the fourth epoch of the seventy periods, which begins towards the year 200 B.C. (En 90: 6 ff.), the writer recounts events which are contemporaneous with himself: the formation of the party of the Hasidaeans (vv. 6–7), the murder of the high priest Onias in the summer of 170 B.C. (v. 8), the exploits of the Maccabaeans, in particular of Judas, the ram with a

large horn (v. 9). In vv. 13–15 the author describes, unquestionably in my opinion, the battle of Bethsur which took place at the beginning of the year 164 B.C. Judas 'cried out for aid. And I saw the man arrive who had inscribed the names of the shepherds..., he came down to help this ram..., and those who saw him all ran away, and they all fell into the darkness (fleeing) before him.' This belief in a heavenly apparition at the time of the engagement of Bethsur is found again in 2 Macc. 11: 6–12: 'When Maccabaeus and his followers learned that [Lysias] was besieging the fortresses, they begged the Lord with wailing and tears, in concert with the crowd, to send a good angel to save Israel. Maccabaeus himself, the first to take up arms, exhorted the others to expose themselves with him to danger to aid their brothers. They thus sprang forward, filled with eagerness; they were still close to Jerusalem when a horseman dressed in white appeared at the head of them brandishing a piece of golden weapon. Then at once all blessed the God of mercies and felt themselves quickened with such ardour that they were ready to pierce not only men but also the wildest beasts and defensive walls of iron. So they advanced in battle-order, helped by an ally from heaven, the Lord having had pity on them. Thus they swooped down upon the enemies like lions, laid low on the ground eleven thousand infantrymen and sixteen hundred horsemen, and forced the others to flee.'

The author of the Book of Dreams began to compose his work under the overwhelming impact of this direct intervention by God in the affairs of his people. En. 90: 16 describes the political situation during this memorable year 164 B.C.: 'All the eagles, vultures, crows, and hawks assembled, and they brought with them all the wild asses, and they all came together and they met together to break this ram's horn into fragments.' This is a clear allusion to the threat of joint military intervention by the neighbouring peoples which hangs over victorious Israel. To forestall it, from the spring of 163 B.C., preventive expeditions were led by the Maccabaeans to Idumaea, Ammon, Galilee, Gilead, and Philistia (1 Macc. 5: 1–68 and 2 Macc. 10: 14–38 and 12: 10–45); already by the summer of 164 B.C., it seems, raids were being made by Judas against Joppa and Jamnia (2 Macc. 12: 1–9). At the next verse (90: 17) we pass from the historical to the apocalyptic part of the work. The Book of Dreams was accordingly composed during 164 B.C., probably in the early months of the year, during the few weeks which followed the battle of Bethsur.

In the apocalyptic part of the work the abode of God is established on the hill of the temple of Jerusalem (90: 20 ff.); the abyss of fire into which the

angels and the sinners will be hurled is situated 'to the right of this house' (vv. 26 and 28) and hence in the valley of Gehenna, just as the Judaean author of the Book of Watchers believed (En. 27). The author of the Book of Dreams firmly believes in the close imminence of eschatological events, and even that they will occur during the lifetime of Judas Maccabaeus, for 'this ram' who, along with the three angels, accompanies Enoch to the place of the Last Judgement (v. 31), is, without a doubt, the hero of Emmaus and Bethsur.

In his description of the eschatological era the author insists on the dynamic and progressive character of events, an idea which will be exploited in the Apocalypse of Weeks (En. 93 and 91). On the other hand, according to our writer, the final era will merely be a repetition, completely perfect this time, of the primordial era. The 'white bull' of 90: 37 is obviously the new Adam (Adam 'white bull', 85: 3), but more glorious than the first, for 'his horns are large'. Just as the descendants of Adam were 'white bulls' (85: 8–10), so the contemporaries of the second Adam will become 'all white bulls' (90: 38). The successor to the eschatological white Bull will be 'a wild ox which has large black horns on its head' (90: 38).[1] Our apocalyptic writer wishes merely to express the increased power of this eschatological patriarch. He implies that the eschatological history will pursue, in this upward direction, the succeeding generations of more and more glorious and perfect men, in distinct contrast to the first history, with its descending sequence: bulls—calves—sheep, surrounded by injurious animals and birds.

The Book of Dreams was well known to the author of the book of Jubilees: 'He saw in a dream-vision the past and the future, what will happen to the children of men until the day of judgement; he saw and understood everything, he put his witness down in writing . . .' (4: 19).

Translated into Greek, the Book of Dreams was occasionally furnished with notes explaining the identity of the animals. It is from such a commentary to our work (possibly repeated, in extracts, by some Byzantine chronicler) that the fragment of the Greek Vatican MS. 1809 comes, in which the passage of En. 89: 42–9 is followed by this text (lines 7–16):[2]

Δαβὶδ γὰρ τοὺς Χαναναίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀμαλὴκ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἀμμὼν πολεμήσας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ περιεγένετο αὐτῶν.

[1] The Aramaic ראמא was transcribed into Greek *ρημα*, understood as 'speech', *nagar*, by the Ethiopic translator (an excellent conjecture made by Dillmann, who however derived the meaning from the Hebrew ראם, *ρημ*).

[2] M. Gitlbauer, *Die Ueberreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809*, pp. 94–5.

εἰς τοὺς ἀλώπεκας] τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἀμμών,
τοὺς ὗας] ὄντας τοῦ Ἀμαλὴκ καὶ ἑξῆς,
τοὺς κύνας] τοὺς Ἀλλοφύλους· οὓς καὶ
Φυλισταίους ὀνομάζειν ἔθος τῇ Γραφῇ.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁράσει ἀναγέγραπται τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι τῆς συντελείας.

Less fortunate with his identifications was the writer who composed, in about the eighteenth century, the *Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and of the Earth*;[1] for him the Ammonites are scorpions, the Amalekites eagles, the Philistines foxes, the Egyptians hyenas, and the Edomites wolves.[2]

Elsewhere the Book of Dreams is quoted once only, in a recapitulatory manner, by the Epistle of Barnabas 16: 5:[3] *Πάλιν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ παραδίδοσθαι, ἐφανερώθη. Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· "Καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμέρων, καὶ* (om. multi MSS. Graeci et versio Latina) *παραδώσει Κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν". Καὶ ἐγένετο καθ' ἃ ἐλάλησεν Κύριος.* This quotation is generally compared with En. 89: 56–74. But the precise detail, 'at the end of time', which was essential for the author of the Epistle, makes me think rather of En. 90: 26–8: 'And I saw at that time a precipice . . . And these blinded sheep were brought and they were . . . cast into this abyss of fire and they burned . . . And I rose to watch until they folded up that old house (sc. Jerusalem) and all the columns were swept away . . . and they were cast into a place to the right of the earth.' After this quotation the pseudo-Barnabas asks himself: *Ζητήσωμεν δέ, εἰ ἔστιν ναὸς θεοῦ; ἔστιν, ὅπου αὐτὸς λέγει ποιεῖν καὶ καταρτίζειν* (16, 5).[4] The last two verbs, *ποιεῖν καὶ καταρτίζειν*, make an implicit allusion to En. 90: 29: 'And I watched till the Lord of the Sheep brought a new house . . . all its columns were new, and its ornaments were new . . .' Note, however, that the author of the Epistle (or rather the compiler of a Christian manual of anti-Jewish testimonia) did not understand properly the symbolical language of the Book of Dreams. 'The People of Israel' is correctly identified with 'the Sheep of the pasture' (even if 'the Sheep', ענא in Aramaic, alone would suffice), and 'the Tower' (probably Aramaic בירתא) with 'the Temple'; but 'the Sheepfold' is certainly not 'the Town (of Jerusalem)', which is usually called 'the House'

[1] Ed. S. Grébaut, *PO* vi, 3 (1911), 395 [137].

[2] The Egyptians are correctly identified with the wolves of En. 89: 19 ff. in *CSCO* 235/*Aeth.* 43 (236/44, Versio), p. 81, 26–7 (p. 71, 29–30)

[3] Eds. P. Prigent and R. A. Kraft, *SC* 172 (1971), 190.

[4] For the reference to En. 91: 13 which follows, see below, p. 257.

(ביתא; En. 89: 50, 54, 56, 66, 72 and 90: 28, 29, 33, 36). Moreover, the quotation of Barn. 16: 5 is a conglomerate of expressions scattered all over our Enochic writing. The phrase 'the Lord (of the Sheep) delivers the Sheep' occurs in En. 89: 56 and 74; 'delivering for destruction' in 89: 63, 70, 74; 'the slaughter (of the Sheep) in their pastures (מרעיא)' in 89: 54; the abandonment and destruction of the House and of the Tower in 89: 56 and 66. The term 'enclosure, sheepfold' (Eth. *'aṣad*, Gr. *μάνδρα*, Aram. דירא) designates 'the Promised Land' in En. 93: 6; the same word is used, in a quite different context, in 86: 2 and 89: 34–5.

The influence of Enochic writings, and of the book of Daniel, on subsequent apocalyptic literature, Jewish and Christian, does not need to be proved. Thus, for example, an allusion to En. 90: 22–5 can be detected in the Apocalypse of Elijah, the Coptic version of which is partly overlapped by a fragment of papyrus of the fourth century: 'He shall judge the *shepherds of* the people, he shall require of them all that *the flock* has done; they will be delivered to him *without ruse*, *ποιμένας τοῦ [λαοῦ . . .] τὴν νομὴν τ̣[. . .] ἄνευ δόλου . . [. . .]*.' The text goes on: '*When Elijah and Enoch* descend, they will devour the flesh of *the world*, they will take up the spiritual flesh, and they will *pur*sue the son of unrighteousness': *ὅ̣τε Ἠλείας καὶ Ἐν[ὼχ . . .] τοῦ κόσμ[ου . . .] κ̣ατα[διώκουσιν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς ἀδικίας]*.[1]

In the language of later apocalyptic writings, however, it is not easy to determine the direct borrowings from a given apocalypse. Themes such as the slaughter of the wicked by the sword which has descended from heaven, or that of the judgement in the midst of the earth, which are found, for example, in Lactantius, *Inst. div.* vii. 19, 5 (ed. Brandt, p. 645), could well come from En. 90: 19 and 26 (Charles, p. xc), but no doubt through successive intermediaries, beginning with Jub. 5: 9 and 8: 19, passing through the Sibylline Oracles, and so on.

The fifth and last section of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (En. 91–108) in ancient times certainly had the title Epistle of Enoch, according to the evidence of the subscription in the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus (CM), *Ἐπιστολὴ Ἐνώχ*, a title repeated in the text itself, *τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης* (En. 100: 6).[2] In the fragmentary material of Qumrân Cave 4 this document is represented by two manuscripts, En[g] and En[c], the first offering a substantial

[1] See Wessely, *PO* xviii, 3 (1924), 487–8 [263–4] and Steindorff, *Die Apocalypse des Elias* in *TU*, N.F. ii. 3, 1899.

[2] 'of this book' E; see also below, note to En[g] 1 ii 21.

part of the beginning of the work (En. 91–4), the second preserving several pieces of En. 104–7. If we add to this the CM papyrus which offers the Greek text, more or less complete, of 97–107 (and in addition, two tiny Greek fragments of the same papyrus, a Coptic fragment belonging to the beginning, and a Latin fragment belonging to the end of the book), we have the best preserved of the works attributed to Enoch, after the Book of Watchers, either in its Greek version (and its derivatives) or in its samples of the original Aramaic text.

The Aramaic text of 4QEn^{g} has definitely confirmed the hypothesis of critics of the Ethiopic Enoch who placed the description of the three last Weeks of the Apocalypse of Weeks (En. 91: 11–17) after that of the first seven Weeks (93: 3–10). Calculations made on the original state of the scroll which contained this manuscript, as also some phrases preserved in Aramaic, show without any doubt that the beginning of the Epistle of Enoch (91: 1–10) was more fully developed in the original than in the Ethiopic version. The Aramaic text corresponding to 92: 3–5 was also longer, and the section 93: 11–14 (itself quite different from the Ethiopic text) was preceded by an analogous text three times as long as the Ethiopic passage. C. Bonner, the editor of the CM papyrus, also came to the conclusion that the beginning of the Greek version was more elaborate than the Ethiopic.[1]

From chapter 94 onwards (certainly from 97: 6, where CM begins) and up to the end of the work the Ethiopic text reproduces the Greek model relatively well, notwithstanding very numerous variations in detail and some more notable divergences (e.g. in 98: 5; 99: 11–12; 102: 1–3 and 7–9; 103: 15; 104: 4–5). The CM papyrus does not contain En. 108, a fact which must reflect the primitive state of the Epistle of Enoch. The work was certainly not known to the author of the book of Jubilees. In this respect I am in agreement with Charles, and in disagreement with those who find reference to it in Jub. 4: 18 (which is in fact a reference to various astronomical and calendrical texts) or in 4: 19 (a reference to the Book of Dreams; see above, p. 45). The date of 4QEn^{g}, towards the middle of the first century B.C., constitutes the *terminus ante quem* of the composition of the Epistle. An important indication may be drawn from the orthography of En^{g}, which retains several astonishingly archaic elements that must come directly from the author's autograph, for instance, very elaborate defective forms and, above all, זי instead of די. The last-mentioned feature, normal in imperial Aramaic,

[1] This is confirmed by my hypothetical identification of two small pieces of CM; see below, notes to En^{g} 1 i and 1 ii 22–3.

was to survive as an archaism for some time after the year 100 B.C., for example, in Nabataean. The orthography of En[c], which was copied from a written model in an orthography similar to that of 1QIs[a] and 1QS, likewise points towards the year 100 B.C. On the other hand, literary analysis of the work will scarcely provide us with the chronological details which it was thought could be found in it.

Commentators on this part of the Ethiopic Enoch conjecture that the author was a pious Pharisee who denounces the Sadducaean party as being penetrated with Hellenistic influences and enjoying the support of the Hasmonaean princes; on this supposition he wrote after Hyrcanus' split with the Pharisaic party, most probably during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, or possibly under the successors of Alexandra. But the central motif of the work is quite clearly the economic differentiation of poor and rich, which is treated as approximately equivalent to the ethical discrimination of 'righteous' and 'sinners'. The latter are flatly accused of idolatry (99: 6–9; cf. 91: 9 and 104: 9), which is quite unthinkable with regard to the Sadducaeans and the Hasmonaeans, whatever might be their supposed transgressions in respect of the Mosaic law according to Pharisaic (or, we should add, Essene) interpretation. The appropriate framework for the denunciations of the Enochic writer is, in my opinion, the milieu of a prosperous Greek city where the Jews live as an economically 'under-developed' minority. Naturally, at the very heart of such an Israelite community there would occur splits between the 'Orthodox' and the Hellenizers, 'who transgress the eternal covenant' (*διαστρέφοντες τὴν αἰωνίον* (*αγωνιον* MS.) *διαθήκην*, 99: 2), and 'who scorn the foundation and the eternal heritage of their fathers' (*οἱ ἐξουθενοῦντες τὴν θεμ[ελί]ωσιν καὶ τὴν κληρονομία[ν τῶν πα]τέρων αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπ' αἰῶνος*, 99: 14). The rich sinners trample the righteous poor under foot and oppress them continually (95: 7; 96: 5, 8; 103: 9–15; 104: 3). It may be doubted if 'the princes' of the Ethiopic version at 103: 14 represents the original reading; what corresponds to it in the analogous text of 104: 3 in CM is *βιαζομένων*. Occasionally there comes a day of affliction brought about by the sinners when the righteous must shelter from the persecution of the wicked (96: 2), a day of terrible anguish when the sinners afflict and keep (meaning?) the righteous in fire (*καὶ φυλάξητ[ε] αὐτοὺς ἐν πυρεί*, 100: 7). All this scarcely seems to go beyond the bounds of commercial and artisan rivalry in a town and an occasional 'pogrom', caused, moreover, indirectly by the military adventures of a Hyrcanus or a Jannaeus against the towns, the ethnarchs, and the Greek kings.

As a traditional Jewish scribe, the author of the Epistle of Enoch shows himself to be particularly sensitive to the spreading, among his co-religionists, of works of Greek literature and above all euhemeristic works composed in Greek by the Jews themselves. He deplores that 'sinners alter the words of truth and contradict and change many of them and they lie and perpetrate numerous (literary) forgeries and they rewrite the (holy) Scriptures under their own names' ([*τοὺς λόγους*] *τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξαλλοιοῦσιν καὶ ἀντι*[*γρά*]*φουσιν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ἀλλάσσουσι*[*ν*] *τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ ψεύδονται* (-*τε* MS.) *καὶ πλάσσο*[*υσιν*] *πλάσματα μεγάλα καὶ τὰς γραφὰς ἀν*[*αγρά*]*φουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐτῶν*, 104: 10; cf. 98: 15). We must suppose him to be referring to the historical and apologetical works, in prose and in verse, of Demetrius, of Philon the Ancient, of Eupolemus, Artapan, Aristeas, Cleodemus-Malkâ, of pseudo-Hecataeus, Ezekiel the Tragic, and so on. Against this Graeco-Jewish religious literature he sets his own pseudepigraphical work. He wishes, certainly, that it shall be used with respect but he allows it to be disseminated under other names than that of the patriarch which he assumes (*καὶ ὄφελον πάντας τοὺς λόγους μου γράφω*[*σιν*] *ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν* (*αυτου* MS.) *καὶ* [*μή*]*τε ἀφέλωσιν μήτε ἀλλοιώσωσιν* (-*σουσιν* MS.) *τῶν λόγων τούτων* (*τον λογον τουτον* MS.), *ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐπ' ἀληθείας γράφωσιν ἃ ἐγὼ διαμαρτυροῦμαι αὐτοῖς*, 104: 11). In antediluvian perspective the literary activity of the Hellenistic era is naturally a mystery (104: 10). A second mystery will be the diffusion of various Enochic documents (*αἱ βίβλοι μου*; Eth. omits *μου*) among the 'just, holy, and wise' men of the same age (104: 12–13).

The Greek town in which the author of the Epistle of Enoch lived could well have been a port on the Palestinian coast. The passage on the 'captains of ships' (*ναύκληροι*, 101: 4–9) contrasts sharply, in its sober familiarity with the facts of the sea, with the simple metaphor of the vessel tossed by the tempest which is found, for example, in the book of Hymns (1QH iii 13–18, vi 22–4). Equally characteristic of someone used to the maritime voyages of his Greek fellow citizens is the apostrophe of 97: 7: *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ* ⟨*οἱ*⟩ *ἐν μέσῳ* (*εμμεσο* MS.) *τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς ὄντες· μνημόσυνον εἰς ὑμᾶς κακόν* (*κακων* MS.) (for the second phrase cf. 96: 7). These formulas repeat, with the opposite meaning, expressions of daily life perpetuated by inscriptions and graffiti: 'may his memory be good (*dkrnh lṭb*)', 'saved from the dangers of sea and land'. The exact equivalent of the expression 'on sea and on dry land' is found again, for example, in the Palmyrene dedications: 'To the One whose name be blessed for ever, the Good and the Merciful, (such a one) gives thanks, for he called upon Him on sea and dry land, and He gave

ear to everything that he asked Him', *bryk šmh l'lm' ṭb' wrḥmn' mwd'* . . . *dy qrlh bym' wbybš' w'nh* [*bk*]*l dy qrh* (*CIS* ii 4047).[1]

Living in a distant town the author of the Epistle of Enoch could not follow too closely the fashions of Judaean scribes, such as those of Jerusalem or Ḫirbet Qumrân (above, p. 23). Likewise his Aramaic dialect contained some peculiarities, for example the particle of exclamation בל in 106: 13 (En^c 5 ii 17).[2]

Despite the fiercely hostile attitude of our writer, the cultural and intellectual influence of the Greek environment none the less breaks through. It reveals itself in his treatment of eschatological themes, which is sober and discreet compared with the visionary exuberance of his Aramaic sources, the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams.

For pseudepigraphical fiction the author of the Epistle draws on the framework of the Astronomical Enoch and the Book of Dreams, that is, the teachings of the patriarch to his son Methuselah, to whom our writer adds his brothers (91: 1–3). After a brief parainesis and an eschatological passage (91: 4–10, 18–19 and 92: 1–5), he skilfully outlines the Apocalypse of Weeks (93: 1–10 and 91: 11–17), the distant archetype of which was perhaps also attributed to Enoch (above, p. 43). It is, however, reworked according to the personal views of the compiler, who further elaborates the Apocalypse of the seventy periods outlined by the author of the Book of Dreams (see below, pp. 248–56). This initial part of the work ends with a sapiential poem, formulated in rhetorical questions, concerning the transcendence of God, which is, however, nothing but a disguised eulogy of Enoch and his ultra-terrestrial journeys (93: 11–14).

Essentially, however, our writer gives his book the form of an Aramaic letter. Since the Assyrian and Persian era Aramaic letters, after the formulas of salutation to the addressees, had begun with *wk't*, *wk'nt*, *wk'n*, the adverb being repeated at the beginning of each new section of the text. It is also with just such a formula, וכען לכון אנה אמר בני, that the body of the Epistle of Enoch begins (94: 1; En^g 1 v 24). A letter of Enoch had already been incorporated into the Book of Watchers, but being an indictment it became an 'anti-epistle': instead of 'peace to you' it ended 'there is no peace for you' (above, p. 35). Our author obviously drew on this, punctuating his

[1] Cf. ibid. 4084: [*dy*] *qrlh bybš' wbym'*, and *Inv.* xi 35 (my reading): . . . *dy qr' lh* [*bẙ*]*bš' wbym'* [*w*]*'nyh wšwzbh w'ḥyh*, '. . . for he called upon Him, on dry land and on sea, and He answered his prayer, saved him, and brought him back to life'.

[2] This is found too in Nabataean Aramaic, which also used the relative pronoun *zy* up to the first half of the first century B.C.; see Milik, *DJD* ii, p. 174, note to Mur 72 1 3.

text with *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν χαίρειν* (94: 6; 98: 11, 16; 99: 13; ⟨101: 3, omitted in CM⟩; 102: 3; 103: 8).[1]

This 'anti-epistolary' feature is evident again in other expressions of good and bad wishes to the addressees. Besides the infrequent expressions of encouragement, such as *θαρσεῖτε* (102: 4 and 104: 2; cf. 96: 1 and 97: 1) and *μακάριοι* (99: 10 and 103: 5), there are no fewer than about thirty occurrences of 'woe betide you', *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν*.[2] To the epistolary style belongs also the solemn formula 'and now I swear to you', *καὶ νῦν ὀμνύω ὑμῖν*, addressed either to the wise and the just (98: 1; 103: 1; 104: 1) or to the sinners (98: 4, 6; 99: 6).[3]

The principal subject of the Book of Watchers (En. 1–36), namely the fall of the angels and their punishment, is only touched on in passing and dealt with very discreetly in the Epistle. The final judgement on the 'watchers of heaven' is placed in the tenth week of the Apocalypse of Weeks (91: 15). A second allusion to the punishment of the wicked angels is found in 100: 4, where there is an important detail which was obliterated in the Ethiopic version, and which has escaped the attention of the editor of CM: *καὶ καταβήσονται ἄγγελοι καταδύνοντες εἰς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, οἵτινες ἐβοήθουν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, καὶ συστραφήσονται εἰς ἕνα τόπον*.[4] The angels who are referred to here are not the assistants of God at the Last Judgement, as the Ethiopic took them to be, but quite clearly the fallen angels punished in the way described by the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams. They will be hurled down (*καταβήσονται* should be translated in the transitive-causative sense), and they will be engulfed like the setting stars in a hidden region, gathered all together in one single place (in their eternal prison). It seems to me very significant that the author of the Epistle neglects the profusion of detail provided by the two other Enochic works on the subject of the places of detention of the fallen angels and the erring stars. Even more significant is the phrase which characterizes the function of the demons, *οἵτινες ἐβοήθουν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ* 'who were assisting (the men who commit) injustice'. The active presence of spiritual beings in the

[1] The scribe of CM makes the last word *χαίρειν* prominent by leaving a blank space in front of it (99: 13 (pl. 3, 14); 102: 3 (pl. 7, 15); 103: 8 (pl. 8, 25)). The salutation *χαίρειν*, separated from the text, ends the Greek letters, and occasionally inscriptions, of that period (Bonner, p. 14).

[2] 94: 6–8; 95: 4–7; 96: 4–8; 97: 7–8; 98: 9–99: 2; 99: 11–15 (CM three times, E five times); 100: 7–9; 103: 5 omitted in CM; (*vacat οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν vacat χαίρειν*).

[3] Cf., e.g., Mur 43 3 (*DJD* ii, p. 160 note ad loc.).

[4] Bonner, p. 49, moves the last *καὶ* before *οἵτινες* in order to bring the Greek text more or less into line with E^{t} and E$^{\beta}$.

world of men is thus in no way the first cause of evil on the earth, as the two authors of the Book of Watchers taught. The same idea of the subsidiary role of the wicked spirits in the diffusion of sin recurs in 97: 4, '. . . those against whom this word witnesses "You have been the companions (sc. the accomplices) of sinners"', an explicit quotation recapitulating En. 13: 2 and 16: 3. In the passage of 100: 1–3 which describes how 'in these days, in a single place' the sinners will kill one another, fathers their sons, brothers their brothers, the author borrows phrases from the account of the mutual massacre of the giants (10: 9–12; 12: 6; 14: 6; 16: 1; cf. Jub. 5: 9).

The author of the Epistle of Enoch returns to the problem of the origin of evil in a remarkable passage which it is desirable to quote *in extenso* (98: 4–5). The beginning is preserved only in the Ethiopic; (apart from some words in CM from the end of this passage): 'I swear to you, sinners, that as a mountain has never become and never will become a slave, nor a hill a servant of woman, so sin has not been sent down to the earth; but men have created it themselves, and those who commit it will be under a great curse.' This is a polemic, tinged with irony, against the principal argument of the Book of Watchers. Restrained, however, by the rules of pseudepigraphy (Enoch cannot contradict himself from one of his works to the next), our writer resorts to a bold metaphor. Just as the mountain cannot change its nature and become a slave, so a spiritual being cannot become carnal. He thus categorically denies the myth of the descent of the angels and their union with the women, which, according to the Book of Watchers, explains the presence of evil in the world. Man alone, insists our author, is the *fons et origo* of moral evil.

He takes up this idea again immediately afterwards in the passage (lost almost entirely in E) where he also rejects the 'heavenly', natural origin of social injustice and physical imperfections (CM, pl. 2, lines 4–12):

καὶ στείρᾳ γυναικεὶ οὐκ ἐδόθη ἄλ[οχος δι-]
ὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν. ὅτι οὐχ ὡρίσθη δο[ῦλον]
εἶναι· {ε}ἡ δούλην ἄνωθεν οὐκ ἐδό[θη]
ἀλλὰ ἐκ καταδυναστείας ἐγένετο. ὁ[μοίως]
οὐδὲ ἡ ἀνομία ἄνωθεν ἐδόθη ἀλλ' ἐκ
παραβάσεως. ὁμοίως οὐδὲ στεῖρα
γυνὴ ἐκτίσθη ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰδίων ἀδικημά-
των ἐπετειμήθη· ἀτεκνίᾳ ἄτεκνος
ἀποθανεῖται.[1]

[1] Discussion of this passage in Bonner, pp. 36–7. For lines 4–5 he stops at *καὶ δουλεία*

I restore at the end of line 4 *ἄλοχος*, 'wife, concubine, maid-servant', and I understand this phrase as follows: 'And the sterile woman does not have a maid-servant (only) for manual work'; the concubine can give her master an heir. The idea of the fundamental equality of men is clearly formulated in the next phrase: the condition of slavery has not been established by God; it has its origins in tyrannical oppression. Likewise legal and moral disorder, *ἀνομία*, does not come from on high (that is, by divine permission for the descent of the angels), but springs from transgression, *παράβασις*, the violation of the Law willed by man himself. Similarly sterility (a typical example for the author of physical evil) is not an innate imperfection, but constitutes a punishment of the sins of woman.

The good spirits, according to the author of the Epistle, are above all the heavenly scribes who record the actions of the just and of the sinners (104: 1; cf. 97: 6; 98: 6–8; 103: 3; 104: 7). They will become guardian angels of the just at the moment of the judgement of the impious (100: 5). The Judgement will be executed by God himself (91: 7). The author speaks, it seems, of the resurrection of the just in 91: 10 and in 92: 3, but the Aramaic text of these two passages has not been preserved in 4QEn[g]. The windows of heaven will be opened to the just, and they will shine like luminaries (104: 2; cf. 92: 4 and 96: 3). But the just are not 'children of heaven', as the Ethiopic claims at 101: 1; CM reads *ἀνθρώπων*. Neither does the Greek have the two Ethiopic references to the association of the just with the angels (104: 4) and with the army of heaven (104: 6). The beatific survival of just men is thus essentially spiritual, concerning only their souls and spirits (103: 3–4). Consistently with this, it will be the souls of the sinners which will suffer eternally (102: 11 and 103: 7–8).

The passage 104: 11–105: 2 constitutes the *explicit* of the Epistle of Enoch, with the customary wish of a writer that his work may be copied faithfully and spread abroad assiduously. Chapter 105 existed in the original, apart from the Christian gloss at verse 2 (see En[c] 5 i 21–4); it was omitted in CM by homoeoteleuton.

The author of the Epistle certainly, in my opinion, intended to write a fifth Book of Enoch, completing the four existing books (*αἱ βίβλοι μου*, En. 104: 12) in the same way as Deuteronomy completes the four other books of the Mosaic Pentateuch. Both Deuteronomy and the Epistle contain

γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐδόθη ἀλ[λα' δι]ὰ ⟨*τὰ*⟩ *ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν* (⟨*τὰ*⟩ Kenyon). Line 5 end: *δο[ύλην]* Bonner, *δο[ῦλον]* Kenyon; line 6 beginning: {*εη*} Bonner, *ἢ* Kenyon; line 11: *ἀτεκνίᾳ* ⟨*καὶ*⟩ Bonner.

the last exhortations of patriarchs, and they both constitute a 'second Law' which makes precise and modifies doctrines and prescriptions contained in the earlier writings. In the Epistle of Enoch the modification of the apocalyptic teaching, and especially the tacit polemics against the doctrine on the union of fallen angels with women are particularly striking when confronted with the parallel contents of the preceding Enochic books.

En. 106–7 certainly does not come from the hand of the author of 91–105; in this the scholars of the past were absolutely right. In 91–2 the instruction of Methuselah and of his brothers took place at the time of Enoch's life on earth. But in 106: 7–8 Methuselah betakes himself, for a consultation on the miraculous birth of Noah, 'to the limits of the earth' where Enoch 'dwells with the angels'. This so-called Noachic fragment is nothing but a summary which serves as a reference (a sort of catchword) to a work in which the birth and the life of the Hebrew hero of the Flood were recounted in greater detail.

This 'Book of Noah' was summarized in Aramaic, undoubtedly its original language, by the compiler of 1QGenesis Apocryphon. Unfortunately the original scroll is badly damaged, and only a few longer passages, notably col. ii, and a handful of phrases have so far been made known to the learned public.[1] A Hebrew version of such a summary may be preserved in fragments of 1Q**19**.[2] In En. 106–7, and the corresponding fragments of 4QEn[c], we have a third, and the most reduced, résumé of 'the Book of Noah'.

The story of the birth of Noah occupied five columns of 1QGenAp. One of the most original themes of this story is the fear of the child's father that the new-born baby might be the issue of the union of his wife with an angelical being: די מן עירין הריאתא ומן קדישין הׇעְדִּיׅאׄ, 'that the conception had been from the Watchers, and the pregnancy from the Holy Ones' (1QGenAp ii 1).[3] Lamech is assured solemnly by his wife, Bat'enôš: די מנך זרעא דן ומנך הריונא דן . . . ולא מן כול זר ולא מן כול עירין ולא מן מול בני שמי̇[ן], 'that thine is this seed and from thee is this conception . . . and it is no stranger's, nor is it of any of the Watchers or of the Sons of Heaven' (col. ii 15–16). But the definitive assurance comes from Enoch,

[1] Eds. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, Jerusalem 1956; some fragments of the same manuscript were published by me in *DJD* i, pp. 86–7 and pl. XVII (1Q**20**).

[2] *DJD* i, pp. 84–6 and pl. XVI.

[3] העדיא, inf. Hophal of עדא is my reading; ה̇[. .]א edd.; Haphel and Aphel interchange in GenAp, as they do in 4QEn[e] and in Biblical Aramaic.

whom Methuselah visited in Paradise: [...ולא מן בני]שמין להן מן למך [...ב]רך, '...and not from the Sons of Heaven but from Lamech thy son...' (col. v 4; ed., p. 18). Similar phrases occur in En. 106: 5, 6, 12.[1] In columns vi to xvii of the Genesis Apocryphon the life-story of Noah was continued, finishing with the division of the earth among his children (cols. xvi–xvii).

A few years ago J. Starcky published an important fragment which he considered to be 'Un texte messianique araméen de la Grotte 4 de Qumrân'.[2] Shortly afterwards, J. A. Fitzmyer suggested that one could see in this a narrative of the birth of Noah.[3] This hypothesis seemed attractive to me right away, and can now be regarded as established, thanks to the identification of three other copies of the same account.[4] A passage represented by two manuscripts certainly relates the birth of Noah in great detail, since it even gives the weight of the baby: [מ]תקל תקלין תלת מאה.[5] In my opinion, these four Aramaic manuscripts (and the Hebrew version in 4Q186) belong to a 'Book of Noah' in which the birth of the Patriarch (with an astrological section giving a series of horoscopes), and probably his whole life, was narrated in great detail.

A 'Book of Noah', containing a section on ritual, is quoted by the Greek version of the Aramaic Testament of Levi: *ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Νῶε περὶ τοῦ αἵματος*.[6] The same source was also used by the author of the book of Jubilees: 'for thus I have found it written in the book of my ancestors, likewise in the Words of Enoch (!) and in the Words of Noah' (21: 10). The prohibition against eating blood—the subject of the two passages just quoted above—was dealt with in the Genesis Apocryphon col. xi (כול דם לא תאכלון, line 17; ed., p. 20); other injunctions of Noah to his sons occupied, among other things, cols. xiii to xv (ed., p. 21). Thus the date of the Aramaic Testament of Levi (end of the fourth century or the first half of the third century B.C.) constitutes a *terminus ante quem* of the composition of the Book of Noah.

En. 106–7 already existed in the scroll of 4QEn^c, separated from the pre-

[1] The same motif recurs in the Protevangelium of James, where Joseph expresses his suspicions in the words: *φοβοῦμαι μήπως ἀγγελικόν ἐστιν τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῇ*, xiv 1 (ed. E. de Strycker, 1961, pp. 126–8).

[2] *Mémorial du Cinquantenaire, École des langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, 1964, pp. 51–66.

[3] 'The Aramaic "Elect of God" Text from Qumrân Cave IV', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, xxvii (1965), 348–72.

[4] One of them is mentioned by Starcky, p. 51, who also alludes to the Hebrew text published later by J. M. Allegro in *DJD* v (1968), 88–91 and pl. XXXI: 4Q186.

[5] Cf. Milik, *Ten Years*, p. 35, and Fitzmyer, loc. cit., p. 371.

[6] MS. Athos, Koutloumous 39, f. 206^v ii 17–19 (cf. Charles's edition, *Test. XII Patr.*, p. 252, v. 57).

ceding text by a long space of one and a half lines (En[c] 5 i 24–5). This scroll (and probably En[d] and En[e], as well) contained a collection of four Enochic documents: Book of Watchers, Book of Giants, Book of Dreams, Epistle of Enoch. The section 106–7 was, I think, an appendix, not to the Epistle itself, but very probably to the whole Enochic corpus. At the end of a collection of pseudo-antediluvian Wisdom it was natural to refer forward, as these chapters do, to the writings attributed to the hero of the flood, and particularly to the 'Book of Noah' itself.[1]

The Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus, in which only the *'Επιστολὴ 'Ενώχ* has been copied, none the less contains 106–7. So it must be supposed that the Epistle was excerpted from a more comprehensive Greek collection which included several Enochic documents (see below, p. 76). On the other hand, the origin of En. 108 is enigmatic, and the reason for its late addition (it is missing in CM) to the Christian Enochic corpus is obscure.

Below (pp. 298–339) I deal in detail with the fifth work from Qumrân attributed to Enoch, a Jewish Aramaic document entitled, at least in the Manichaean adaptation, the Book of Giants. However, we must await the publication of all the fragments from Qumrân Cave 4 belonging to the various copies of EnGiants before it is possible to tackle in a more systematic way all the problems concerning this very interesting work. Here it is enough to pose two questions, that of the date of its composition and that of its place in the Enochic collections—Jewish and Christian. The Book of Giants must have been composed at some time between the date of Jubilees (since it does not appear among the works attributed to the patriarch in Jub. 4: 17–24) and that of the earliest manuscript of 4QEnGiants[b], written in an unusual semi-cursive alphabet (Cross, p. 149, Fig. 4, line 3), which was copied in the first half of the first century B.C. This range would be narrower if one could look upon the passage of the Damascus Document, CD 2: 18, as a quotation from the Book of Giants. The sons of the Watchers of heaven (עירי השמים according to a copy of 4QD) are described in CD as follows: ובניהם אשר כרום ארזים גבהם וכהרים גויותיהם, 'and their sons whose height was like the tallness of cedars and whose bodies were like mountains'. In the Book of Watchers (En. 7: 2) they are measured, prosaically, in cubits: *γίγαντας μεγάλους ἐκ πηχῶν τρισχιλίων*. The number of 3,000 cubits, reduced to 30 cubits, corresponds approximately to the maximum height of the cedars of

[1] Jub. 10: 12–14 speaks of a medical herbal which Noah wrote down at the dictation of the angels. See also the Introduction to En[c], pp. 183–4.

Lebanon. In any case, the poetical doublet of CD (the first element of which is borrowed from Amos 2: 9) is certainly not derived from En. 7: 2, but must come from a work devoted more particularly to the descendants of the Watchers. If the source is the Book of Giants, we may then assign the composition of that book to the years between the date of Jubilees (at the earliest about 128 to 125 B.C.)[1] and that of the Damascus Document (about 110 to 100 B.C.).[2]

When I come to edit the tiny fragments of 4QEnGiants[a] separately, I shall suggest that this manuscript, copied by the scribe of 4QEn[c], formed in all probability part of a single scroll on which four Enochic documents were brought together: Book of Watchers (En[c]), Book of Giants (EnG[a]), Book of Dreams (En[c]), and Epistle of Enoch (En[c]). At the time when this scroll was copied, in the second half of the first century B.C., there probably existed, already complete, a pentateuchal collection of the writings attributed to the antediluvian sage. For practical reasons, above all because of the considerable length of the Astronomical Book, this Enochic Pentateuch was divided into two volumes, the first of which contained only the calendar and the short treatise on astronomy and cosmography attributed to the patriarch. In ancient times it was a common habit to divide works of a certain length between successive volumes, in particular if the format of the scrolls or of the codices had to be restricted for any reason whatever. Manuscripts from Qumrân provide examples of this for the books of Isaiah, Jubilees, and Tobias.

The history of the Enochic Pentateuch in the Greek version and in the early translations derived from it will be discussed below (pp. 70 ff.). But one point should be mentioned here. In the commentary to EnGiants[a] (below, pp. 319–20) I attempt to prove that the last of the quotations 'from the first book of Enoch on the Watchers' found in the Chronography of George Syncellus (who borrowed them from the Chronicles of Panodorus or Annianus) comes in reality from the Book of Giants. In other words, in the codex of the fourth century A.D. which the Christian historians of Alexandria had available, the Book of Giants followed immediately on the Book of Watchers. It was thus only at a subsequent date that our document was rejected from the Christian Enochic corpus (perhaps by reason of its popularity with the Manichaeans) and was replaced by the Book of Parables.

[1] Campaigns of John Hyrcanus I in Transjordan, in Samaria, in Idumaea, after the death of Antiochus VII Sidetes in 129 (*Ant.* xiii 255–6, cf. Jub. 34: 2–9 and 38: 1–14).

[2] Cf. Milik, *Ten Years*, pp. 58–60, 88–92, 145.

ENOCHIC WRITINGS AND ESSENE TEXTS FROM QUMRÂN

This is not the place to make a detailed study in which one would gather together systematically everything that the Qumrân manuscripts, undeniably of Essene origin, owe to the literary and ideological influence of the books of Enoch, particularly in calendrical and eschatological matters. The annotated translations of such texts as the *Rule of the Community* (*serek ha-yaḥad*), the *Damascus Document*, the *Manual of War* (*serek ha-milḥamah*), and the *Psalms of Thanksgiving* (*Hôdayôt*), together with the articles devoted to these texts and to the fragments of other manuscripts, contain numerous references to Enochic literature.[1] For the book of Jubilees and its close connection with the texts of Enoch, one can consult the previous editions of the Ethiopic Enoch (Charles, 1912, pp. lxx–lxxv, Martin, pp. cvii–cix) and indeed this edition itself, *passim*. Here I wish to deal with three problems: (1) the possible existence of Hebrew translations of the Aramaic works attributed to the patriarch; (2) the possible existence of other pseudo-Enochic writings besides those which have just been discussed; and (3) the connection between the astronomical and calendrical texts of Qumrân and the Astronomical Book of Enoch.

1. In the Essene *scriptorium* of Ḫirbet Qumrân texts originally composed in Aramaic were occasionally translated into the Hebrew language. Two striking examples are the books of Tobias and Job. A tiny fragment of 4Q (to be given the number 4Q232 in *DJD*) seems to provide us with a specimen of the Hebrew version of the Aramaic work edited under the title *Description of the New Jerusalem*.[2] Some Hebrew fragments of 1Q19[3] are approximately equivalent to some passages of the Ethiopic Enoch:

1Q19 1: cf. Gen. 6: 12 (for line 3); En. 8: 4 and En. 9: 3 (for line 4); but the context is perhaps that of En. 7: 4–6.
2: cf. En. 9: 1–4 (4QEn^a 1 iv 6–11 and En^b 1 iii 7–16).
3: cf. En. 106;[4] for line 5 cf. 4QEn^c 5 i 29–30.
13–14: prayer addressed to God.

[1] Such references would be more valuable, however, if more precise information were given in each case as to whether we are dealing with an implicit quotation, an allusion, a reminiscence, or a vague similarity in style or content.

[2] Milik, *DJD* i, pp. 134–5 (1Q32) and *DJD* iii, pp. 184–93 (5Q15); M. Baillet, *DJD* iii, pp. 84–9 (2Q24); B. Jongeling, *Journal for Study of Judaism*, i (1970), 58–64 and 185–6 (a fragment of 11Q); several important fragments of 4Q, unpublished.

[3] Published by me in *DJD* i, pp. 84–6 and 152.

[4] On this fragment see Milik, *Biblica*, 32 (1951), 393–400.

None the less, I do not think that these are fragments of a close translation of the Book of Watchers grouped with the 'Book of Noah' fragment of En. 106–7; the parallel passages differ too much.[1] Neither is it possible to vouch for the exact equivalence between the Hebrew texts of horoscopes and physiognomical predictions contained in 4Q186[2] and the horoscope of Noah (followed by other horoscopes ?) in the Aramaic 'Book of Noah' (see above, p. 56).

2. It is not certain that there ever existed any other literary compositions attributed to Enoch beyond the five which are the subject of this study. A fine fragment from Cave 4 of Qumrân (4Q246) retains one and a half columns of a small scroll of nine lines. It recounts succinctly, in Aramaic, the vicissitudes of Seleucid domination and passes on to an apocalyptic section with the phrase: עד יקום עם אל, 'until the People of God rise' (ii 4). Now, at i 1 we find the passage ע]לוהי שרת נפל קדם כרסיא, followed by a direct address to God, ושניך, 'and your years' (line 2), אתה 'you' (line 3), etc. At the beginning of the phrase quoted we must understand something like: '[and the terror] settled on him' (cf. Dan. 10: 7). The expression which follows, 'he fell before the throne', reminds us of En. 14: 24: 'And I, until this moment, I was cast down upon my face, trembling . . .' (before the divine throne in the heavenly palace, 14: 18–20).[3] It is not necessarily Enoch, however, that the author of this Aramaic apocalypse makes approach the throne of God; it may be another visionary of sacred history, such as Levi, Moses, Elias, or Daniel, or even an angel.[4]

There are the following mentions of Enoch in Qumrân manuscripts so far published:

A long discourse of Enoch on the birth of Noah in 1QGenAp (see above, pp. 55–6).

A description of literary activity by Enoch in a Hebrew fragment related to the book of Jubilees (quoted above, p. 12).

[1] For the relation of this manuscript, of 1QGenAp, and of En. 106–7 to the 'Book of Noah', see above, pp. 55–6.

[2] J. M. Allegro, *DJD* v, pp. 88–91 and pl. XXXI; cf. J. Strugnell, *Revue de Qumran*, 1970, pp. 274–6 and, for the bibliography, J. A. Fitzmyer, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 31 (1969), 70–1.

[3] Cf. the description of the throne in 4QEnGiants[c]; this is to be distinguished from the thrones of the Last Judgement, Dan. 7: 9–10 and in 4QEnGiants[b], below, p. 305.

[4] There is in fact a document of 4Q entitled 'Book of the Words of Michael' (cf. below, p. 91).

Isolated mentions of his name in 5Q**13** 3 2 (Milik, *DJD* iii, p. 182) and in 3Q**14** 7 1 (Baillet, ibid., p. 103; my reading against וחפ֯ץ of the ed.).

3. Jub. 4: 18 attributes to Enoch the written composition of a 'testimony' on the weeks of years of the jubilees, on the number of the years, on the order of the months, and on the sabbaths of years. As we have noted above (p. 11), this information goes beyond the calendar of the Astronomical Book of Enoch, which describes only one lunisolar year or at the very most a triennial cycle. On the other hand, about twenty calendrical texts of 4Q deal in detail with the cycles of three, six, seven, and forty-nine years.[1] The Ethiopic text of Jub. 4: 18 does not speak, in the plural, of 'weeks of the jubilees (as Charles translates), but in the singular, 'the week (*subâʿehomu*)' of the jubilees.[2] This expression refers, beyond doubt in my opinion, to the most extensive cycle to be found in the calendars of 4Q, namely to the cycle of the seven jubilees. This cycle is sufficiently represented by fragments of the calendar in a copy of the *Rule of the Community*, 4QS[b] (4Q**260**), which dates from the second half of the second century B.C. But before summarizing this text let us first recall what is already known about the calendar revealed to us by the Qumrân manuscripts.

The year contains 'only 364 days' (Jub. 6: 38; En. 72: 32, etc.), a figure divisible by seven; it has twelve months, each of thirty days, and four intercalary days, one in each period of three months. The three-month period or season contains exactly thirteen weeks (Jub. 6: 29), and the days of the week are distributed symmetrically over each period. New Year's day and the first day of each three-month period (1/I, 1/IV, 1/VII, 1/X) always fall on a Wednesday. The dates of the feasts are likewise fixed; a particular day of any given month comes on the same day of the week every year. Here is the Essene calendar schematically arranged:

Day of the week	*Months* I, IV, VII, X					II, V, VIII, XI					III, VI, IX, XII				
4th (Wed.)	1	8	15	22	29		6	13	20	27		4	11	18	25
5th (Thur.)	2	9	16	23	30		7	14	21	28		5	12	19	26
6th (Fri.)	3	10	17	24		1	8	15	22	29		6	13	20	27
7th (Sabbath)	4	11	18	25		2	9	16	23	30		7	14	21	28
1st (Sun.)	5	12	19	26		3	10	17	24		1	8	15	22	29
2nd (Mon.)	6	13	20	27		4	11	18	25		2	9	16	23	30
3rd (Tue.)	7	14	21	28		5	12	19	26		3	10	17	24	31

[1] To be given the numbers 4Q**260B**, **293**, **319–37**. Add to these a tiny fragment of 6Q**17** (*DJD* iii, pp. 132–3 and pl. XXVII).

[2] The same terms, *subâʿehomu ba'iyubelewĕsât*, occur in a quotation of Jub. 4: 18; see *CSCO* 221/*Aeth.* 41, pp. 66, 24, and Version, 222/42, p. 59, 7–8.

The calendars of 4Q deal also with the rotation of duty for the priestly families in the Temple. The priestly roster is spread over six years, and this sexennial cycle reflects a desire to synchronize the sect's religious calendar (of twelve months with thirty days each and four intercalary days, i.e. a solar reckoning) with the lunisolar calendar (of twelve months with alternatively twenty-nine and thirty days and a month intercalated every three years). Accordingly, the two calendars synchronize every three years ($364 \times 3 = 354 \times 3 + 30$). Six years are needed for a priestly family's turn to come round again in the same week of the year, since there were twenty-four families[1] serving thirteen times in such a period ($24 \times 13 = 52 \times 6$).[2] The priestly sexennial cycle can be summarized in the accompanying table (fig. 6), which gives the dates for the consecutive sabbaths of twenty-four families.

Thus every sabbath, month, year, and likewise every feast, was determined by the name of a priestly family; in other words they were under the 'sign', *'ôt*, of such a family. The six years of the sexennial cycle began with the signs, *'ôtôt*, of Gemul, Yedaʿyah, Miyamin, Šekanyah, Yešab'ab and Ha-Poṣeṣ. In the cycle of the seven jubilees which is described in 4QS^{b} the 'signs' for the successive triennial periods are enumerated, for example *'ôt Gᵉmûl* and *'ôt Šᵉkanyah*. Here is an extract from this text relating to the fourth jubilee, 4QS^{b} (**4Q260B**) 1 vi 6–13.

[בשנית או]תֿ [גמו]ל בחמישית אות שכניה
7 אחר השמטה או[ת גמול ברביעית או]תֿ שכניה בשמטה אות
8 גמול בשלישית אֿוֿת [שכניה בששית אות ג]מול בשנית אות
9 שכניה בחמ˒שית אות [גמול אחר] הֿשמטה אות שכניה
10 ברביעית אות גמול [בשמטה אות] שכניה בשלישית אות גמול
11 בששית אות שכניה [בשנית אות] גמול בחמישית אות שכניה
הֿ יֿ וֿ בֿ לֿ
12 אחר השמטה א[ות ראשית היובל ג]מֿ[ו]ל [הר]בֿיֿעֿ[י] אתות—/// ///\
אותות
13 מֿ[ז]הֿ בשמטה \\ שֿ[כניה

'[In the second (year)], the sign of Gemul. In the fifth (year), the sign of Šekanyah: 7after the Release (*šemiṭṭah*), the sign [of Gemul. In the fourth (year), the] sign of Šekanyah; at the Release, the sign8 of Gemul. In the third

[1] 1 Chron. 24: 7–18. But in the Qumrân manuscripts the cycle begins with Gᵉmûl and not with Yôyarîb.

[2] Cf. Milik, *Ten Years*, pp. 107–8.

	1st year												
2 Delayah	4/I	21/VI	7/XII	23/V	9/XI	25/IV	11/X	28/III	14/IV	30/II	16/VIII	2/II	18/VII
3 Me'ozyah	11/I	28/VI	14/XII	30/V	16/XI	2/V	18/X	4/IV	21/IX	7/III	23/VIII	9/II	25/VII
4 Yoyarib	18/I	4/VII	21/XII	7/VI	23/XI	9/V	25/X	11/IV	28/IX	14/III	30/VIII	16/II	2/VIII
5 Yeda'yah	25/I	11/VII	28/XII	14/VI	30/XI	16/V	2/XI	18/IV	4/X	21/III	7/IX	23/II	9/VIII
			2nd year										
6 Ḥarim	2/II	18/VII	4/I	21/VI	7/XII	23/V	9/XI	25/IV	11/X	28/III	14/IX	30/II	16/VIII
7 Śe'orim	9/II	25/VII	11/I	28/VI	14/XII	30/V	16/XI	2/V	18/X	4/IV	21/IX	7/III	23/VIII
8 Melakyah	16/II	2/VIII	18/I	4/VII	21/XII	7/VI	23/XI	9/V	25/X	11/IV	28/IX	14/III	30/VIII
9 Miyamin	23/II	9/VIII	25/I	11/VII	28/XII	14/VI	30/XI	16/V	2/XI	18/IV	4/X	21/III	7/IX
					3rd year								
10 Ha-Qoṣ	30/II	16/VIII	2/II	18/VII	4/I	21/VI	7/XII	23/V	9/XI	25/IV	11/X	28/III	14/IX
11 'Abiyah	7/III	23/VIII	9/II	25/VII	11/I	28/VI	14/XII	30/V	16/XI	2/V	18/X	4/IV	21/IX
12 Yešu'	14/III	30/VIII	16/II	2/VIII	18/I	4/VII	21/XII	7/VI	23/XI	9/V	25/X	11/IV	28/IX
13 Šekanyah	21/III	7/IX	23/II	9/VIII	25/I	11/VII	28/XII	14/VI	30/XI	16/V	2/XI	18/IV	4/X
							4th year						
14 'Elyašib	28/III	14/IX	30/II	16/VIII	2/II	18/VII	4/I	21/VI	7/XII	23/V	9/XI	25/IV	11/X
15 Yaqim	4/IV	21/IX	7/III	23/VIII	9/II	25/VII	11/I	28/VI	14/XII	30/V	16/XI	2/V	18/X
16 Ḥupah	11/IV	28/IX	14/III	30/VIII	16/II	2/VIII	18/I	4/VII	21/XII	7/VI	23/XI	9/V	25/X
17 Yešab'ab	18/IV	4/X	21/III	7/IX	23/II	9/VIII	25/I	11/VII	28/XII	14/VI	30/XI	16/V	2/XI
									5th year				
18 Bilgah	25/IV	11/X	28/III	14/IX	30/II	16/VIII	2/II	18/VII	4/I	21/VI	7/XII	23/V	9/XI
19 'Immer	2/V	18/X	4/IV	21/IX	7/III	23/VIII	9/II	25/VII	11/I	28/VI	14/XII	30/V	16/XI
20 Ḥazir	9/V	25/X	11/IV	28/IX	14/III	30/VIII	16/II	2/VIII	18/I	4/VII	21/XII	7/VI	23/XI
21 Ha-Poṣeṣ	16/V	2/XI	18/IV	4/X	21/III	7/IX	23/II	9/VIII	25/I	11/VII	28/XII	14/VI	30/XI
											6th year		
22 Petaḥyah	23/V	9/XI	25/IV	11/X	28/III	14/IX	30/II	16/VIII	2/II	18/VII	4/I	21/VI	7/XII
23 Yeḥizqi'el	30/V	16/XI	2/V	18/X	4/IV	21/IX	7/III	23/VIII	9/II	25/VII	11/I	28/VI	14/XII
24 Yakin	7/VI	23/XI	9/V	25/X	11/IV	28/IX	14/III	30/VIII	16/II	2/VIII	18/I	4/VII	21/XII
1 Gemul	14/VI	30/XI	16/V	2/XI	18/IV	4/X	21/III	7/IX	23/II	9/VIII	25/I	11/VII	28/XII

FIG. 6. Table of the sexennial priestly cycle

(year), the sign [of Šekanyah. In the sixth (year), the sign of] Gemul. In the second (year), the sign[9] of Šekanyah; in the fifth (year), the sign of [Gemul. After] the Release, the sign of Šekanyah. [10]In the fourth (year), the sign of Gemul; [at the Release, the sign] of Šekanyah. In the third (year), the sign of Gemul; [11]in the sixth (year), the sign of Šekanyah. [In the second (year), the sign] of Gemul. In the fifth (year), the sign of Šekanyah: [12]after the Release, the [sign of the beginning of the (new) Jubilee, Ge]mul. The fourth Jubilee (counts) seventeen[a] signs; [13]from the (last) to the Release (there remain) two (yearly) signs of (the triennial cycle of) Šekanyah . . .

[a] Actually sixteen (see fig. 7); the scribe adds the 'sign' of the beginning of the fifth jubilee, mentioned immediately before.

The cycle of the seven jubilees can be reduced to a table (Fig. 7). It can easily be seen from this table that the computation is actually a cycle of six jubilees, since the distribution of the triennial cycles in the seventh jubilee exactly repeats that of the first. Whatever may have been the reason for the invention of this cycle, it required no small amount of faith to attribute it, or that of any other Qumrân calendar, to Enoch; for all these calculations take account of twenty-four priestly families whose organization and introduction to the service of the temple at Jerusalem date from the Persian era.

Be that as it may, the calendar of the seven jubilees, and to a lesser extent other computations of this kind, could be entitled the 'Book of the Signs'.[1] Now, apart from the passage of Jub. 4: 18, I find a vague reminiscence of a 'Book of the Signs', connected with the priestly number of twenty-four, in the extra-canonical traditions of the Samaritans. This Aramaic apocryphon, the oldest and the most important, composed during the Arab period, is well known; it bears the Arab title *Kitâb al-'Asâṭir* and was first published by M. Gaster.[2]

In this work the beginning of the section relating to Enoch is expressed in the following terms (f. 2ᵛ 19–25 = Gaster ii 6–7): *w'wld yrd lḥnwk wbnh mdynh wšmh š'lm rbth btr yg' šnh 'lp ḥnwk bspr h'wtwt dytʰbnh ˡ'dm w'nyn kd' 'bny šhm by' lrḥwth wyᵇ' lbḥwr krnyh bny y'qb wltwldwt 'bdy'l 'lywn*: 'And Jared begat Enoch and he built a town called Shalem the Great. And when

[1] *ha-'Ôtôt* was, in fact, the siglum which I myself gave quite spontaneously to 4Q260B.

[2] *The Asatir, The Samaritan Book of the 'Secrets of Moses'*, 1927; later published by Z. Ben-Ḥayyim in *Tarbiz*, xiv (1943), 104–25 and 174–90; xv (1944), 71–87 and 128. I quote from the earliest copy of it (parchment, thirteenth century), which is in my possession (cf. *RB* lxvii (1960), p. 103), adding to it Gaster's numbering.

Enoch was 13 years old, he learned the Book of the Signs in order to give it to men; and these are the 24 stones of cornelian, 12 for the (time of Divine) Favour and 12 for the election of the families (from) the sons of Jacob and of the generations of the Servants of the High God.' The copyist first wrote *dytbnh 'dm*, 'in order that (the sons of) Adam might be converted (*ytbnh*: Arabic pronunciation of *ytpnh* ?)', and then corrected it to *dyhbnh l 'dm* (He above the Taw, the latter cancelled by a dot placed beside the He). A subsequent corrector cancelled *nh l* by the dots placed above these letters.

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1st jubilee		S			G			S			G			S			G			S			G			S		
2nd jubilee	S			G			S			G			S			G			S			G			S			G
3rd jubilee			G			S			G			S			G			S			G			S			G	
4th jubilee		G			S			G			S			G			S			G			S			G		
5th jubilee	G			S			G			S			G			S			G			S			G			S
6th jubilee			S			G			S			G			S			G			S			G			S	
7th jubilee		S			G			S			G			S			G			S			G			S		
Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	29	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1st jubilee	G			S			G			S			G			S			G		
2nd jubilee			S			G			S			G			S			G			S
3rd jubilee		S			G			S			G			S			G			S	
4th jubilee	S			G			S			G			S			G			S		
5th jubilee			G			S			G			S			G			S			G
6th jubilee		G			S			G			S			G			S			G	
7th jubilee	G			S			G			S			G			S			G		
Year	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49

FIG. 7. Table of the cycle of the seven jubilees

The new meaning which results from this correction, *dyhb 'dm*, 'which Adam gave (to him)', reflects a later phase of the legend about antediluvian literature, according to which it was Adam himself who invented the true calendar contained in the Book of the Signs and in two other books and had it engraved on a staff.[1] In the allusion of the Samaritan Book to the double number of names engraved on two stones of cornelian (those of the ephod, Exod. 28: 9–11 and 39: 6; analogous to those of the breastplate, Exod. 28: 20 and 39: 13) I see a veiled but unmistakable reference to the number of the twenty-four priestly families. Hence the Samaritans, just like the Judaeans,

[1] Cf. J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, 1964, p. 319. Similarly Byzantine and medieval Christians attributed to Adam the invention of astronomy.

must have had, since the Persian era, a service of the twenty-four families of priests in their temple on Mount Gerizim. The Book of the Signs is often quoted in the 'Asâtir; various people get to know of it and consult it like a collection of oracles: iv 2 (Noah), v 16 (Nimrod), vi 18 (an Egyptian sorcerer, contemporary with Abraham: *ḥrš wšmh ṭwrṭs mn 'lwpy spr h'wtwt bḥnwkyh*, 'a sorcerer named Tritos (?), one of the disciples of the Book of the Signs at Ḥanokyah', f. 8ʳ 4–5),[1] vii 4 (the same magician foretells disaster to the kings Amraphel and Kedar-Laomer), viii 16 (the Pharaoh contemporaneous with Joseph learns of the Book of the Signs in Babylon the Great), ix 7 (Palṭî the soothsayer makes predictions concerning Moses), x 5 (Bileam).

In the section about Noah the 'Asâṭir enumerates three works of antediluvian wisdom: *bz' šnyn 'lp tlth spry bryth spr h'twt wspr ngmwt wspr mlḥmwt zh spr twldt 'dm*: 'In 7 years he (Noah) learned the three Books of Creation: the Book of the Signs, the Book of Astronomy (Arab *nağmah*, 'star'), the Book of the Wars which is the Book of the Generation of Adam' (f. 4ʳ 18–21 = iii 9). After the flood, at the time of the distribution of the earth by Noah among his descendants, *wyhb spr h'twt l'rpkšd wspr ngymwt l'ylm wspr mlḥmwt yhb l'šwr*: 'And he gave the Book of the Signs to Arpachshad, and the Book of Astronomy to Elam, and the Book of Wars he gave to Ashur' (f. 5ᵛ 3–6 = iv 15). The second book, the astronomical document, is the Enochic work *par excellence*. The third, which obviously takes up 'the book of the Wars of Yahweh' of Num. 21: 14, seems to refer to the involvement of the sons of Adam and their daughters (En. 6: 1) in the struggle between the forces of good and evil or, in other words, to the Visions of Enoch (En. 6–19), the work which seems to be of Samaritan origin (cf. above, pp. 9–10 and 31).

The title of this third book occurs a second time as a place-name: *wq'm 'dm bmdynh dḥkmth dmtqryh sprh dspr mlḥmwt yhwh w'mh ngymw dywmyh wz' qrby yth w'mh lyt 'ḥd mnwn w'qr wšrh lgw b'dn*: 'And Adam lived in the country of Ḥokmatâ which is called Sifrah (the Book), i.e. the Book of the Wars of Yahweh. And he saw the planets of the days; and 7 approached him; and he saw that none of them was any more. And he removed and dwelt in Badan' (f. 2ʳ 22–2ᵛ 1 = i 21–3). Adam thus lived first of all in the land of Wisdom and of the Book; after the vision of the seven wandering stars which approach him, and for this reason are punished (cf. En. 18: 13–16), he is driven from paradise and lives at the 'House of Judgement', *Bê(t)-Dan.*[2] Now, when Enoch died, he was borne off to Sifrah, and it was thither that

[1] The place-name means more or less 'the school of Enoch'; such a notion was known to Babylonian Jews, below, p. 337.

[2] Cf. *RB* lxxiii (1966), 527, n. 21.

all the patriarchs came, from Adam down to Methuselah: *bywm mt ḥnwk 'tw kl bny 'dm lsprh mšm' 'dm mbky lh bd myt ḥnwk whstbl lsprh wbkwth 'dm wšt w'nwš wqynn wmh⟨ll'l⟩ wyrd wbrh mtwšlḥ dhwh d'r bb'dn*: 'On the day when Enoch died came all the children of Adam to Sifrah. Adam was heard weeping, because Enoch died. And he was carried to Sifrah. And they wept over him, Adam and Seth and Enosh and Qainan and Mahalal'el and Jared and his son Methuselah who was living in Beddan' (f. 3^{v} 10–15 = ii 32–4). Adam came from the place called 'House of the Book of the Signs' (cf. *Qiryat-sepher*, Josh. 15: 15–16, Judg. 1: 11–12), where he taught 'Aḥîdan the son of Tubalqain, the latter residing at Hebron (*Qiryat-'arba'*): *'ḥydn br twblqyn dhwh d'r bḥbrwn ryš ḥyl qyn'h whwh tmn 'lp* ^{b}*byspr h'wtt qmy 'dm*: 'Aḥîdan the son of Tubal-Qain who was living in Hebron, and he was the head of the army of Qainites, and he had learned there, in Bê(t)-Sefer of the Signs, before Adam' (f. 3^{v} 16–19 = ii 35–6). The tomb of Enoch could be seen in the necropolis of Sychar (John 4: 5),[1] at the foot of Mount Ebal; the author of 'Asâṭir identifies Sychar with Sichem (there is a similar connection in John 4): *wqbyr ḥnwk bw bkbwn* (read *bgbwn*?) *hr gryzym bbṭ'* (Aleph above the Heth) *dy mtqryh yskr w'tqry ṭwrh* (Waw above the Beth) *hr 'ybl dhbḥlw ḥnwk bh whbnh bh qbryn sgy hk d'mr {ḥn'} 'dm dw škm 'l'lmh wl'l mnh trḥ šwmyh dlyt 'šth qrbh lyd shrt hr gryzym b' 'lpym d'myn dw qry mqlṭ l'rwq ṣwr yšw'h*: 'And Enoch was buried in the neighbourhood of Mount Gerizim in the place (?) which is called Yiskar; and the mountain is called Mount 'Ebal where they hid (?) Enoch. And there are built in it many tombs. As {Enoch} Adam had said: "this is the 'place of worship (Shekem)' for the God of the world and above it is the Gate of Heaven." For the fire does not approach the vicinity of Mount Gerizim at two thousand cubits; this is called the Shelter for the Fugitive, the Rock of Salvation' (f. 3^{v} 21–4^{r} 1 = ii 38–41).[2]

In spite of so much allusiveness and unintelligibility the Samaritan tradition concerning the personage of Enoch is thus seen to be fairly rich. It is to Enoch, rather than to Adam, that—according to the information provided by the Kitâb al-'Asâṭir—we should ascribe the authorship of the three antediluvian works transmitted to posterity by Noah: the Books of the Signs, of the Heavenly Bodies, and of the Wars. We can recognize in these without

[1] Cf. I. Ben-Zvi, *Sepher ha-Shomronim*, 1970, pp. 66–7.

[2] See H. G. Kippenberg, *Garizin und Synagoge, Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode*, 1972; he does not, however, use this important text concerning the theological role of Mount Gerizim.

much difficulty the earliest compositions attributed to Enoch: the sacred calendars, the most comprehensive of which concerns the cycle of the seven jubilees, the astronomical treatise (En. 72–82), and the Visions of Enoch (En. 6–19).

To return to the Qumrân manuscripts, we should note finally that there is only one astronomical text which closely recalls the lunisolar calendar found at the beginning of the Astronomical Book of Enoch. This is a Hebrew text copied in cryptic writing (4QAstrCrypt = 4Q317) and represented by seventy-six fragments. In it the phases of the moon are described, on a scale of fourteenths of the area of the full moon, for the successive days of the solar year of 364 days. From it I quote fr. 1 ii 2–14, concerning the fifth to tenth days of an unspecified month:[1]

[בח]משה בֹו [תכסה שתים]
[ע]שׂרא וכֹן [תבוא ליום בששה בו]
תכסה שלוש [עשרא וכן תבוא ליום]
בשבעה בו תכס[ה ארבע עשרא וכן]
תבוא ליום vac]at [
בשמנׄה בו תׄ[משול אורה ליום בתוך]
ארבע עשרא וחצי
הרקיע ממעׄ[ל ובבוא השמש יהיה]
אורה להכסותׄ [וכן יחל להגלות]
באחד לשבתׄ .vac[בתשעה בו תגלה]
מחלוקת[a] אחתׄ [וכן תבוא ללילה]
בעשרה בו תׄ[גלה שתים וכן תבוא]
ללילה .vac בעׄשׄ[תי עשר בו תגלה שלוש]
וכן תבוא ללׄיׄלׄהׄ vac]at [

[a] מחלוכת MS.

'On the fifth (day) of this (month) [it is covered (up to) twelve (fourteenths) (of its surface);] and so [it enters the day. On the sixth (day)] it is covered

[1] The restorations are made from other fragments; the text of lines 7–9, however, remains uncertain. The scribe was out by one unit in the day of the month, so that as a result the figures in lines 2, 5, 7 are corrected by him from בארבעה, בששה, בשבעה.

up to thir[teen (fourteenths), and so enters the day]. On the seventh (day) it is covered up to [fourteen (fourteenths), and thus] enters the day. *vacat.* On the eighth [its light holds sway into the day, in the midst] of the firmament above, [up to fourteen and half (fourteenths). And at the coming of the sun] its light comes to be obscured, [and thus it begins to become visible] on the first of the week. *vacat.* [On the ninth (day) it is visible] for one (fourteenth) portion [and thus enters the night.] On the tenth [it is visible for two (fourteenths), and thus enters] the night. *vacat.* On the ele[venth it is visible for three (fourteenths)] and thus enters the night.'

CHAPTER II

EARLY VERSIONS OF THE BOOKS OF ENOCH

THE ancient translations of the works attributed to Enoch have not yet received sufficient attention. There are no studies, for instance, of the dates of the translation of the various Enochic writings—studies that should take as their starting-point a comparison of the vocabulary and phraseology of the Greek Enoch with those of classical texts and, more especially, with the language of the papyri of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Neither are there any lists of quotations from the books of Enoch in early Christian literature (Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic) other than Greek and Latin patristic works.

THE GREEK VERSION

The most important text of the Greek Enoch, which gives us the first part of the Ethiopic Enoch almost in its entirety, is the codex Panopolitanus of the sixth, if not the end of the fifth century. It was found, at the time of the excavations undertaken by the order of S. Grébaut, in the winter of 1886/7, in a grave of the Coptic cemetery of Akhmîm-Panopolis (in Upper Egypt) which was in use from the fifth right up to the fifteenth century. Beside the same body there lay a second manuscript, a mathematical papyrus dating from the Byzantine era, certainly from before the Arab invasion.[1] Our manuscript, after a spell in the Gizeh Museum (hence the name Gizeh MS., which is now erroneous), became part of the collection of papyri in the Cairo Museum.[2] Grenfell and Hunt correctly date it to the fifth or sixth century, as against the eighth-century dating of the *editio princeps*.

The Cairo codex 10759, as it is now, is composed of 33 leaves, 66 pages (parchment, 16 cm. × 13 cm., bound; no original pagination). After a page with the Coptic cross, comes the Gospel of Peter (pp. 2–10); then, after a

[1] Edited by J. Baillet in the *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, ix. 1, Paris (1892), 1–89.

[2] Inv. no. 10759; see the description by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 10001–10869: Greek Papyri*, Oxford 1903, p. 93.

blank leaf, there follows the Apocalypse of Peter (pp. 13–19; leaves bound upside down) and one page left blank. Pp. 21–66 contain two fragmentary manuscripts of the Enochic Book of Watchers, while a leaf of parchment stuck on the inner board of the binding gives part of the Acts of St. Julian. The text of Enoch was copied by two scribes, the first on pp. 21–50 (21 lines per page) and the second, who was more skilful, on pp. 51–66 (28 lines per page); the change takes place at En. 14: 22, *ἕστηκα(ν) / ἐνώπιον*. The binding of this volume of miscellanea is certainly later than the copy of the Enochic text which was at first separate from it and circulating independently of the New Testament apocrypha.

The two different manuscripts of the Book of Watchers (En. 1–36) offered by the Cairo codex are both mutilated. The first (our siglum C′) begins at p. 21 with the last words of En. 19: 3, *ἄνθρωπον ὅ* (not *ὡς* = *ὅς* of the edd.) *ἐγὼ εἶδον*. It seems probable to me that C′ began right at the beginning (En. 1: 1), the early leaves having subsequently been lost. In any case the model which the first scribe had at his disposal was mutilated and ended with En. 21: 9*a*, *Τότε ἀπεκρίθ[η] μοι καὶ εἶπεν* (p. 23, line 8*a*). In the meantime a complete copy of the same work was found, which the same copyist set about transcribing after the preceding one, without leaving any gap: *Λόγος εὐλογίας Αἰνώχ κ.τ.λ.* A second scribe finished this text, which now ends with *ὅ πατήρ σου* of En. 32: 6 (our siglum C). It must, however, originally have been complete, the remainder of the text (En. 32: 6*b*–36: 4) having filled the first page of the last leaf, subsequently lost, while the second page was left blank apart from the subscription with the title of the work.

The mathematical papyrus and the parchment of the Petrine and Enochic texts were, without any doubt, laid in the grave in accordance with the will of the deceased; these works must have formed part, or even the whole, of his private library. The often-repeated theory of E. Schürer,[1] that our codex, and in particular the copy of Enoch, was made in a hurry merely in order to be placed in the grave where it was found, seems ridiculous to me. In fact, all the scribes of the Cairo codex were professionals who discharged their task creditably. The textual deficiencies, which are greatly exaggerated, are due in the first place to the models which were accessible to them; other 'faults' are simply the orthographical styles of the period. The Aramaic fragments of 4Q Enoch emphasize the value of these two precious witnesses of the Greek version of the Book of Watchers: in spite of their omissions, glosses, etc., they are unquestionably superior to the corresponding part

[1] *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*[4], iii, p. 269 n. 42.

of the Ethiopic Enoch. Moreover, the Ethiopic translation was made from a Greek model which was relatively close to texts C and C′.[1]

Some extensive extracts from the Book of Watchers are quoted in the Chronography of George Syncellus, written at the beginning of the ninth century. Syncellus would appear to have borrowed them from the chronicle of the Alexandrian monk Panodorus, through the medium of the chronicle of Annianus, both dating from the beginning of the fifth century.[2] The only manuscript known until recently which preserves these quotations was the Paris Bibl. Nat. grec 1711 (A.D. 1021).[3] On p. 7 of this manuscript, after the title *ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου Ἐνώχ· περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων* (line 23), comes the text of En. 6: 1–9: 4 (pp. 7, 24–8, 26); there follows the phrase which summarizes En. 10: 4–12 (p. 8, 26–7), and the subscription *ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἐνὼχ μαρτυρεῖ* (line 28). On p. 15, after the title *ἐκ τοῦ λόγου Ἐνώχ. τὰ λοιπά, περὶ ἐγρηγόρων* (line 21), comes the text of En. 8: 4*b*–10: 14 (pp. 15, 22–16, 32), and, introduced by *καὶ μεθέτερα*, that of En. 15: 8–16: 1 (pp. 16, 33–17, 7). The last section of this part, introduced by *καὶ αὖθις περὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους* (p. 17, 7 end–17), comes in my opinion from the Book of Giants (see below, pp. 317–20). The general subscription of the second part is as follows: *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ α′ βιβλίου Ἐνώχ· περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων* (p. 17, 17 end–18). It will be seen that the passage En. 8: 4–9: 4 is duplicated; we denote the text of this passage at its second occurrence by the siglum S′, in contrast to S which denotes the remainder of the quotations from Syncellus.[4]

[1] See *editio princeps* (signed in Cairo, November 1891): U. Bouriant, 'Fragments du texte grec du livre d'Enoch et de quelques écrits attribués à Saint Pierre', *Mémoires* . . . , ix. 1 (1892), 93–147 (text of Enoch, pp. 111–36); photographic edition, 'Reproduction en héliogravure du manuscrit d'Enoch et des écrits attribués à Saint Pierre, avec introduction de M. A. Lods', ibid. ix. 3 (1893) 217–39 (Enoch, pp. 228–32 and pls. XI–XXXIII). Most recent manual edition by M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (*Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece*, iii. 1), Leiden, 1970. I have checked C and C′ from reproductions in *Mémoires*, ix. 3.

An unconvincing theory of a close relationship between the Greek Enoch and St. Luke's Gospel was proposed by A. Aalen, *New Testament Studies*, xiii (1966–7), 1–13: 'Was Luke personally acquainted with the man who translated I Enoch? Or was he perhaps himself this man?' (p. 13). Aalen was right, however, in stressing the superiority of Greek texts of Enoch over the Ethiopic, against the defenders of the latter, such as C. C. Torrey in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lxii (1942), 58, and G. Zuntz in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xlv (1944), 162 and 169.

[2] See H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, ii. 1: *Die Nachfolger des Julius Africanus*, 1885, pp. 262–4.

[3] It has been re-examined by H. J. de Jonge (Black, loc. cit., pp. 14–16) and by me.

[4] *Editio princeps* of the Enochic passages by Scaliger (quoted above, p. v); editions of the Chronography of Syncellus: J. Goar, Paris 1652 and Venice 1729; G. Dindorf, Bonn 1829, vol. i (quotation from Enoch: pp. 20, 1–23, 5 and 42, 18–47, 19); cf. Black, loc. cit., pp. 21–30.

Quite recently I have found a second witness of the Chronography of Syncellus, which contains Enochic extracts, namely MS. Vat. Barberini Greek 227 (sixteenth century), ff. 10ʳ, 11–11ᵛ, 17 and 21ʳ, 8–23ʳ, 21. There are some variants as compared with the Paris MS. 1711, but the text is essentially very similar.

Panodorus had to hand an excellent copy of the Book of Watchers in Greek. However, the needs of his work, not to mention the transmission of the chronicles through many centuries, have often rendered the texts of S and S′ less than faithful to the original, particularly in En. 7–8; one example is the insertion of Jub. 7: 22 in En. 7: 2.

The numerous approximate quotations, allusions, and reminiscences that one finds in the Greek Christian authors of the first to fourth centuries prove to be of very little textual use. The earliest and the most faithful is the explicit quotation of En. 1: 9 in the Epistle of Jude 14–15, best preserved in the Latin version of pseudo-Cyprian, *Ad Novatianum* (see below, p. 184). Equally faithful is the quotation of En. 21: 1 by Origen, *De princ.* iv 4 8 (35); this is known only in Latin:[1] 'Sed et in libro suo Enoch ita ait: "Ambulavi usque ad imperfectum"' = *καὶ ἐφώδευσα ἕως* (*μέχρι* C′) *τῆς ἀκατασκευάστου* of C. On the other hand, the continuation of the same passage is puzzling: 'scriptum namque est in eodem libello dicente Enoch: "Universas materias perspexi"'. The same explicit quotation occurs in *Ecl. proph.* of Clement of Alexandria, ii 1:[2] "*Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ βλέπων ἀβύσσους, καθήμενος ἐπὶ Χερουβίμ*", *ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει* (Dan. 3: 54) *ὁμοδοξῶν τῷ Ἐνὼχ τῷ εἰρηκότι· "καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας"*. It seems to me difficult to accept that this is a direct reference to En. 19: 3: *Κἀγὼ Ἐνὼχ ἴδον τὰ θεωρήματα μόνος τὰ πέρατα πάντων*. At the very most one might envisage it as an explanatory gloss of the Enochic passage indicated; note in particular the philosophical meaning of *ὕλη*, a term which one just would not expect in a literal translation of a work of Enoch. Such an explanatory phrase—in which an attempt is made to elucidate the rather unclear expression *τὰ πέρατα πάντων*, which is, moreover, a mistranslation (see p. 35)—would have its appropriate place in a collection of Old Testament quotations, enriched with glosses, exegetical notes, summaries, etc. We have suggested above (p. 46) that the Enochic quotation in the Epistle of Barnabas 16: 5 is actually a summary of En. 90: 26–9 (and not of En. 89: 56–74); it too may have come from an annotated florilegium of quotations which were used in anti-Jewish polemics. Another analogous summary is quoted in the same Epistle at 4: 3:[3] *τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἤγγικεν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ὡς Ἐνὼχ*

[1] Ed. P. Koetschau, *GCS* 22 (1913), 359.
[2] Ed. O. Stählin, *GCS* 17 (1909), 137.
[3] Ed. Prigent and Kraft, p. 92.

λέγει. In my opinion this is a recapitulatory note to En. 106: 19–107: 1, where the word γέγραπται refers to the contents of the heavenly Tablets which Enoch had read concerning the last generations before the final catastrophe, foreshadowed by the Flood. In the next phrase, εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέτμηκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, pseudo-Barnabas implicitly quotes En. 80: 2: 'And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened.' As often in his quotations, different passages of the same sacred book are telescoped together; they have, however, a common denominator and a common 'keyword'. In our case the phrase about the 'last scandal' recalls En. 80: 7–8: 'they shall err, and take them [sc. stars] to be gods, and evil shall be multiplied upon them'; the keyword is the expression 'written in heavenly tablets', which occurs also in En. 81: 1 and 2. The whole passage of En. 80: 2–8, with its astronomical meaning reinterpreted—probably already by Jews, and certainly by Christians—in an apocalyptical sense, was to enjoy a lasting popularity, starting with Mark 13: 20 and Matt. 24: 22, passing through Lactantius (passages quoted above, p. 21), and finishing with medieval apocalypses.

As far as I know there do not exist any studies devoted to the influence of the Enochic writings in their Greek form on Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, beginning with the Graeco-Jewish Sibylline Oracles (which go back to the first century B.C., if not earlier), and going on through the Fourth book of Esdras, the Apocalypses of Baruch, the Apocalypse of Peter, and so on. So far as the New Testament is concerned, it will be necessary henceforth to dismiss definitively all the alleged references to the Book of Parables, since the latter is a Christian work of the third century, if not later (see below, pp. 89 ff.).

Of the Book of Dreams in Greek until now only one extract was known, En. 89: 42–9, in a tachygraphical manuscript, Vat. Gr. 1809.[1] This is an extract from a Byzantine chronicle, for in it the text is followed by the identification of the animals with the peoples against whom David struggled (above, pp. 45–6).

A detailed description of this manuscript is given by S. Lilla.[2] The second

[1] F. 216v upper margin; pointed out by A. Mai, *Patrum nova bibliotheca*, ii, Rome 1844, plate at the head of the volume; identified and deciphered by J. Gildemeister, 'Ein Fragment des griechischen Henoch', *ZDMG* 9 (1855), 621–4; edited more correctly by M. Gitlbauer, *Die Ueberreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809*, 1. Fasc. in *Denkschriften der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Classe*, 28, Vienna, 1878 (transcription of the extract from Enoch, pp. 94–5 no. XVI and pl. XI); ibid., 2. Fasc. 34, 1884.

[2] *Il testo tachigrafico del 'De divinis nominibus'*

hand of this manuscript, to which belong also the marginal additions of ff. 216^{v}–217^{r}, is that of Paul I, a disciple and the successor of St. Nilus as abbot of Grottaferrata, who wrote it in Calabria towards the end of the tenth century. The quotations of En. 89: 42–9 have occurred, in the exemplar used by Paul, as a scholion to the *Dialogos* on the 'Life of St. John Chrysostomus' by Palladius. Precisely in an extract of it, copied in Vat. Gr. 1809, ff. 216^{v}–217^{r} (margins), there is a passage where a liar is compared with various animals:[1] *δειλός ἐστιν ὡς λαγῳός, θρασὺς ὡς χοῖρος*, (f. 217^{r} margo sup.) *ψεύστης ὡς χαμαιλέων, ἀπατεὼν ὡς πέρδιξ, ἀνήμερος ὡς μῦς, ἀνελεήμων ὡς λύκος.*

Two fragments which I have quite recently identified come, on the other hand, from a normal codex of the Book of Dreams, dating from the end of the fourth century. This is Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2069,[2] where the fragment 1^{r}+2^{r} is equivalent to En. 85: 10–86: 2, and 1^{v}+2^{v} to En. 87: 1–3.[3]

The greater part of the Epistle of Enoch has been preserved in a papyrus codex of the fourth century, six leaves of which were acquired in 1930 by the University of Michigan and eight leaves by A. Chester Beatty (now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin). The codex was originally composed of two quires, the first containing eight leaves (of which the first was left blank and the following seven were paginated from '1' to '14') and the second containing fourteen leaves numbered from '15' to '42'; the pagination is later than the copying of the text. Of the first quire there remain only a few fragments, three of which belonged without doubt to an Ezekiel apocryphon. The recto (in other words, the side on which the writing follows the direction of the horizontal fibres) of fr. 3 of the pseudo-Ezekiel contains some words of the text of Enoch, probably En. 91: 3–4.[4] Eight other small fragments could likewise belong to Enoch; one of these can in my opinion be identified with En. 92: 1.[5] The almost continuous text of En. 97: 6–107: 3 begins on p. '15', [*ιε′*], and finishes in the middle of p. '26', *κς′*, where, after the subscription *Ἐπιστολὴ Ἐνώχ* there begins *Μελήτων*, the homily of Melito of Sardis on the Passion. At the foot of each page anything

(*Vat. Gr. 1809*) in *Studi e Testi*, 263 (1970), 11–16.

[1] Gitlbauer, loc. cit., i, pp. 96, 9–10 (cf. *PG* 47, 77–8).

[2] A. S. Hunt, Part XVII, 1927, pp. 6–8: 'Apocalyptic Fragment'.

[3] Fr. 3^{v} can be identified with En. 77: 7–78: 1, and fr. 3^{r} with En. 78: 8; see above, p. 19, and Milik, *Chronique d'Egypte*, 1971, no. 92, pp. 323–32.

[4] See 4QEn^{g} 1 i (below, p. 259); and for a transcription, C. Bonner, *The Homily on the Passion by Melito bishop of Sardis and some fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel* (Studies and Documents, xii), 1940, p. 187.

[5] See En^{g} 1 ii 22–3 (below, pp. 261–2).

from two to four lines of text are missing; the number of lines per page varies from 41 to 46. The six leaves containing the Epistle of Enoch are distributed as follows: f. 1 (pp. 15–16), CB inv. no. 100; f. 2, CB 170; f. 3, M 5552; f. 4, CB 169; f. 5, M 5552; f. 6 (pp. 25–26), CB 167.[1]

The scribes of the Enochic texts C/C′ and CM (= Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus) copied only the Book of Watchers and the Epistle of Enoch, respectively. CM was attached to a Christian text; C′ and C were bound up, after the copy was made, with Christian texts. As for P. Oxy. 2069, it is not quite certain whether this is a single codex or two volumes copied by the same scribe. In any case, the editor points out that the papyrus of fragments 3 and 5 (which I identify with the Astronomical Book of Enoch) 'is lighter coloured and better preserved than in the rest'.

This independent circulation of various Enochic works in no way excludes, in my opinion, the existence of more comprehensive collections which might have imitated the Aramaic Enochic Pentateuch in two volumes put together in the course of the first century B.C. by Judaean scribes, or rather, to be more exact, by the Essene copyists of Qumrân. The presence of En. 106–7 in the CM papyrus certainly seems to be evidence of the fact that this Greek text of the Epistle of Enoch was extracted from a collection which probably combined the four Enochic books (see above p. 57). I suggested above (p. 72) that George Syncellus, who drew on the chronicles of Annianus and Panodorus, gives a long quotation from the Book of Giants. Now, it has certainly been proved that these two Alexandrian scholars of the early fifth century incorporated in their works extensive extracts from apocryphal books, such as Jubilees and the Enochic writings. At a later date these quotations were in turn extracted, in part, by other chroniclers, Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc. Syncellus combined extracts from the Book of Watchers and the Book of Giants under the same heading and the same colophon. It can be concluded from this that in a codex of the fourth to fifth centuries, which Panodorus had to hand, the Book of Giants followed on directly from the Book of Watchers. I believe that his volume of the books of Enoch also contained the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. The Greek extract of Vat. Gr. MS. 1809 corresponding to En. 89: 42–9 is followed by a lemma where the animals are identified with the peoples against whom David

[1] *Editio princeps* of the text by C. Bonner, with the collaboration of H. C. Youtie, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* (Studies and Documents, viii), 1937. Photographic edition by F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* . . ., viii. *Enoch and Melito*, 1941, plates, f. 8^{v}–13^{r}. Description of the codex, Kenyon, loc. cit., i (1933), 9–10, and Bonner, *The Homily*, pp. 5–8 and 81. Cf. Black, op. cit.

fought (above, pp. 45–6); thus it certainly comes from a Byzantine chronicle. The Latin extract of En. 106: 1–18 comes likewise from a chronicle, translated from Greek into Latin (below, p. 80). Above (p. 20) I suggested that a passage from Syncellus (who always copies Panodorus through the intermediary of Annianus) refers to the final part of the astronomical Enoch, unknown to the Ethiopic version. If this is correct, it must be concluded from this that the Astronomical Book known in Alexandria around the year 400 still had its long text which faithfully reproduced the Aramaic original. That is confirmed by my identification of P. Oxy. 2069, fr. 3, with the Astronomical Book in its long recension; this papyrus is approximately contemporaneous with the Enochic codices used by Panodorus.

All these indications show clearly in my opinion that at the beginning of the fifth century there did not yet exist an Enochic Pentateuch such as we know it through the Ethiopic translation, with the book of Parables in the second place. The Greek archetype of this collection goes back at the earliest to the sixth or the seventh centuries, if it is at about this date that we should place the composition of a stichometry of the canonical and apocryphal books of the two Testaments, an improved edition of which bears the name of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople from 806 to 815. The number of stichoi which he gives to 'Enoch', 4,800, corresponds well to the present length of the Ethiopic Enoch, if one compares it, for example, with his figure of 5,100 for the 'Patriarchs', that is, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in Greek.[1]

It remains for us finally to answer the question why Syncellus, following Pandorus and Annianus, says explicitly that his extracts come from the 'first book of Enoch'. In theory three solutions can be considered:

1. The successive Enochic documents were counted, one after the other, so that 'the first book of Enoch' would have been the Book of Watchers; 'the second book' the Book of Giants; 'the third' the Book of Dreams; and so on.

2. The first and the second books of Enoch denoted the two volumes of the Enochic Pentateuch, the second of which comprised only the Astronomical Book.

3. The early Enochic Pentateuch (Aramaic and Greek), in its entirety, was looked upon as 'the first book of Enoch' to distinguish it from the

[1] I have verified this passage in the Paris, Bibl. Nat. grec MS. 1711, preliminary f. 6ᵛ, line 15, and in Oxford, Christ Church Greek MS. 5, f. 11ᵛ, 19.

Book of Parables, which has the title 'the second vision of Enoch' at En. 37: 1. Cf. also 'another book which Enoch wrote' in 108: 1.

In fact, it seems to me that it is the third hypothesis which is the correct one, for (1) Syncellus combines under the same title extracts which come from two different Enochic works, the Book of Watchers and the Book of Giants; (2) in summarizing the Astronomical Book, that is, the second volume of the Enochic Pentateuch, Syncellus mentions only 'the Book of Enoch' (and not 'the Second Book of Enoch'), that is, the same one as he was quoting shortly before under the title of 'first book of Enoch'. If this supposition is correct, Panodorus must have been aware of the existence of the Book of Parables, although he probably did not quote it. It is possible that it appeared to him as being of too obviously recent and Christian composition; if so, he showed more critical sense than the majority of modern scholars. However, he would be, in a rather indirect way, the first witness of the existence of the Parables, the composition of which goes back, in my opinion, to the second half of the third century A.D. (see below, pp. 94–6).

THE LATIN, COPTIC, AND SYRIAC TRANSLATIONS

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (d. *post* A.D. 220) was one of the most assiduous readers of the Enochic works in early Christian times. The majority of his approximate quotations and allusions refer to chapters 6 ff. of the Book of Watchers. *De virginibus velandis* 7. 4–8[1] and *De idololatria* 9[2] refer to En. 6: 1–2 (and to parallel passages of the same book) and also to Gen. 6: 1–2 (which is quoted explicitly). *De cultu feminarum*, i. 2 and ii. 10[3] refers more specifically to En. 8: 1–3: 'Quod si idem angeli, qui et materias et eiusmodi inlecebras detexerunt, auri dico et lapidum inlustrium, et operas eorum tradiderunt, etiam ipsum calliblepharum' (καλλιβλέφαρον of C as against καλλωπίζειν of S) 'vellerumque tincturas (τὰ βαφικά) inter cetera docuerunt, damnati a deo sunt, ut Enoch refert' (ii. 10, p. 88, 18–22). The text of En. 8: 1 that Tertullian read was closer to the original than that of C, S, and E (see below, notes to 4QEn^b 1 ii 26–8). On the teaching of astrology by the angels (En. 8: 3) and the interdict from heaven (En. 14: 5) see *De idol.* 9; with En. 15: 8–9 compare *Apologeticum*, xxii;[4] on the mention of

[1] Ed. Aem. Kroymann and V. Bulhart, *CSEL* 76 (1957), 89–90.

[2] A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, *CSEL* 20 (1890), 38.

[3] Kroymann, *CSEL* 70 (1942), 60–1 and 88.

[4] H. Hoppe, *CSEL* 69 (1939), 61.

Methuselah in *De cultu fem.* i. 3 (ed. cit., p. 63), see above, p. 20. An obscure reference is to be found in *De idol.* 15 (ed. cit., p. 48): 'Haec (the idolatrous cult of the doorways) 'igitur ab initio praevidens spiritus sanctus etiam ostia in superstitionem ventura praececinit per antiquissimum prophetam Enoch'. We are dealing here, in my opinion, with En. 9: 2 and 9: 10, where the complaints of men, which rise as far as the 'doorways of heaven', are mentioned.[1] Obviously this is a very forced interpretation in which the Christian apologist does not take any account of the context.

The passage in *De idol.* 4 (ed. cit., p. 33) is very important. After the quotation of the decalogue: 'ne feceris idolum . . . neque similitudinem eorum quae in caelo sunt et quae in terra et quae in mari' (Exod. 20: 3 and Deut. 5: 8), Tertullian continues: 'antecesserat Enoch praedicens omnia elementa, omnem mundi censum, quae caelo, quae mari, quae terra continentur, in idololatrian versuros daemonas et spiritus desertorum angelorum, ut pro deo adversus deum consecrarentur.' The Christian author is certainly referring to En. 19: 1 (as the editors of the Ethiopic Enoch have indeed remarked), but the first part of his phrase: 'omnia elementa, omnem mundi censum . . . continentur' refers, in my opinion, to the description of the world in the account of the journeyings of Enoch (En. 17–36). I do not think that the expression 'quae in caelo sunt' alludes to En. 80: 7, 'they will look at the (stars) as gods', but rather to En. 33–6. Tertullian continues with an explicit and very faithful quotation of En. 99: 6–7 which can be compared in large part to the Greek text of CM:

'denique idem Enoch simul et cultores idoli et fabricatores in comminatione praedamnat: "Et rursus iuro vobis peccatores, quod in diem sanguinis perditionis tristitia (MS; A; paenitentia MS. B) parata est. Qui servitis lapidibus

et qui imagines facitis aureas et argenteas et ligneas et lapideas et fictiles et servitis phantasmatibus et daemoniis et spiritibus ⟨et⟩ infami⟨i⟩s[2] et omnibus erroribus non secundum scientiam, nullum ab iis invenietis auxilium."'	*[καὶ] οἱ γλύφοντες εἰκόνα[ς ἀργυ]ρᾶς καὶ χρυσᾶς, ξυλίνας τε [καὶ λιθίνας] καὶ ὀστρακίνας, καὶ λατρεύ[οντες φαν]τάσμασι καὶ δαιμονίοι[ς καὶ βδελύγ]μασι καὶ πνεύμασι πονη[ροῖς καὶ] πάσαις ταῖς πλάναις οὐ κατ' ἐπισ[τήμην] καὶ πᾶν βοήθημα οὐ μὴ εὕρηται* (l. *-τε*) *[ἀπ'] αὐτῶν.*

[1] See En^a 1 iv 9–10 and En^b 1 iii 9–10 (En 9: 2).

[2] Emendation *et infamiis*, Bonner, loc. cit., p. 44. Tertullian's order *καὶ δαιμονίοις καὶ πνεύμασι {πονηροῖς?} και βδελύγμασι* seems better than that of CM; the text of E is certainly inferior, in this passage, to those of Tertullian and CM.

What interests us here is the fact that Tertullian seems to have had available a manuscript of Enoch which contained both the Book of Watchers and the Epistle: 'Enoch... idem Enoch'. This would be the first volume of the Enochic Pentateuch of which we have spoken above (pp. 76–7). He does not seem, on the other hand, to be acquainted with the Astronomical Book which formed the second volume of this collection. But Tertullian's Enochic allusions and quotations can scarcely be looked upon as evidence of a Latin version of the Greek Enoch; he certainly knew Greek, could write it, and often translated Greek texts straight into Latin. Cyprian's Enochic allusion in *De habitu virginum* 14[1] is undoubtedly dependent on Tertullian; so probably are Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 26, and Commodian, *Instructiones adversus gentium deos*, I. iii (*Cultura daemonum*). But Lactantius, too, if he was directly acquainted with the writings of Enoch, could read them in Greek (see above, p. 21).

Neither does 'A Fragment of the Book of Enoch in Latin' published by M. R. James,[2] which contains the summary of En. 106: 1–18, seem to be derived from a Latin translation, complete or incomplete, of the books of Enoch. We find in it chronological details (the age of Lamech at the birth of Noah; the flood after 500 years, cf. Gen. 5: 32 and 9: 28–9; forty days of the flood) and other additions (e.g. the names of the three sons of Noah) which prove in my opinion that this extract comes from a world chronicle. Lamech's age, we are told, was *annorum tricentorum quinquagenta* at the time of the birth of Noah. This false piece of information should probably be corrected to *trium et quinquaginta* (*tres et* could have been wrongly read as *trecet*, an abbreviation of *trecenti*). Now 53 years is the age given in the Samaritan Pentateuch (Gen. 5: 28). The chronicle from which the Latin extract of En. 106 comes would thus be extremely early, of Graeco-Oriental origin, if it employed, even sporadically, Greek Samaritan sources.

A detailed description of the manuscript from which James took the fragment is given by G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson.[3] We should note that the extract from the Book of Enoch is followed in it by three other passages, and that all four alike refer to great sins of great sinners and their great punishments. A short passage, with the title *De uindictis magnis magnorum peccatorum*, enumerates the punishments inflicted on the Devil, Adam, Cain,

[1] G. Hartel, *CSEL* 3. 1 (1868), 197–8.

[2] *Apocrypha Anecdota* (*Texts and Studies*, ii. 3), 1893, pp. 146–50 (text p. 148; from the British Museum Royal MS. 5 E XIII, f. 79ᵛ, 9–80ʳ, 9, late ninth century, of continental origin).

[3] *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, i (1921), 116.

et al., down to the siege of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian, which is said to have taken place in vengeance of Christ's crucifixion (ff. 80ʳ, 10–80ᵛ, 1). There follows a fairly detailed summary of the Old Latin translation of *BJ* vi. 196 and 201–13 concerning a case of anthropophagy in the besieged Jerusalem (ff. 80ᵛ, 2–81ʳ, 5; for lines 5–9 cf. *BJ* vi. 419–20; lines 9–12 are unidentified). The fourth piece resumes 2 Kings 6: 24–8: 3 according to the Old Latin Version (ff. 81ʳ, 13–81ᵛ, 26). We have here probably some extracts from a chronicle or from a collection of Exempla or of Testimonia.

In conclusion, there is no irrefutable evidence for the existence of a Latin version of the Enochic writings. Nevertheless, the books of Enoch were well known indirectly in the Christian West, and traces of them are found both in patristic and medieval literature and in iconography.

During the excavations of the Italian Mission from Florence in the northern cemetery of Antinoë, numerous manuscript fragments, dating chiefly from the sixth to seventh centuries, came to light in 1937, among others a Coptic fragment of En. 93: 3–8.[1] This fragment retains approximately one-third of a leaf of parchment inscribed in beautiful biblical uncial in two columns on recto and verso. It contains a part of the description of Weeks 1 to 6 of the Apocalypse of Weeks. A comparison of this Coptic text with the Aramaic text of En^{g} 1 iii 23–5 on the subject of the first and the second weeks shows quite clearly that it is a very faithful version, and not a highly glossed text as suggested by the editor, who was confused by some divergences from the Ethiopic Enoch. In my opinion the readings of the Coptic fragment are all preferable to those of E.[2]

Here is the literal Latin translation of the Coptic En. 93: 3–8 made by G. Garitte:

Recto, col. i: [3]. . . [Eg]o Enoch genitus sum in prima hebdomade (ἑβδομάς) et usque ad me iustum (δίκαιον) opus permansit compositum.

B′ [4]Et post me secunda hebdomas (ἑβδομάς) [fiet . . . *col. ii*: . . . secund]a(?) hebd[omas] (ἑβδομάς).

[5]Et post ea tertia hebdomas (ἑβδομάς) fiet et in perfectione eius eligetur homo ad pl[antam(?) . . .

[1] Published by S. Donadoni, 'Un frammento della versione copta del "libro di Enoch" ' in *Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen), xxv (1960), pp. 197–202.

[2] In v. 8 the editor was wrong to dismiss пєрпє, 'temple', as 'chiaramente glossa'; it corresponds to 'the house of the sanctuary', which, although it is the reading of E^{e} alone, is preferable to 'the house of domination' of the majority of the Ethiopic manuscripts.

Verso, col. i: . . . et conficietur tabernaculum (σκηνή) in ea.
7Et post ea quinta hebdomas (ἑβδομάς) fiet, et in perfectione eius
col. ii: 8. . . in] hac hebdo[made] (ἑβδομάς) assumetur (ἀναλαμβάνειν) homo (quidam) in altum; et in perfectione huius hebdomadis (ἑβδομάς) comburetur templum igne et . . .

In a letter dated 30 August 1970 M. Garitte notes apropos 'et usque ad me' (recto i 4), ועד עלי of En^g 1 iii 24 (En. 93: 3): 'The passage . . . which I have translated "usque ad me" is *ša hiôôt* in Coptic, the literal meaning of which is *usque super me*, that is, it is an exact reproduction of the Aramaic *'d 'ly*: the Coptic formula is all the more noteworthy in that *ša*, "usque ad", is not usually followed by another preposition (here *hiôôt*).' It follows that the Greek, too, translated this expression word for word: ἕως ἐπί μου or ἕως ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

I agree with Donadoni (loc. cit., p. 202) that the small codex to which this Coptic fragment belonged contained only the Epistle of Enoch, as did 4QEn^g and the CM papyrus.

In chapter IV of the first book of the Chronicle composed by Michael the Syrian, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch from A.D. 1166 to 1199, we find an explicit (*mn ktb' dḥnwk*) and a fairly close quotation of En. 6: 1–6*a*. This extract is followed by a shortened text of En. 6: 7*a* and 6: 8: *whlyn 'ytyhwn hww 'yd' dsmz ryšy 'sr' dylhwn.*[1] Finally comes a mention of *Kôkab'el*, the inventor of astrology (En. 8: 3), which reminds one of a passage in George Syncellus, also on the subject of the fourth fallen angel (see p. 319).

This quotation has recently been restudied by S. P. Brock.[2] Taking up the idea of Gelzer and J.-B. Chabot, the editor of the Chronicle of Michael, he deals convincingly with the problem of the origin of the passage, 'the only genuine fragment of 1 Enoch to be preserved in Syriac'. With a Syrian chronicler (probably John of Litharba, eighth century), as intermediary, the account of the patriarch Michael goes back to the same source as that on which George Syncellus drew, namely the chronography of the monk Annianus of Alexandria (beginning of the fifth century), who in turn drew on the chronicle of his contemporary, the monk Panodorus.

[1] We must correct the unintelligible *'yd'dsmz* to *qdmy smz*, 'first, Sem(ya)z(as)'; and then, assuming a kind of homoeoteleuton read ⟨*ryšhwn* . . .⟩ *ryšy*.

[2] 'A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac', *JTS*, N.S. xix (1968), 626–31 (text on p. 630).

Similarly the Enochic accounts given by the author of the *Cave of Treasures* and of *Chronicon anonymum ad annum 1234* derive, in the last analysis, from Greek chronicles; Barhebraeus likewise depends on the Chronicle of Michael. We must conclude that there are no traces of a special version of the works attributed to Enoch in Syriac literature.

THE ETHIOPIC BOOK OF ENOCH

The first scientific edition of the Ethiopic Enoch was made by A. Dillmann,[1] with the help of five manuscripts, *a* to *e* of Charles's list (see below); we also owe to him the present division into chapters and verses. Both this edition and the translation and commentary by the same scholar[2] have remained fundamental to subsequent research. Dillmann later made himself familiar with three other manuscripts,[3] while by 1893 R. H. Charles had added ten more.[4] J. Flemming succeeded in gathering together and describing twenty-six Ethiopic manuscripts containing the Book of Enoch (equivalent to twenty-seven in the editions of Charles, who distinguishes between g and $_1$g); and from the textual point of view his edition has virtually not been surpassed until the present day.[5] It is to Flemming that we owe the present distribution of the Ethiopic manuscripts into two groups, α and β: the first is, as a rule, the older and better; the second represents the vulgate text of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. Essentially, however, Flemming's edition is made from fourteen (= fifteen of Charles's) manuscripts, *a–e* and *g m p q t u v w y*. Charles's edition of 1906[6] is based on twenty-three manuscripts, and in his translation of 1912[7] he enumerates twenty-nine, as follows:

a. Bodley 4. Enoch only (105 chapters = actual 108 chapters), 40 ff. Latter half of eighteenth century.

[1] *Liber Henoch Aethiopice*, Leipzig 1851.

[2] *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig 1853.

[3] *Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Berlin*, li–liii (1892), 1039–54.

[4] *The Book of Enoch translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments*, Oxford 1893.

[5] *Das Buch Henoch, äthiopischer Text* (Texte und Untersuchungen xxii. 1), Leipzig 1902: cf. J. Flemming and L. Radermacher, *Das Buch Henoch* (GCS 5), Leipzig 1901.

[6] *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series XI), Oxford.

[7] *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch translated anew from the Text with Introduction, Commentary, Critical Notes, and Appendices*, Oxford, pp. xxi–xxiv; reprinted 1964, Mokelumne Hill, California (cf. J. Flemming and L. Radermacher, GCS 5 (1901), 3–5).

b. Bodley 5. Enoch (98 chapters = 108 chapters), ff. 1–32; Job, Isaiah, etc. Eighteenth century (?); *a* and *b* brought by Bruce in 1773.
c. Frankfurt, Rüppel ii. 1. Enoch (98 chapters), ff. 1–52; Job, Octateuch. Eighteenth century.
d. Curzon MS. Enoch (102 chapters), ff. 1–36; Job, Daniel, etc. Eighteenth century (?).
e. Curzon MS. Enoch (98 = 105 chapters?), ff. 1–20; Samuel–Kings, etc. Eighteenth century (?).
f. British Museum, Add. 24185. Enoch only (106 chapters). Nineteenth century.
g. B.M., Orient. 485. Jubilees, Enoch. First half of sixteenth century.
$_1g$. En 97: 6b–108: 10 in ff. 168^r–177^r of *g* (inserted in En 91: 6), by the same scribe.
h. B.M., Orient. 484. Enoch (108 chapters), Octateuch, Jeremiah, etc. Eighteenth century.
i. B.M., Orient. 486. Enoch (1: 1–60: 13a missing), Samuel, etc. Eighteenth century.
k. B.M., Orient. 490. Enoch (107 chapters), Job, Daniel, etc. Eighteenth century.
l. B.M., 24990. Enoch, Job, etc. Eighteenth century.
m. B.M., Orient. 491. Enoch, Job, etc. Eighteenth century.
n. B.M., Orient. 492. Enoch (87 chapters), Books of Solomon, etc. Eighteenth century.
o. B.M., Orient. 499. Sirach, Daniel, Enoch (106 chapters), Isaiah, 12 Prophets. Eighteenth century.
p. Rylands Libr. Enoch and other books. Seventeenth century.
q. Berlin, Petermann II Nachtr. 29. Enoch only, 167 ff. Sixteenth century.
r. Abbadie 16. Enoch (77 chapters) and other works. Nineteenth century.
s. Abbadie 30. Enoch and other works. Eighteenth century.
t. Abbadie 35. Enoch, Job, Samuel, etc. Seventeenth century; t^2. corrections and marginal notes.
u. Abbadie 55. Enoch (much abbreviated after chapter 83) and other works. Fifteenth century (?).
v. Abbadie 99. Enoch only. Nineteenth century; copy of a manuscript in Gondar.
w. Abbadie 197. Enoch (98 chapters) and other works. Seventeenth or eighteenth century.
x. Vatican 71. Enoch only (98 chapters), 27 ff. Seventeenth century.

y. Munich 30. Enoch only, 61 ff. Seventeenth century.
z. Paris 50. Enoch and other works. Seventeenth century.
$_{1}z$. Paris 49. Copy of *b*. Eighteenth century.
$_{1}a$. Garrett MS. Enoch only. Nineteenth or end of eighteenth century.
$_{1}b$. Westenholz MS. Enoch only (106 chapters). Eighteenth century.

W. Baars of the University of Leiden has drawn my attention to three other manuscripts of the Ethiopic Enoch in European libraries (letter of 17 January 1970):

Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Add. 1570, f. 1^{a}–16^{b}. Year 1588.
London, British and Foreign Bible Society Libr. ix, ff. 1^{a}–65^{b}. Seventeenth century.
Rome, Pontificio Istituto Biblico Library, no. Banco A–2; 11, ff. 1–42 (En. 1: 1–108: 15).

There must obviously be yet others in Abyssinian monasteries, besides the two copies known in the monastery of Gunda Gunde.[1]

As can be seen from Charles's list, the Book of Enoch is usually combined with the Ethiopic Bible, either at the beginning (before or after the Octateuch), or beside the Book of Job, the Book of Daniel, or books attributed to Solomon. There is only one manuscript which perhaps goes back to the fifteenth century (*u*); four belong to the sixteenth (*g*, $_{1}g$, *q* and the Univ. of Cambridge MS.); some to the seventeenth (*ptxyz* and perhaps *w*); the majority to the eighteenth, and three to the nineteenth century (*frv*). The manuscripts of class *α* which retain, rather sporadically, some more archaic features, are $g_{1}gmqtu$ (and to a certain extent *n*); 'the best all-round MS.' is probably *g*. However, it does happen occasionally that the whole of class *β*, or some individual manuscripts of this group, contain readings which are nearer the original than the secondary variants of class *α*.[2]

Strangely enough, no edition of the Ethiopic Enoch takes account of the numerous quotations of this book to be found in the national Geʿez literature.[3] Here is a provisional list of Enochic quotations in printed texts; a few of these references will be mentioned below, *passim*. (N.B. '*cf.*' indicates

[1] W. Baars and R. Zuurmond, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 9 (1964), 73.

[2] On the textual value of all the MSS. of class *α*, see Charles, 1912, pp. xxv–xxvii.

[3] I do not at all agree with Flemming's remark: 'Es lohnt nicht der Mühe, die grösseren oder kleineren Bruchstücke unseres Werkes, welche die Handschriftenkataloge als Teil dieser oder jener Compilation verzeichnen, zu berücksichtigen.'

a free rendering of an Enochic passage; brackets, ( ), an allusion or reminiscence. The references to the Book of Enoch are in bold type.)

(1 : 2) : J. Perruchon and I. Guidi, *Le livre des mystères du ciel et de la terre*, *PO* i. 1 (1907), 30.
cf. **1 : 9** (and Jude 14–15): K. Wendt, *Das Maṣḥafa Milâd* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Maṣḥafa Sellâsê* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zar'a Yâ'qob*, *CSCO* 221/*Aeth.* 41 (1962), 66 and 123.
cf. **3** : *PO* i, 1, p. 27.
(14 : 22) : ibid., p. 29.
(18 : 6 and **24 : 2)** : ibid., p. 30.
cf. **18 : 6–8** : B. Turaiev, *Acta Eustathii*, *CSCO*, *Aeth.* ser. II, t. xxi (Versio), pp. 30–1.
19 : 3–20 : 2 : Wendt, libro. cit., *CSCO* 235/*Aeth.* 43, 1963, p. 78.
(22 : 2–3) : *PO* i, 1, p. 80.
cf. **25 : 5** : A. Caquot, 'Les Actes d'Ezrâ de Gunda-Gundê', *Annales d'Ethiopie*, iv (1961), 77.

(37 : 2) : C. Conti Rossini, 'L'arcangelo Afnin nella letteratura etiopica', *Anal. Boll.* 68 (1950), 431 and 434.
(40 : 1) : ibid.
(46–7) : *CSCO* 221/*Aeth.* 41, p. 2.
46 : 1 : ibid., pp. 58, 83 and 111; *Aeth.* 43, pp. 2, 57, 68 and 74; Conti Rossini, *Il libro della luce del negus Zar'a Yâ'qob* (*Maṣḥafa Berhân*), *CSCO* 261/*Aeth.* 51 (1965), 38.
46 : 1–3 : *Aeth.* 41, p. 59.
cf. **46 : 1–6** : London, B.M. Aeth. MS. 55 (cf. A. Dillmann, *Liber Henoch*, 1851, Annotationes p. 2).
46 : 1–51 : 4 : *Aeth.* 41, pp. 55–8.
46 : 2–4 : ibid., pp. 58–9.
(51 : 1) : Turaiev, *Acta Sancti Zar'a-Abrahâm*, *CSCO*, *Aeth.* ser. II, t. xxiii (1905), 21.
(52 : 1) : id., *Aeth.* ser. II, t. xxi (Versio), p. 30; Conti Rossini, *Aeth.* 51, p. 71; Wendt, *Aeth.* 41, pp. 53 and 122, and *Aeth.* 43, p. 81; etc.
60 : 5–6 : *PO* i, 1, p. 13.
(60 : 7) : ibid.
(60 : 8 and Jude 14**)**: S. Grébaut, *Le livre des mystères . . .*, *PO* vi, 3 (1911), 430 [172]; Wendt, *Aeth.* 41, p. 66.
cf. **60 : 20–2** : *Aeth.* 43, p. 79.

61 : 6–8 : *Aeth.* 41, pp. 122–3.
61 : 8 : *Aeth.* 51, p. 38.
(61 : 10) : *Anal. Boll.*, 1950, p. 428.
cf. **62 :** B.M. Aeth. MS. 55 (Dillmann, loc. cit.).
62 : 1–2 : *Aeth.* 41, p. 59.
62 : 3–16 : ibid., pp. 59–60.
(62 : 5 etc.): ibid., p. 111.
63 : 11–12 : ibid., p. 61.
69 : 26–70 : 3 : ibid., p. 61.
cf. **71 : 7 :** *Anal. Boll.*, 1950, pp. 432 and 435.
71 : 12–17 : *Aeth.* 41, pp. 62–3.

72 : 33–4 : ibid., p. 63.
78 : 15–17 : ibid.
(82 : 7) : ibid., p. 111; *Aeth.* 43, p. 101.
82 : 9 : *Aeth.* 41, p. 63.

cf. **85 : 3 :** *PO* i, 1, p. 33.
(89 : 10 etc.): *PO* vi, 3, p. 395 [137].
cf. **89 : 10–12 :** ibid.
(89 : 12 etc.): ibid.
(89 : 16 etc.): *Ann. d'Eth.*, 1961, p. 121.
89 : 19–30 : *Aeth.* 43, pp. 81–2.
cf. **89 : 30 :** ibid., pp. 82 and 83.
(90 : 9 etc.): ibid., p. 20.
(90 : 38) : E. Cerulli, *Anal. Boll.* 68, 1950, pp. 437 and 441.

(93 : 2) : *PO* i, 1, p. 30.
cf. **93 : 3–10+91 : 12–15 :** *PO* vi, 3, pp. 430–3 (172–5); cf. Grébaut, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, xxii (1920–1), 215–16.
(91 : 12) : *PO* i, 1, p. 55; *Aeth.* 41, p. 14.
91 : 12–13 : *Aeth.* 41, pp. 34 and 53.
91 : 13 : ibid., p. 54.
91 : 15 : ibid.
91 : 15–17 : ibid., p. 64.
100 : 5 : *Aeth.* 51, p. 101.
108 : 7 : *Aeth.* ser. II, t. xxi (Versio), p. 53.

Something of textual value can be found in poetical references to the Book of Enoch.[1]

The Ethiopic version was made from a Greek text of the Christian Enochic Pentateuch (with the Book of Parables as the second member); the text of the Book of Watchers derives from a Greek manuscript which was very close to texts C and C′; the Epistle of Enoch, on the other hand, was translated from a poor Greek manuscript, far inferior to the text of the CM papyrus.[2]

The date of the Ethiopic translation is not known; the fifth or the sixth century has been suggested, but without any really valid proof. In any case it is later than the formation of the Christian Enochic Pentateuch, which would hardly seem to go back earlier than the sixth century (see above, pp. 76–7).

Let us hope that a future edition of the Ethiopic Enoch will broaden our knowledge of manuscripts and of quotations; will improve the present often very corrupt state of this book; and will throw light on textual problems (was there only a Greek archetype or a Coptic one also? What is the respective value of the manuscripts and the groups of manuscripts?) and on chronological problems (the date of the first translation; the recensional work of Abyssinian scholars; the origin of manuscripts scattered in European and American libraries). Here let it suffice to point out that the study of the Aramaic fragments of 4QEnoch and the collation of them with existing witnesses of Enochic Books reveal the very secondary, periphrastic, and often confusing nature of the Ethiopic text. One should never trust any given detail of this version. Its only merit, and that a considerable one, however, consists in the fact that it is relatively the most complete and will no doubt always remain so.

[1] See *v. gr.* M. Van den Ouderijn, *Helenae Aethiopum reginae quae feruntur preces et carmina*, *CSCO* 208/*Aeth.* 39 (text) and 211/40 (version); cf. index, *Aeth.* 40, p. 131. En. 18: 8 is paraphrased in Turaiev, *Acta Sancti Aaronis*, *CSCO*, *Aeth.* ser. II, t. xx (1908), 113 (text) and 101 (version).

[2] The hypothesis, put forward by Ed. Ullendorff, that the work of translation was carried out directly from the original Aramaic text, cannot, in my opinion, be sustained ('An Aramaic "Vorlage" of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?' in *Atti del convegno intern. di studi etiopici*, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, *Problemi attuali di scienza et di cultura*, 48 (1960), 259–68).

CHAPTER III

WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO ENOCH IN ROMANO-BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

AMONG numerous literary compositions attributed to the patriarch Enoch during the Christian period, by Christians of various denominations as well as by Jews, the most debated are the Book of Parables and the Slavonic Enoch. The first is dated almost unanimously to the pre-Christian era; the second similarly, or else to the early Christian period. An attempt will be made here to put forward much later dates for both of them. We shall also describe briefly other writings connected in one way or another with the person of Enoch.

THE BOOK OF PARABLES AND OTHER ENOCHIC WRITINGS IN THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

The work known in modern times as 'the Book of Parables' forms the second part of the Ethiopic Enoch (En. 37 to 71), the most extensive of the five sections of this text.

We should note that the conventional title is not at all appropriate. It would be much better to use the one chosen by the author himself, 'Second Vision of Enoch' (En. 37: 1). This contrasts it with the First Vision, that is, with the whole collection of revelations contained in the Aramaic and Greek Enochic Pentateuch in two volumes: the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, the Book of Dreams, the Epistle of Enoch in the first volume, and the Astronomical Book in the second volume. The Second Vision can be divided into three 'parables' (En. 37: 5) or, to be more exact, sapiential 'discourses' or 'sayings', for this is an obvious borrowing from the 'parables' of En. 1:2, [ונסב] מתלוהי (4QEn[a] 1 i 2), *καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ* (C; singular under the influence of Num. 23: 7, etc.?). The same term reappears in the Epistle, [נסב ח]נוך מתלה (En[g] 1 iii 18 = En. 93: 1) and נסב חנוך מתלה (En[g] 1 iii 23 = En. 93: 3). The Ethiopic Version omits *τὴν παραβολήν* in En. 1: 2, and replaces it with *'ĕmmaṣâḥĕft*, 'from books', in En. 93.

Nor is it correct to speak only of the 'Parables of Enoch'. Actually the author ascribes his ideas to three people, of whom two are men and the third is an angel. After an introduction (En. 37: 1–4) come the three discourses of the Second Vision of Enoch: 'First Parable' (En. 38–44), 'Second Parable' (45–57), and 'Third Parable', which occupies only two chapters (58–9). From 60 to 64 we have the Parable or, more precisely, the Vision of Noah, followed by 'historical' accounts of Noah's visit to Enoch in Paradise (65–6) and of the Word of the Lord to Noah (67). Verse 68: 1 concludes this main part of the work with a reference to the delivery of the books of Enoch to Noah, in which the writer makes a clear distinction between 'the Book of the Word' (*Λόγος* of En. 1: 1) and 'the book of Parables'.[1] The same distinction appears in the preceding phrase: 'my grandfather Enoch gave me a copy (*tĕʾĕmĕrt*, "signum, documentum, typus"; translation of the Greek ἀντίγραφον and the Aramaic פרשגן "copy, exemplar") of all the secrets in a book (i.e. of the book of secrets) and in the parables (i.e. and of the book of parables)'. An angelological and magical section, which should be entitled the Words of Michael (68: 2, anticipated in 67: 12) extends from 68: 2 to 69: 29. The subscription, 'Such is the third parable of Enoch' (69: 29), is a later addition; or else it characterizes the work by its major part and is thus to be understood as 'Such are the three parables of Enoch'. The epilogue (70–1) takes up the 'historical' framework of the work with the description of the removal of Enoch into the Paradise situated in the North-West of the universe and his visit to the heavenly Palace of God.

The three discourses of Enoch claim universal scope for their appeal: in space ('to those who inhabit the dry land', 37: 2) and in time (from the first right up to the last generations, 37: 2–3).[2] The First Parable imitates fairly closely the series of passages in the Book of Watchers: En. 38 paraphrases En. 1; 39: 1 corresponds to 6: 1, and 39: 2 to 14: 1; the four archangels of 40 can be compared to the four archangels in 9–10; the journeys of the patriarch described in 41–4, and anticipated in 39: 3–14, resume the astronomical and apocalyptic journeys of Enoch in 17–36. The Second Parable discourses 'on the renegades', the sinners (45: 1), and the Third 'on the just and the elect' (58: 1); there too the author often returns to the themes of the Book of Watchers (see, e.g., 54, 55, and 59). Like Enoch, Noah journeys widely; he is accompanied by angels and arrives at the Garden

[1] I choose, with a slight correction, the reading of E^{g}: 'in the book of the word ⟨and⟩ of the parables'.

[2] Cf. A. Caquot and P. Geoltrain, *Semitica*, xiii (1963), 39 ff.

of the just (60: 23). In 69: 2 the archangel Michael repeats the angelological list of 6: 7.

The author of the Book of Parables thus had at his disposal Greek copies of the Jewish Enochic writings, in particular the Book of Watchers. His copy of the latter work was very good, superior to those of C, S, and E.[1] He was familiar with, and used cautiously, certain passages of the Astronomical Book and also eschatological parts of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. Less certain is his knowledge of the Book of Giants, which should not cause any surprise, given the highly fragmentary state of the text of this work both in the manuscripts of Qumrân and in the Manichaean manuscripts of Turfan and Chotsko. It is known, however, that a giant had fought with and conquered the dragon Leviathan (below, p. 299); so the description in En. 60: 7–10, 24 of two monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, might come from the work on the Giants.[2]

We suggested above that En. 68: 2–69: 29 should be entitled the Words of Michael. This calls to mind the title of an Aramaic text of 4Q, as yet unpublished: מלי כתבא די אמר מיכאל למלאכיא.[3] Among the manuscripts of 4Q to be published by Starcky I have identified a fragment which belongs to a second copy of the same Aramaic text; a third copy is represented, in my opinion, by some tiny fragments of papyrus, 6Q23.[4] I assume that these 'Words of the Book of Michael' were translated into Greek and that the author of the Book of Parables had heard of the title but was not familiar with the contents, for the Aramaic work, after a brief introduction in which we find some details of mythical geography and Biblical ethnology (the sons of Noah), goes on to the prophecy about Jerusalem.

An answer, inevitably hypothetical, to the crucial problem of the dating of the Book of Parables must be preceded by some considerations of a negative kind, and by some observations on the literary genre of this work. It seems to me quite certain that it did not exist during the pre-Christian era, in an Aramaic or Hebrew text, since not one fragment of it, Semitic or even Greek, has been located in the very rich assortment of manuscripts from the caves of Qumrân. Hence it is probably a Christian Greek composition (its use of the text of LXX has already been pointed out) which draws its inspiration

[1] For the names of the angels in 6: 7 and 69: 2 see below, notes to 4QEn[a] 1 iii 5–12; the names of the metals in 65: 6–7 can be compared in part to those enumerated in 8: 1 according to the text of 4QEn[b] 1 ii 26–7.

[2] See above, p. 30, our note on the very archaic place-name *Dendain*, which is found in 60: 8; cf. also 4 Esd. 6: 49–52 and Syriac Baruch 29: 4.

[3] Cf. J. Starcky, *RB* lxiii (1956), 66.

[4] *DJD* iii, p. 138 and pl. XXVIII.

from the writings of the New Testament, the Gospels especially, beginning with the titles of the pre-existent Messiah: 'Son of Man' (Matt. 9: 6; 10: 23; 12: 8; etc.) and 'Elect' (Luke 23: 35). However, it is not likely to be an early Christian work, since no quotation from it is recorded between the first and fourth centuries, that is, during the period in which quotations, allusions, and reminiscences of other works attributed to Enoch abound. In fact, the existence of the Greek Book of Parables is not attested until the early Middle Ages, and even then indirectly, by the stichometry of Nicephorus and by the Slavonic Enoch (see above, p. 77 and below, pp. 109–10). Finally, we must recall its absence from any early version (apart from the Ethiopic) and especially the absolute silence on this subject in Coptic literature. No discovery of Byzantine papyri in Egypt has provided a Greek or Coptic sample of it.

Where its literary genre is concerned, the Book of Parables is most closely akin, in my opinion, to the Sibylline literature. Now, the Christian production of Sybilline Oracles flourished in the second to fourth centuries. Someone well acquainted with the Sibylline Oracles would doubtless have no difficulty in translating the Ethiopic text of the Parables into hexameters and into a pseudo-Homeric dialect; the Greek original of this book was certainly composed in metrical poetry. The Parables share with the Sibyllines a clear division into sections ('parables', 'books') on the one hand but, on the other hand, they also share a confusion in the sequence of ideas—long and frequent repetitions, lacunae, a mixing up of historical and eschatological plans within each part. The contents of both include descriptions of past and future catastrophes, the punishment of sinners and the happiness of the just, and the interventions of God, of the immortal Messiah, of angels and demons; finally, both can be shown to have a common interest in astrological and magical subjects. It would be a simple task to draw up a list, and it would be a long one, of keywords, phrases, and expressions, of entire passages and ideas, which would prove a very close relationship between the Visions of Enoch and Noah and the Sibylline Oracles. I shall content myself with pointing out two striking parallels.

The second book of the Sibyllines, composed essentially by Christian authors of the third century, describes the resurrection of souls and bodies, and judgement by the great immortal God. Five angels appear in it: *Βαρακιὴλ Ῥαμιὴλ Οὐριὴλ Σαμιὴλ Ἀζαὴλ τε* (Sib. ii. 215).[1] The archangel Ouriel breaks open the doors of Hades and brings out for judgement the shades of the

[1] In group *ψ* of the manuscripts (ed. J. Geffcken, *GCS* 8 (1902), 38) *Μιχαὴλ τε Γαβριὴλ Ῥαφαὴλ τ' Οὐριὴλ*.

Titans, Giants, and those who perished in the Flood (Sib. ii. 233–7; Geffcken, p. 39):

καὶ θ' ἃς ἐν πελάγεσσιν ἀπώλεσε κῦμα θαλάσσης
ἠδ' ὁπόσας θῆρες καὶ ἑρπετὰ καὶ πετεηνά
θοινήσαντο, ὅλας ταύτας ἐπὶ βῆμα καλέσσει·
καὶ πάλιν, ἃς ἔφθειρεν ἐνὶ φλογὶ σαρκοφάγον πῦρ,
καὶ ταύτας ἐπὶ βῆμα θεοῦ στήσειεν ἀγείρας.

'and those whom the wave of the sea destroyed on the high seas;
and those whom the beasts and the serpents and the birds
feasted upon, all those he summoned to the judgement-seat;
and also those whom the fire which eats flesh destroyed by flames,
and having gathered them together, he led them before the judgement-seat of God.'

This passage is clearly analogous to that of En. 61: 6: 'These measures [the cords carried by the angels who fly away to the North, 61: 1] will reveal all the secrets of the abyss of the earth, and those who have been destroyed by the desert and those who have been swallowed up by the reservoirs and those who have been swallowed up by the fish of the sea and by the beasts, in order that they may return and that they may rely on the day of the Elect; for there is nothing which may perish before the Lord of spirits, and there is nothing which can perish.' As is well known, Sib. ii. 190–338 is a poetical paraphrase of a good part of the Apocalypse of Peter.[1] It seems to me, however, that the passage just quoted from the Parables of Enoch is more directly dependent on the Sibyllines than on the Apocalypse, the composition of which goes back to the beginning of the second century.[2]

The universal resurrection of souls and bodies and the judgement by the Elect One are affirmed equally clearly in En. 51: 1–3: 'In these days the earth will give up its store [instead of "its store" E^{g} gives "those who have been hidden in it"], and Sheol will give up what [several manuscripts give "the store"] it has received, and Abaddon will give up what it must. He (the Elect one) will choose among the just and the saints, for the day is nigh when they will be saved. The Elect one, in these days, will sit on my throne . . .' The literary influence of 4 Esd. 7: 32–3 is easily recognizable in this: 'Et terra reddet qui in eam dormiunt, et pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant, et promptuaria reddent quae eis commendatae sunt animae. Et revelabitur Altissimus super sedem iudicii . . .' Closer, however, to the formulation of

[1] Cf., e.g., M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 505, 512–14, 521–4.

[2] See also *Const. Apost.*, de Lagarde's edition, p. 131.

En. 51 is the passage of *Antiquitates Biblicae* of pseudo-Philo, 3: 10: 'Cum autem completi fuerint anni seculi, tunc quiescet lumen et extinguentur tenebrae, et vivificabo mortuos et erigam dormientes de terra. Et reddet infernus debitum suum et perditio restituet paratecem suam, ut reddam unicuique secundum opera sua et secundum fructus adinventionum suarum, quousque iudicem inter animam et carnem.'[1] The date of these two apocrypha, both composed in Greek,[2] is not sufficiently certain; but it is probably between the years A.D. 100 to 250. The passage in the Parables is drawn in my opinion from the *Ant. Bibl.*; in this respect it is significant that the phrase in pseudo-Philo forms part of the speech of God to Noah, that is, it belongs in a context which is also that of the Book of Parables.

More important for the dating of the Book of Parables is a long passage of the fifth book of the Sibylline Oracles; the latest element in this book falls in the reign of Caracalla (killed in A.D. 217 during the expedition against the Parthians).[3] We find here first of all allusions to historical wars: 'For the Persian will come on to the earth like hail and will devastate your earth . . . All the holy places he will stain and cover with blood and with corpses . . . And then you, most blessed town, you will suffer greatly' (Sib. v. 93–100). This is an unmistakable reference to the occupation of Palestine and Jerusalem by Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king Orodes, in the year 40 B.C. According to lines 101–3 the Persian king will conduct other wars (πτολεμίξει); we may think of the Parthian wars of Trajan, Lucius Verus, of Septimus Severus, of Caracalla.[4] Finally, in the apocalyptic perspective (Sib. v. 104–10).[5]

αὖτις δ' ἐκ δυσμῶν εἰσπτήσεται ἅλματι κούφῳ
σύμπασαν γαῖαν πολιορκῶν, πᾶσαν ἐρημῶν.
ἀλλ' ὅταν ὕψος ἔχῃ κρατερὸν καὶ θάρσος ἄηθες,
ἥξει καὶ μακάρων ἐθέλων πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξαι
καὶ κέν τις θεόθεν βασιλεὺς πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτον
πάντας ὀλεῖ βασιλεῖς μεγάλους καὶ φῶτας ἀρίστους.
εἶθ' οὕτως κρίσις ἔσται ὑπ' ἀφθίτου ἀνθρώποισιν.

[1] Ed. G. Kisch, 1949, p. 117, and I. Sichardus, Basle 1527, p. 3 A.

[2] There is no valid proof of the existence of a Semitic original of either of them.

[3] *τὸν μετὰ τρεῖς ἄρξουσιν* (Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, the last of whom was killed in A.D. 212), *ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὀψὲ κρατήσει* (Sib. v. 51 = xii. 176).

[4] The dating to the Parthian campaign of Trajan is proposed by J. C. Hindley, 'Towards a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch. An Historical Approach' in *N.T.S.* xiv (1967–8), 531–65 (he maintains, however, the Jewish origin of the work).

[5] Ed. A. Kurfess, *Sib. Weissagungen*, 1951, p. 126

'Again he will fly from the West, with light, springing step,
in order to besiege the whole earth and devastate it completely.
But, when at the height of his power and hateful arrogance
he will come and will wish to destroy the city of the blessed ones,
then a king, sent by God against him,
will cause all the great kings and the eminent nobles to perish,
and then the Eternal one will sit in judgement over men.'

The eschatological war of the kings of the peoples against the holy land and city is described also in Sib. iii. 663 ff. The passage quoted from Sib. v obviously inspired the author of the Parables (En. 56: 5–7): 'In these days the angels will gather together and will launch themselves towards the east where the Parthians and the Medes live; they will shake kings . . . And they (the kings) will rise up and will trample the earth of His elect, and the earth of His elect will be before them like a threshing-floor and a beaten track. But the city of my just ones will be an obstacle for their horses and they will kindle the war between them, and their right will deploy its force against them.' (The continuation deals with the mutual massacre of the sinners—cf. En. 100: 1–3—and the punishment of the kings and the sinners.)

It seems to me fairly obvious that this apocalyptic text refers to events contemporaneous with the author of the Parables, the terrible years of anarchy and invasion in the middle of the third century, and, in particular, the victorious campaigns of Sapor I which carried him right into Syria and culminated in the imprisonment of the Emperor Valerian in September A.D. 260. In the reference to the right of the Parthians and Medes ('right' meaning 'western') which attacks the rest of the army, I see a reference to the Palmyrenes (called *mdy* and *md*, 'Medes', in Safaitic inscriptions). As a matter of fact, the Palmyrenes, living close to the western frontier of the Sassanid empire, waged war successfully against Sapor and kept the Persians in check; however, they ended up by asking them for help at the time of the expeditions of Aurelian against Palmyra in A.D. 272 and 273. On this occasion Aurelian took the title of *Parthicus Maximus* (cf. Sib. xiii. 153–4). In A.D. 270 the Palmyrenes, formidable because of their heavy cavalry, occupied Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. In Syria they destroyed Bosra, after a victory over the Third Cyrenaic Legion.[1] Crossing Palestine, whilst marching towards the Nile, they spared the city of Jerusalem; for Zenobia was well

[1] This is mentioned in a Latin inscription from Bosra and in several Safaitic inscriptions which I shall discuss in detail elsewhere.

known for her Jewish and Christian sympathies. Thus it is to these events of the years A.D. 260 to 270 that, in my opinion, the author of the Book of Parables is referring; he sees in them signs of the end of the world. He was already greatly disturbed by the sight of the blood of the just which the kings and the powerful ones who possess the earth were causing to flow (En. 47: 1–4 and 62: 11), a clear allusion to the first great persecutions of Christians decreed by the emperors Decius, in A.D. 249 to 251, and Valerian, in 257 and 258, and carried out in the provinces by Roman governors.

In conclusion, it is around the year A.D. 270 or shortly afterwards that I would place the composition of the Book of Parables. Its author conceived it on the model of the Sibylline Oracles which circulated in this period, read avidly by Christians and frequently quoted by ecclesiastical writers: Hermas, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and soon afterwards Lactanctius, Eusebius of Caesarea, and others. We should note further that the association of the Jewish Sibyl with the persons of Noah and Enoch appeared perfectly natural to the Jewish and Christian readers of the Graeco-Roman period.

According to the third book of the Oracles, which dates perhaps from the first century B.C., the Sibyl, driven out from Babylon, comes to Greece; she appears as a young woman (νύμφη) belonging to the *genos* of Noah (Sib. iii. 810–11 and 827). She has the name *Sabbê* or *Sambêthê*, i.e. 'Sabbath' (שבה and שבתא, absolute and emphatic states of this term in Aramaic); this relates her directly with Enoch, the inventor of the sacred calendar, including sabbaths. The Christians of Byzantine Egypt looked upon Sibyl as the sister of Enoch. In a Coptic text on the discovery of the tomb of Christ, an old man addresses the sister of Constantine: 'Blessed be the elected race about which Sibyl the sister of the scribe Enoch prophesied (ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲉⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲉⲩⲉ): "See then (γάρ) a just (δίκαιος) king will arise in the kingdom of the Romans, with the name Constantinos" .'[1] The (approximate) quotation comes from the Tiburtine Sibyl in its Greek form which dates from the reign of Anastasius I (491–518).[2] The virgin [Sibyl], the sister of Enoch, appears as a protagonist in a

[1] F. Rossi, *Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Scienze morali*, 1886, pp. 106 and 159; cf. O. von Lemm, 'Kleine Koptische Texte', *Izvêstija Imp. Akademiji Nauk, S. Petersburg*, 25 (1906), pp. 0158–61, no. XLVII. 1.

[2] P. J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek, The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies X), 1967, pp. 14 (lines 85–6) and 25 (he does not know this Coptic quotation); the Latin text edited by E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudo-Methodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle*, 1898, p. 185.

Coptic Enochic document, known through some fragments (see below, pp. 100–4). According to the 'History of Joseph' in Arabic, chapter 32, at the end of time the Antichrist will kill Enoch, Elias, Sibyl, and Tabitha.[1] In a Coptic monastery two other main patron saints, besides the founder, were venerated: Apa Enoch, the scribe of justice (ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲉⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ) and Ama Sibylla, the prophetess (ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟ[. .]).[2] A festival calendar from the same monastery commemorates Ama Sibla at the beginning of the liturgical year and Apa Enoch towards the end (a dipinto specifies the date of the assumption of Enoch as the 20th Epiphi).[3] In another monastery, 'Enoch, the scribe of justice' is also invoked, and on a fresco 'our mother Ama Sibyllas' is represented in the middle of the twelve Virtues of the Holy Spirit.[4] An Abyssinian Saint recounts one of his visions: '. . . cum Maria Virgine Sibyllam conspexi, quam, valde pavisus, vocavi et dixi: "Sibylla! Sibylla! filia mea, valesne?"'.[5]

One could easily multiply the Christian elements in the Book of Parables and the indications of its late dating. According to En. 61: 1 the angels 'take wing and fly away'. Now, with the exception of the Seraphim and Cherubim, early Jewish literature is not familiar with any winged angels; they are certainly not spoken of in 1 Chron. 21: 16, as is often asserted. The angel of Apoc. 14: 6 is not necessarily winged either. The first undeniable piece of evidence on the subject is that of Tertullian in *Apologeticum* xxii. 8:[6] 'Omnis spiritus ales est: hoc et angeli et daemones.' In Christian iconography winged angels do not appear until the end of the fourth century (on the sarcophagus of Sarigüzel at Constantinople), and the classical type is established from the period of the frescoes at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, painted in A.D. 432–40.[7] According to En. 60: 1 Noah receives his vision on the 14th day of the 7th month in the 500th year of his life. I do not think it is a question here of the Eve of Tabernacles, but of the seventh Christian month and accordingly the Easter feast; Noah, saviour of the Flood, foreshadows the redeeming Christ. The author of the Slavonic Enoch dates the vision of Enoch to the first day

[1] W. E. Crum, *ZNW* xii (1911), 352.

[2] J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (vol. iii), *The Monastery of Apa Jeremias*, 1912, pp. 74, 90, 92, etc.; (vol. iv) pp. 49–51, etc. (cf. also H. R. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts . . . in the British Museum*, 1905, p. 145, App. no. 17: 'Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Our Lady Ama Mariam, Tsibla, . . .').

[3] Quibell, loc. cit., iv, pp. 69–71 and 127, and iii, pp. 54–5.

[4] J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, 1904, pp. 23 and 119.

[5] B. Turaiev, *Acta Sancti Zar'a-Abrahâm*, *CSCO*, *Aeth.* ser. II, vol. xxiii (1905), pp. 21 (text) and 18, 28–30 (version).

[6] Ed. E. Dekkers, *CC ser. lat.* i (1954), 129, 34.

[7] Cf. K. A. Wirth in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, v (1967), 341–55.

of Easter.[1] The wood which the angels make into an ark, from which will spring 'the race of life' (En. 67: 2), prefigures the redeeming wood of the Cross.

Moreover, it seems that the author of the Book of Parables was vaguely familiar with other doctrines, over and above Christian doctrine. Charles[2] quotes an interesting Mithraic parallel. I add a hypothetical reference to the occult sciences of hermetics. According to En. 69: 6–7 'the name of the third [chief of the fallen angels] is Gadriel: it was he who seduced Eve, and it was he who showed all mortal wounds to the sons of men; and the shield and the breast-plate and the sword for war, and all the instruments of death to the sons of men. From his hand they went out against those who inhabit the barren land, from this day and right down to the centuries of the centuries.' The author of the Parables thus attributes to this angel what the author of the Book of Watchers (En. 8: 1) attributed to 'Aśa'el, namely the discovery of metallurgy; but there is no mention in En. 8 of the seduction of Eve. In the passage of En. 69 one can, most probably, detect a Christian adaptation of the hermetic tract *Isis the Prophetess to her son Horus*. In this the goddess narrates how an angel dwelling in the first firmament wished to consort with her and teach her the preparation of gold and silver; but it was a greater angel than the first one, with the name Ἀμναήλ, who came down to her, made love to her, and revealed to her the hidden mysteries. This account was composed around the second century A.D.; it is quoted by the alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis (third to fourth centuries), who also used the books of Enoch.[3] On the other hand, I do not see any connection between En. 69: 3–25 and the *Logos Ebraikos* of a magical papyrus in Paris, as has been suggested, quite gratuitously, by M. Gaster.[4] We may note moreover that, according to L. Gry, very late additions were made, up to the third and fourth centuries A.D., in the magical section of the Parables.[5]

The Greek books of Enoch were known and read in various Gnostic circles in Egypt.[6] Thus in *Pistis Sophia*, composed in the third century, we find a

[1] Ed. A. Vaillant, 1952, p. 3 n. 14.

[2] ii, p. 102 (note to En. 52: 2).

[3] See A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, i (1944), 253–60.

[4] Bibl. Nat. Suppl. grec 574 (fourth century), f. 33^{r}, 15–33^{v}, 44 (lines 3007–85 of the editions of C. Wessely, 1888, and K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 1928, pp. 170–3, no. IV; revised by me from the original). See M. Gaster, 'The Logos Ebraikos in the Magical Papyrus of Paris, and the Book of Enoch', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1901, pp. 109–17.

[5] L. Gry, 'Mystique gnostique (juive et chrétienne) en finale des Paraboles d'Hénoch', *Le Muséon*, lii (1939), 337–78.

[6] On a very early Christian *Apocalypse of Enoch* see my forthcoming paper.

reference to En. 7: 1 and 8: 3: 'the mysteries (μυστήρια) which the angels (ἄγγελοι) who have committed transgression (παραβαίνειν) have carried below (among the men of the world, κόσμος), the magical sciences (μαγεῖαι)'.[1]

In the same work we find on two occasions that Enoch had written the two books of Yeû in the paradise of Adam: 'Other lesser mysteries (μυστήρια) hence (οὖν), you do not need them (χρεία), for (ἀλλὰ) you will find them in the two books of Yeû, which Enoch had written, when I (Jesus Soter) spoke to him of the tree of science and the tree of life in the paradise (παράδεισος) of Adam' (p. 158, 17–21, chapter 99 § 246). Jesus speaks to Mary: 'Now then (οὖν), because of sin I have divested myself (σκύλλειν) and I have come into the world (κόσμος) in order to save it, for even the just (δίκαιοι) who have never done any evil and who have in no way sinned need to find the mysteries (μυστήρια) which are to be found in the books of Yeû, which I caused Enoch to write in paradise (παράδεισος), when I talked with him from the tree of knowledge and the tree of life, and I ordered him to lay them down on the rock (πέτρα) of Ararad and I put the archon (ἄρχων) Kalapatauroth, who is (in charge) of Čemmût, on the head of whom (rests) the foot of Yeû, and who embraces all the aeons (αἰῶνες) and the Heimarmenai (εἱμαρμέναι); this archon (ἄρχων), I have placed him as the guardian of the books of Yeû because of the flood (κατακλυσμός) and so that none of the archons (ἄρχοντες) should become jealous (φθονεῖν) of them and destroy them' (pp. 228, 30–229, 8, chapter 135 § 354).

C. Schmidt identifies the two books of Yeû, attributed to Enoch, with the double Gnostic treatise partially preserved in the Coptic Sa'idic codex of J. Bruce (Bodl., MS. Clarendon Press d. 13; fifth to sixth centuries). After a motto, the first treatise begins with the phrase: 'This is the book of things known (γνώσεις) by the invisible (ἀόρατος) God, through the intermediary of the hidden mysteries (μυστήρια) which show the way towards the elected race (γένος)... The living Jesus arose and said to his apostles (ἀπόστολοί)....' After the two initial leaves of the text comes a lacuna; then there is a description of twenty-eight emanations (the description of the other thirty-two is missing); after a further lacuna comes an account of the journey of Jesus and the apostles across the sixty treasures, which ends with a hymn to the unapproachable God. This treatise is subscribed 'The book of the great κατὰ μυστήριον λόγος' (p. 302). The second treatise begins with this formula: 'Jesus was talking to his disciples (μαθηταί), who were gathered round him,

[1] C. Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, i (*GCS* 13), 1905 (3rd edn. by W. Till, *GCS* 45, 1959), p. 15, 20–2, ch. 15.

to the Twelve, and to the women-disciples (μαθήτριαι): "Come around me, my twelve disciples (μαθηταί) and women-disciples (μαθήτριαι), so that I may tell you of the great mysteries (μυστήρια) of the treasure (θησαυρός) of light which no one knows concerning the invisible (ἀόρατος) God"' (p. 303, 3–8, chapter 42 § 99). Jesus here teaches his apostles the lesser mysteries of light, in particular the three baptisms, the mystery about the wickedness of the Archons and the way of warding it off, the mystery of spiritual unction, the mystery of the remission of sins, and the mystery of the twelve Aeons. The ending is missing.[1] The editor dates the original Greek form of the two books of Yeû to the first half of the third century and connects it with the milieu of the Barbelo-Gnostics.

With these two books of Enoch, composed in the paradise of Adam at the dictation of Jesus spoken from the tree of life, can be connected the reference to the *Apocalypses of Adam* which, according to Epiphanius, formed part of the Borborite Gnostic books.[2] Similar ideas were found in the book of Baruch, composed by Justin the Gnostic and quoted in the *Philosophoumena* of Hippolytus: of the twelve angels begotten of Eden by Elohim the third is called Baruch; he is identified with the tree of life, he transmits the orders of Elohim, he is Lord who speaks through the mouth of the Prophets (*Elenchus* v 24–7 and x 15).

A Christian Enochic document, represented by nine Coptic Sa'idic fragments, has been published in transcription and translation by W. E. Crum.[3] This manuscript, now in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection, may perhaps come from Hou (a place situated 30 miles north of Dendera); it dates from around the seventh century; there are two columns per page. I reproduce these fragments in a literal Latin translation, prepared by G. Garitte; I suggest an order which differs from that of Crum, but which necessarily remains very hypothetical:

fol. 2 recto (fibres →), col. 2 ... [filius] hominis [iu]sti (δίκαιος), [id] est Iar[ed], (et) [ti]muit a Deo [a][et] Deum eti[am] angeli (ἄγγελος) eius diligunt[a] propter ...

[1] Edition of the Codex Brucianus by C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus, Texte und Untersuchungen*, viii, 1892; German translation, *GCS* 45 (13), pp. 257–329.

[2] *Haer.* 26. 8. 1. Cf. also the quotation: 'We read in the apocrypha: "I saw a tree bearing twelve fruits per year and he said to me: This is the tree of life"' *Haer.* 26. 5. 1.

[3] *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series XII), 1913, pp. 3–11, no. 3.

verso ↑, *col. 1* . . . [as]su[me]re (ἀναλαμβάνειν) eum ad caelum; intellexit (νοεῖν) [myste]ria (μυστήριον) quae sunt abscondita in saeculis (αἰών) altitudinis et mentes (νοῦς) omnes quae sunt absconditae in saeculis (αἰών) luminis et [sapient]iam (σοφία)[b] τῶν . . .

fol. 3 recto ↑, *col. 2* . . . stans super montem[c], ecce angelus (ἄγγελος) [De]i apparuit et cinct[us] super lumbum suum zona aurea, cum corona adamantina (ἀδαμάντινος) (esset) [super caput eius . . .

verso →, *col. 1* . . . Enoch, fili [I]ared, [accipe hunc] librum a mea manu [et] lege in eo et manifesta nomen. Ait Enoch ei: Quis [es . . .

fol. 4 recto →, *col. 2* Deus [gratificabit (χαρίζειν)] tibi nomen famosum plus quam omnibus hominibus. Portaberis in caelum in tuo corpore (σῶμα) et poneris (*future*) in medio apothecae (ὑποθήκη) . . .

verso ↑, *col. 1* . . . de quibus angelus (ἄγγελος) certiorem fecit eum super montem[c]; invenit tria sigilla (σφραγίς) et . . . scripta . . .

col. 2 . . . sanctus (ἅγιος) [Domi]ni [misit?] vir[ginem] (παρθένος)[d] ut . . . ageret (?) centum a[nnos] super [terram . . .

fol. 5 recto ↑, *col. 1* . . . consilium unicum est in eis[e]; illi ducunt [cae]lum et terram; nomen Patris scriptum (?) est in tertio . . . qui (est) super . . .

verso →, *col. 2* . . . invenit illud quia (est) nomen Spiritus (πνεῦμα) sancti. Ait Enoch ei: Domine mi, ecc[e tr]ia nomina invisibilia (ἀόρατος) inveni [sc]ript[a] in libro . . .

fol. 8 recto →, *col. 1* . . . non sciverunt eam (et) non potuerunt manifestare eam nisi (εἰμήτι) abeas et manifestas eam in medio tui patris et tuae m[atris . . .

col. 2 . . . Enoch . . . Enoch meus filius . . .

verso ↑, *col. 1* . . . [En]och . . .

col. 2 . . . illius (*fem.*). Ecce mea [. . .] quid fit, quam genuisti ex [ea]. Ecce tribus vicibus locuta est magnis verbis . . .

fol. 6 recto →, *col. 1* . . . verba [gen]tilium (Ἕλλην) . . . audire . . .

col. 2 . . . cubiculi (κοιτών) virginis (παρθένος)[d] in quo dormit. Ait (*fem.*) ei: Enoch, fili mi, eam[us] intra cu[bicu]lum (κοιτών) et . . .

verso ↑, *col. 1* . . . in hora qua audivit vocem (φωνή) Enoch fratris sui, ait (*fem.*) ei: Enoch frater mi[d], appropinqua mihi et aspice, noli (?) . . .

col. 2 . . . sugo a mea mat[re]; non possi[bile] est ut ego . . .

fol. 9 recto →, *col. 1* Deus despicit super te (et) vidit te quia tu electus (es) et es remotus ab omni malo. Ait (*masc.*) quia [. . . Ait]

col. 2 quia: Nonne (οὔκουν) [Dominus?] assumet (ἀναλαμβάνειν) hominem ad caelum in eius corpore (σῶμα) nisi (εἰμήτι) me. Ait (*fem.*) ei quia . . . Dominus . . .

verso ↑, *col. 1* feret duos sursum ad [caelum] in eorum corpore (σῶμα) unum Eliam et alterum Ta[bi]tham . . . loco in quo . . .

col. 2 nisi (εἰμήτι) efformare (πλάσσειν) alium hominem sicut nostrum patrem Adam et habitet terram. Ait (*fem.*) ei: Mathusala(?) fructus (καρπός) (est) qui exibit ex [te . . .

fol. 7 recto ↑ (marked ιδʹ, first leaf of quire 14 or p. 14 or else p. 104, ρδʹ),

col. 1 . . . peccat pusillanimitate et iniquitate; non scribes eorum peccata in eos cito (ταχύ), sed (ἀλλά) pones calamum super calamarium (καλαμάριον) . . .

col. 2 . . . delebis eum iterum[f]. Ait Enoch ei (*fem.*): Nonne (οὔκουν) Deus [dedit] angelum (ἄγγελος) in caelo et posuit [eum . . .

verso →, *col. 1* . . . prius scribe peccata et bona (ἀγαθόν) filiorum hominum; gra[tifi]cabitur (χαρίζειν) tibi angelus (ἄγγελος) misericordi[ae . . .

col. 2 peccata et fert bona (ἀγαθόν) [et] ponit ea alibi; si videt peccata trahentia plus quam (παρά) bona (ἀγαθόν) fert suam virgam (ῥάβδος) quae (est) in eius manu dextera et p[oni]t eam super . . .

fol. 1 recto ↑, *col. 1* . . . ar[chan]gelum (ἀρχάγγελος) [p]osuit eum super stat[er]as iusti[ti]ae (δικαιοσύνη), at[tu]lit alios ange[lo]s (ἄγγελος) fortes . . . igneos . . .

col. 2 . . . [id] est nomen filii Dei sedentis ad dexteram patris sui; prostravit se ad (*lit.* super) pedes Patris sui dicens: O Pater mi noli . . .

verso →, *col. 1* . . . tremere si videbit eos in eorum iniquitatibus omnibus quas facere solent; scribat eas statim et tua imago (εἰκών)[g] tota abibit in perditionem, [se]d (ἀλλά) quaere . . .

col. 2 . . . eius potentia . . .

[a–a] Understand: 'and the angels of God love him'?

[b] My addition, uncertain.

[c] According to Jub. 4: 25–6 Enoch offers the sacrifice on the mountain in the East, the mountain of Paradise, according to late Christian apocrypha (e.g. *Cave of Treasures*, 5: 15, 18, 27; 6: 21, 32; 7: 3; etc.) Adam and then the Sethites dwell on a sacred mountain situated near the lost Paradise.

[d] The virgin who is the sister of Enoch and who predicts the future for him is certainly Sibyl (Crum); see above pp. 96–7. In fol. 8^v 2 and 6^r 1 it seems to be a question of the birth of Sibyl and of her knowledge of Greek.

[e] The pronoun refers to the Trinity, 'the three invisible names' of fol. 5.

[f] Enoch fulfils the function of celestial scribe who records the actions of men; cf. Jub. 4: 23. On a fresco in the monastery of the Abba Jeremiah we find Enoch, flanked by two saints, carrying a scroll inscribed with the title 'the book of life' (ⲡϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ); on another fresco, Enoch, the bearer of an inscribed scroll, and the Abba Jeremiah flank the Virgin with Child and with the archangels Michael and Gabriel.[1] A wooden tablet with the legend of Christ and the vine (seventh to eighth centuries) contains the following invocation: 'Sun, do not set; Moon, do not rise; Enoch the scribe (ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲉⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ) do not throw your pen into your [pen-case (καλαμάριον)]; do not throw . . . ink, until Michael comes forth from the heaven and destroys (?) my eye.'[2]

[g] The human race, the likeness of Christ (Crum).

The name of 'Enoch the scribe of justice' recurs several times in the fragments of a Coptic Saʿidic manuscript discovered in 1909 at Aswân.[3] The order of the fragments and the recto–verso order remain uncertain. I reproduce the literal Latin translation by G. Garitte:

fr. I recto . . . s]uper . . . mundus (κόσμος) . . . iumenta. Si eius [. . .] exclamaverunt dicentes: Sanctus es [sanctus es] sanctus es, Domine Sabaoth [. . .] ira; impeccabilis, noli numerare [. . .] hominum peccatorum; sine malitia (κακία) in malitiam (κακία) erga filios h[ominum qui] caro (σάρξ) et sanguis sunt; si tu [. . .] quis est qui stabit[a]

verso . . . [. .]phouel[b] Mi[. . . . .]l et Maria [. . .] et Enoch scriba (γραμματεύς) [iustitiae (δικαιοσύνη)] propter mundum (κόσμος) [non] posituri erant fragmentum parvum panis in eorum domo et vinum s[ive] (εἴτε) vestem sive (εἴτε) . . . nisi (εἰμήτι) dent ea et . . . et egentes propter hoc [. . .] statuere Enoch scribam (γραμματεύς) iustitiae (δικαιοσύνη) . . .

fr. II recto . . . ora]tio sancta si [. . . ro]gare ita patrem [. . .] fortificare [. . .] morbo . . . pater cum . . .

verso . . . homo . . . si homo (quidam) enim (γάρ) fornicationem (πορνεία) vel (ἤ) [. . .] magiam (μαγεία) . . .

[1] See J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, (vol. ii), pls. LV and LVI (cf. vol. iii, p. 55, no. 93) and vol. iv, pp. 134–5 and pl. XXIV.

[2] H. R. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts . . . in the British Museum*, pp. 148–9, Appendix no. 27.

[3] Cairo Museum no. 48085, published, without translation, by H. Munier in *ASAE* xxiii (1923), 212–15, no. 3.

fr. III recto . . . oravit (παρακαλεῖν) [. . .] Enoch scribam (γραμματεύς) iustitiae (δικαιοσύνη): Ne festines scribere [peccata?] filiorum hominum sed (ἀλλά) . . . *verso* . . . mundus (κόσμος) . . . ire . . . angelus (ἄγγελος) sanctus . . .

[a] Cf. Ps. 129: 3? (Garitte).

[b] If the phi is certain, we can restore [ⲥⲁⲣⲁ]ⲫⲟⲩⲏⲗ, the name of an archangel often in the Coptic texts and placed in the sixth or seventh rank of the seven archangels.[1] But in that case one can scarcely restore what follows to read 'Mi[chael, Gabriel, and Raphae]l', as Munier does; for the first name a possible alternative would be 'Mistrael, the angel of anger'.[2]

The Munier fragment, III recto, calls to mind the Crum fragment, 7 recto, but the remainder seems rather to belong to a homily; hence I do not think that the Crum and Munier fragments are two copies of the same Coptic Enochic work.

The Coptic account of Enoch and Sibylla partially preserved in the Crum fragments is undeniably referred to—and only once, as far as I know—in a liturgical Coptic text composed in the seventh century or even later. The archangel Gabriel is there supposed to say:[3] 'Ich bin wiederum derjenige, Mein Herr, der zu der Jungfrau Sibylla (ⲥⲓ̈ⲃⲗⲗⲁ ⲧ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) hineinging, der Schwester des Schriftgelehrten der Gerechtigkeit Henoch (ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲉⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲇⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲟ̄ⲥⲩⲛⲏ). Ich beschützte sie und errettete aus der Hand des bösen Teufels, der ihr Schlechtes antun wollte.'

In note *f* to the Crum fragments we commented upon the role of Enoch as the heavenly scribe and the keeper of the book of life. The same motive recurs in another Coptic liturgical text, composed in the fifth, if not in the fourth century. There the archangel Michael brings the souls of men, one after another, before the presence of the Saviour; Enoch, the scribe of righteousness, intervenes in the Judgement as the reader of the book of life:[4] 'Da rief der Heiland jene Seele. Er gab sie in die Hand eines starken Engels, indem Er sprach "Nimm diese Seele und gib sie in die Hand Henoch's, des Schriftgelehrten der Gerechtigkeit (ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲉⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲇⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲟ̄ⲥⲩⲛⲏ) — auf dass sie in Heiligen Hymnos mitsinge — denn eine

[1] Cf. C. D. G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche*, 1958, pp. 59–60; J. Clédat, *Le Monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, 1904, p. 119.

[2] Cf. Müller, loc. cit., pp. 244 and 314 and K. H. Kuhn, 'A Coptic Jeremiah Apocryphon', *Le Muséon*, lxxxiii (1970), 127 and 128.

[3] Ed. C. D. G. Müller, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel*, *CSCO* 225/*Copt.* 31, p. 73 (text), and 226/32, p. 90. The editor did not see the connection between this passage and the Crum fragments, and, what is worse, did not even recognize the name of Sibyl.

[4] Ed. Müller, loc. cit., pp. 54 and 56 (text), pp. 65 and 68 (version).

Seele, die nicht verleumdet, noch falsch schwört, noch lügt, ist das Wohlgefallen Meines Vaters." Sofort nahm sie der starke Engel, während wir sie sahen, und er begab sich mit ihr in die Himmel.' And further on, concerning another soul: 'Der Heiland antwortete und sprach: "So wie ihr (sc. der Seele) Gemüt die Worte Meines Vaters liebte, brachte sie sie (sc. die Bücher) zum Orte des Lebens jedes Einzelnen, nämlich der Kirche — sie werden sie zum Heiligtum des Lebens bringen, und über sie wird im Buche des Lebens gelesen werden durch Henoch, den Schriftgelehrten der Gerechtigkeit (ⲉ̄ⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲉⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲇⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲟ̄ⲥⲩⲛⲏ) — und sie wird inmitten aller Jungfräulichen bis zum Tage der tausend Jahre weilen." Und Michael nahm sie. Er gab sie in die Hände der Heiligen Jungfräulichen im Paradiese des Lebens.'

In an encomium on Saint Michael the Archangel attributed to Theodosius, archbishop of Alexandria, 'Enoch the righteous man (ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ)' explains why he rejoices in the festival of Michael:[1] 'I am rejoicing because it is I who write with my own hands in the register the sins, and the wickedness, and the good deeds which are committed in the whole world. And the holy Archangel Michael taketh them into the presence of God, and presenteth unto Him the good deeds, and for the bad deeds he maketh supplication unto Him, and he forgiveth those who belong to my race. For this reason I rejoice this day.'

Following Crum's reference, one may add this passage in the Acts of a Martyr:[2] 'Quicumque scripserit martyrium tuum et agones tuos [sc. of Apa Anûb from Naêsi], praecipiam [sc. I, the Saviour] Enoch scribae iustitiae (ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲓⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟ̄ⲥⲩⲛⲏ) ut deleat chirographum omnium peccatorum eius, scribam nomen eius in libro vitae. . . .'

More complex, from the literary point of view, is the mention of the judicial role of Enoch in the Testament of Abraham. In my opinion the oldest, and the original, text is preserved in the Coptic recension. There, after a mention of souls dying every day and night, to the number of ninety-nine thousand and ninety-nine hundred, there follows a description of the judgement of a soul, watched by Abraham accompanied by the archangel Michael:[3] 'Der Richter sagte: "Man lese ihr von ihren Thaten vor! Sieh,

[1] Ed. E. A. W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, 1915, pp. 345–6 (text: two manuscripts of the tenth century) and p. 909 (translation).

[2] Ed. I. Balestri and H. Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum*, i, *CSCO* 43/*Copt.* 3 (= ser. III, vol. i, 1907), 1955, p. 236 (text) and *Copt.* ser. III, vol. i, 1908, p. 144 (version).

[3] Translation by E. Andersson, 'Abraham's Vermächtnis aus dem Koptischen übersetzt', *Sphinx* (Upsala), vi (1903), 228 and 230. Cf. the English translation of the Arabic version

ihre Thaten sind aufgeschrieben." Sogleich aber hat ein greiser Mann aus dem Vorhang der Allerheiligsten hervor, ein Buch in seiner Hand, und er fing an alle die Sünden jener Seele vorzulesen bis hinauf zu dem Bösen, das sie gethan hatte.' The soul defends herself, but three witnesses accuse her formally. Then Abraham, intrigued, asks Michael: 'Ich sagte zu dem heiligen Erzengel Michael: "Mein Herr, wer ist dieser hohe, greise Mann, der dieses Buch in seiner Hand hat und der das Memorandum über diese Seelen dem Richter in die Hand setzt?" Der Erzengel Michael sagte zu mir: "Es ist Enoch, der Schreiber der Gerechtigkeit (ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲓⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ); Gott sah, dass er ein zuverlässiger Mann war, und er setzte ihn zu buchen alle guten und bösen Thaten, welche die Menschen thun." ' The Coptic composition of the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was attributed to St. Athanasius of Alexandria, there being added this well-known literary motif: 'er hat es in den alten Sammlungswerken unserer heiligen apostolischen Väter gefunden.'[1] It was the liturgical lesson for the commemoration day of Abraham's death, on the 28th Mesori.

The Coptic text of the Testament of Abraham was adapted into Greek, in an expanded form, and is known as the Greek recension B.[2] A new feature, added by the Greek author, is the identification of the Judge with Abel.[3] According to the Paris MS. 1613, the liturgical reading of the Testament of the patriarch Abraham was fixed for the last Sunday before Christmas, called '(the Sunday) of Holy Fathers': [Addendum, pp. 363–4].

Chapter 108 of the Ethiopic Enoch must date from the Christian period. Its incorporation into the Enochic corpus of writings is certainly later than the fourth century, since it is missing, in the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus, from the Epistle of Enoch (the last part of the Ethiopic Enoch). This short chapter is probably a summary, or the *incipit*, of a much longer Enochic work called 'another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and

(made from the Coptic) by W. E. Barnes in M. R. James, *The Testament of Abraham* (Texts and Studies II, 2), 1892, pp. 136–8. Coptic text edited by I. Guidi, 'Il testo copto del Testamento di Abramo', *Rendiconti d. R. Acc. dei Lincei, Cl. di scienze mor., stor. e filol.*, serie V, vol. ix, 1900, pp. 171 and 173 (from the Cod. Vat. Copt. 61, written in 962).

[1] Andersson, loc. cit., p. 220.

[2] Edited by M. R. James from three manuscripts: two from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, and Vienna, Cod. Histor. Gr. 126 (fifteenth century?). On checking the two Paris MSS. I have found that the editing was not quite satisfactory.

[3] Paragraph XI of recension B, James, loc. cit., pp. 115–16; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Gr. 1613 (fifteenth century), ff. 94^{r}, 22–94^{v}, 22, and Suppl. Gr. 162 (fourteenth century), ff. 113^{r}, i. 18–113^{v}, i. 17.

for those who will come after him and keep the Law in the last days' (En. 108: 1). Two phrases, at least, of this text seem to point, in guarded and obscure terms, to the doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all sinners (En. 108: 11, 14–15): 'And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed with such honour as their faithfulness deserved . . . And they (sc. the faithful) shall see those who were born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they (sc. the sinners ?) shall go where days and seasons are prescribed for them.' The doctrine that sinners will be saved at last by the prayers of the righteous is, rather obscurely, enunciated in the Apocalypse of Peter (composed about the beginning of the second century): 'My Father will give unto them all the life, the glory, and the Kingdom that passes not away' (according to the Ethiopic version contained in the Books of Clement): then, in the Second Book of the Sibylline Oracles (a paraphrase, in this part, of the Apocalypse of Peter): 'He shall grant them (sc. the godly) to save men out of the fierce fire and the eternal gnashing of teeth'; and more especially in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elias, which exhibits the closest formulation to En. 108: 'The righteous will behold the sinners in their punishment, and those who have persecuted them and delivered them up. Then will the sinners on their part behold the place of the righteous and be partakers of grace. In that day will that for which they (sc. the righteous) shall often pray, be granted to them', etc.[1]

THE SLAVONIC ENOCH AND OTHER ENOCHIC WRITINGS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

It is one of the chief merits of A. Vaillant's edition of the Slavonic Enoch ('2 Enoch') that it has established definitively the respective value of the two recensions of this work, the long and the short.[2] Taking as his starting-point manuscripts already published,[3] Vaillant proves beyond doubt that, in spite of the deficiencies of existing copies, it is the short form that represents the original text of the version, made in the tenth to eleventh centuries

[1] See M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 520–1 and 524.

[2] A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets d'Hénoch, texte slave et traduction française* (Textes publiés par l'Institut d'Études Slaves, iv, Paris 1952).

[3] Especially those published by M. Sokolov in *Čtenija* of the University of Moscow, 1899 and 1910.

from Greek into the old western Slavonic of Macedonia, if not Pannonia.[1] The Greek text from which this translation was made still existed in the thirteenth century; it is quoted in the Greek treatise entitled the *Debate of the Panagiote and the Azymite* (i.e. of the Orthodox and the Latin) known through two Slavonic versions.[2] The translation itself is attested for the first time in the fourteenth century by some extracts incorporated into a juridical collection called *Měrilo Pravednoe*, 'Just Balance', which is preserved in a manuscript of the monastery of the Trinity and St. Serge of the mid fourteenth century, and in three others of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

For the edition the choice of the basic manuscript was simple. There are only two complete manuscripts of the original text, *U* (Uvarov collection no. 3 (18), fifteenth century, written in the Novgorod–Pskov region of Russia) and *B* (Barsov collection, seventeenth century, of Russian origin); and *U* is by far the better, or rather the less bad.[3] The original text underwent a double revision: the first, with very long elaborations, is represented by *R* (Belgrade, Nat. Library, no. 321, sixteenth century, of middle-Bulgarian redaction in a poor Slavonic of Moldavia); and the second, which was made from *R*, with modifications and some additions, is represented by two manuscripts, *S* (sixteenth century, in middle-Bulgarian of Moldavia) and *P* (A.D. 1679, of Ruthenian redaction). The first reviser, 'un amplificateur enragé qui croit nécessaire de déverser dans un texte toute son érudition', did his work between the second half of the thirteenth century and the sixteenth century in the Bulgaro-Serbian area; he was perhaps a writer of the group of Vladislav the Grammarian, which flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Western scholars became familiar with the Slavonic Enoch through the German translations of N. Bonwetsch (1896 and 1922) and the English translation of R. Morfill (1896). Essentially they represented the long form or else a short version, made by abridgement, of the long recension.[4] At that time the work in this long form was dated to the first century A.D. and attributed to an Egyptian Jew or else to a Judaeo-Christian. But N. Schmidt dated the short recension, which he considered to be Jewish and Palestinian, to the first century A.D., and the long recension, which he considered to be

[1] For an earlier statement of this view see N. Schmidt, *JAOS* xli (1921), 307–12.

[2] Vaillant, pp. xvi–xvii.

[3] For other manuscripts and the table of their affiliation see Vaillant, loc. cit., pp. v–vii and xxiv–xxv.

[4] For the last mentioned, see F. Repp, *Wiener slawistisches Jahrbuch*, x (1963), 58–68.

Christian, to the fifth century.[1] It is awkward, however, that no trace of the work has been found in early Christian literature. Vaillant, who also accepts the Judaeo-Christian hypothesis, finds an allusion to it in Origen, *De principiis*, I. iii. 2; 'Sed et in Enoch his similia describuntur' (apropos the creative work of God). He writes 'Comme ce sujet n'est pas traité dans l'Hénoch juif, mais est largement développé dans notre apocryphe, c'est de lui nécessairement qu'il s'agit, mais on voit qu'Origène ne fait pas de distinction entre les deux Hénoch.'[2] This is a very surprising conclusion. If the Aramaic books of Enoch translated into Greek scarcely speak of the creative activity of God, they do speak, on the other hand, in great detail, in the Book of Watchers and in the Astronomical Book, of terrestrial and celestial worlds, that is of the results of creation, and it is these descriptions which Origen had in mind.

In 1918 A. S. Maunder,[3] starting from the astronomical and calendrical data, suggested that one could see in the Slavonic Enoch 'a specimen of Bogomil propaganda composed . . . between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries'. Against the defenders of the traditional dating[4] J. K. Fotheringham[5] proved conclusively that the *terminus post quem* of the work was the middle of the seventh century. The arguments of Maunder and Fotheringham were based on the long form; Maunder, with the exception of the Bogomil hypothesis,[6] was thus quite right. Vaillant, taking textual, literary, and linguistic arguments as his starting-point, suggests a similar dating for the long form.

The date and origin of the long form of the Slavonic Enoch are therefore definitively fixed. The analogous problems concerning the short form, which preserves the original Greek text fairly faithfully, must be approached quite independently, taking account only of the Slavonic text on pp. 1–85 of Vaillant's edition (pp. 86–119 represent the additions made by revisers).

The Greek author of the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, no doubt a monk, used the Enochic Pentateuch in the form with which we are familiar through the Ethiopic version. In his description of the secrets of heaven and earth he drew freely on the Book of Watchers (e.g. the theme of the 200 Watchers), the Book of Parables (e.g. the name of the Ophanim angels), and the

[1] Art. cit.

[2] Op. cit., p. x (with reference to Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii, p. 427).

[3] 'The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Book of Enoch', *The Observatory*, xli, pp. 309–16.

[4] R. H. Charles, *JTS* xxii (1921), 161–3; K. Lake, *HTR* xvi (1923), 397–8.

[5] 'The Easter Calendar and the Slavonic Enoch', *JTS* xxiii (1922), 49–56.

[6] Rejected very convincingly by E. Turdeanu, *RHR* 138 (1950), 181–7.

Astronomical Book (e.g. the year of 364 days); some features were taken from the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. Now, the formation of this collection of five works does not go back further than the sixth century (see above, p. 77). Some rare copies of this bulky opus must have been accessible in the monastic libraries of Constantinople, since the patriarch Nicephorus, at the beginning of the ninth century, was familiar with their stichometry.

In the Slavonic Enoch God says to the patriarch (Vaillant, p. 17, 6–12): 'For I will give to you, Enoch, an intercessor, my archistrategus Michael; because the writing of your hand and the writing of the hand of your fathers, Adam and Seth, will not be destroyed up to the last century, for I have ordered my angels Arioch and Marioch, whom I have established on earth in order to keep watch over it and to control temporal affairs, to preserve the writing of the hand of your fathers, so that it may not perish in the imminent flood which I shall send upon your race.' Compare p. 18, 4–7: 'Then, during this race (after the flood) will appear the books written by your hand and by that of your fathers, seeing that the guardians of the earth will show them to men of faith, and they will explain them to this race, and they will be glorified consequently more than in early times.' Arioch and Marioch, the guardians of the earth and of the Enochic writings, are doubtless identical with the anonymous 'two princes' of the 200 Watchers, *Egrigori*, (p. 9, 7). It has already been suggested that they are equivalent to the Hârût and Mârût of Muslim legends, attested since the Koran (Sura 2: 96).[1] In the fourteenth century the summary of the legend of Ἀρώτ and Μαρώτ, sent to the earth by God, ὥστε καλῶς ἄρχειν, καὶ δικαίως κρίνειν, is found in an anti-Muslim treatise of the ex-emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, who became the monk Joasaph (*PG* 154, 628). In the Greek original of the Secrets of Enoch the names were written *Ἀρώθ and *Μαρώθ. The oscillation of *f* ⩽ *th* (e.g. *Sif*, Seth, in the passage quoted) and of *ch* (here *Arof* ⩾ *Aroch* ⩾ *Arioch*) is peculiar to the phonetics of Greek borrowings into the eastern Slavonic languages (e.g. *Fiodor* and *Chodor* coming from *Theodôros*).

A lexical argument irrefutably confirms, in my opinion, the dating of the Slavonic Enoch to the ninth to tenth centuries. Let us look first of all at the context of the term which interests us (pp. 13, 4–14, 2): 'And the Lord called upon Vreveil, one of his archangels, who was skilful at inscribing all the works of the Lord. And the Lord said to Vreveil: "Take books from the stores,

[1] W. Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, p. 560, and J. Horvitz, *HUCA* ii (1925), 164–5, and id., *Koran-Untersuchungen*, pp. 147–8.

and give a calamus to Enoch, and dictate the books to him." And Vreveil made haste, and he brought me books mottled with smyrnium, and he put a calamus in my hand. And he was occupied in telling me of all the works of heaven and of the earth and of the sea, and the workings and the lives of all the elements, and the changing of the years and the courses and the alternation of the days ... Vreveil explained this to me during thirty days and thirty nights, and his mouth did not cease from speaking. And I, I did not rest during thirty days and thirty nights, writing down all the signs. And when I had finished, Vreveil said to me: "Sit down, write all that I have explained to you." And I sat down twice the length of thirty days and thirty nights, and I wrote everything exactly, and I composed 360 books.' The name of the angel Vreveil (variants: Vretil, Vreteil, Vereveil) is equivalent without any doubt to Ouriel, who initiated Enoch in astronomy and cosmography according to the Astronomical Book.[1] (I assume the Greek form **Οὐρεϊήλ*, the iota of which with diaeresis might have been confused with the tau by the Slavonic translator.) Ouriel thus brings books to be copied (not paper to write on, as Vaillant explains it), hands a calamus to Enoch, and begins to dictate; the patriarch takes down the archangel's account rapidly in shorthand and then makes a fair copy of everything. The phrase in p. 13, 7–8, *knigi ispeščreny*[2] *zmoureniem'*, to be translated word for word 'books painted in various colours of smyrnium', is a literal version of the Greek phrase *βιβλία συρμαιόγραφα*, which has, however, been misunderstood by the Slavonic interpreter. The translator has simply transcribed the first part, *συρμαιο-* (corrupted by the copyists to *zmouren*, *izmurno*, *et sim.*, under the influence of *zmourna*, *ismirno*, *et sim.*, 'myrrh', which occurs just before, in 13, 2) and has translated the other component, *-γραφα*, by 'painted in colours', on the analogy of *ζωγράφος*, 'painter from life'. Now the adjective *συρμαιόγραφος* is a derivative of the verb *συρμαιογραφεῖν*, which means 'to write in minuscule', hence 'quickly'. The expression *βιβλία συρμαιόγραφα*, 'books to be recopied in minuscule', has a close parallel in a letter of Theodore of Studios to his disciple Naukratos, written in the year A.D. 816: *ἐργόχειρον ἔλειψέν μοι τοῦ γραφεῖν . . . διὸ φρόντιζέ μοι ἀπάρτι ἐργόχειρα οἷα θέλεις συρμαιόγραφα*, '. . . procure for me even now manuscripts which you wish to have recopied in minuscule'.[3] The verb *συρμαιογραφεῖν* occurs only twice in this period: first in the epitaph of Plato (died 814 in Studios) composed by

[1] As already suggested by L. Ginzberg, *The Legend of the Jews*, v, p. 159 (otherwise Vaillant, p. xii).

[2] The reading of MS. B[2]; other manuscripts read *izoščreny et sim.*, 'sharpened'.

[3] Cf. J. Leroy, *Scriptorium*, 15 (1961), 59.

his nephew Theodore of Studios (759–826), and then in the anonymous Life of St. Nicholas of Studios (died 868).[1]

It thus appears to be a neologism not found before the beginning of the ninth century; so we may conclude that the Greek author of the Secrets of Enoch, perhaps also a Studionite monk, probably lived in the ninth or else in the tenth century.

We can subscribe fairly readily to Vaillant's estimate (p. xiii) that this writer 'raconte avec sagesse et un souci visible d'art une histoire merveilleuse, qui est traditionelle depuis l'Hénoch juif, et dont il sent et sait faire sentir toute la grandeur: l'enlèvement d'Hénoch, la révélation qui lui est faite des secrets des cieux, son tête-à-tête avec Dieu, sa mission auprès des hommes, son rôle de scribe dans le ciel'.

The first part of the work describes Enoch's heavenly journey (pp. 1–18, chapters I–XII). After the prolix and pompous title (p. 1, 1–10), the author specifies the date of the Vision: 'the appointed day of the first month' in the 365th year of Enoch (p. 1, 11–12), that is, on the first day of Easter (Vaillant); this is exactly the date assigned to the Vision of Noah in the Book of Parables (En. 60: 1; see above, p. 97). Enoch is in bed (cf. En. 83: 3, 6) when there appear to him two angels (called 'men', just as in the Book of Dreams) who are to be his guides, exactly like the two angels, an angel of peace and an anonymous angel, who accompanied Enoch and Noah according to the Book of Parables (En. 52: 3–5; 60: 11, 24). The cosmic guides of the Slavonic Enoch have the names *Semeil* and *Rasouil* (p. 16, 19): the first name probably signifies *Šᵉmêʾel*, 'Heavens of God', and the second is certainly *Raṣûʾel*, 'Well-loved of God', the Hebrew term corresponding to the Aramaic *Rᵉʿûʾel*, the name of the angel-guide in the Book of Watchers (En. 23: 4).

Enoch visits the seven heavens, the number of which comes from the Testament of Levi and was popularized later by apocalyptic and astrological writings, and also by iconography. The first heaven is the celestial, star-spangled vault containing the reservoirs of meteorological phenomena (p. 3, 7–17, chapter III); the second heaven is the prison of the apostate angels, those of En. 6 ff., Jude 6, and 2 Peter 2: 4 (pp. 3, 18–4, 7, chapter IV); in the third heaven paradise is situated, just as in the Book of Watchers (above,

[1] *PG* 99, 820 and 105, 876 (the connection between minuscule script and its speedy execution is emphasized here). Cf. B. Hemmerdinger, *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 75–9 (his suggestion of translating this verb by 'to write, to copy, musical manuscripts' should, however, be rejected); P. Lemerle, *Revue des études sud-est-européennes*, 7 (1969), 151–4 (the script which 'se caractérise par les ligatures et la rapidité'); O. Kresten, *Scriptorium*, 24 (1970), 305–17.

pp. 40–1) and in 2 Cor. 12: 2, 4 (pp. 4, 8–5, 2, chapter V); on this occasion Enoch visits the infernal regions which are situated in the North of the heaven, guarded by Satans, angels of punishment (p. 5, 3–17, chapter V; cf. En. 53: 3 and above, p. 30). In the fourth heaven (whose number corresponds to the day of their creation) are found the sun and the moon; at this juncture the author summarizes the Astronomical Book of Enoch, in particular the year of 364 days, but with several details which seem incomprehensible (pp. 5, 18–8, 16, chapter VI).[1] In the fifth heaven are found the Watchers, *Egrigori*, the brothers of the rebel angels of the second heaven; the angels of the fifth heaven will be converted by Enoch to the service of God (pp. 9, 1–10, 2, chapter VII). The sixth heaven is occupied by the seven angels who regulate the life of the world, the seven phoenixes, the seven Cherubim, and the seven angels with six wings, that is, the Seraphim (p. 10, 3–16, chapter VIII). The celestial palace of the seventh heaven contains the throne of God, surrounded by the fiery militias of incorporeal beings (ἀσώματοι in Byzantine theology), Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim, the last mentioned being borrowed from En. 61: 10 and 71: 7 (pp. 11, 1–13, 3, chapter IX). The archangels Michael and Gabriel stand to the right and left of God, the Christian iconographical position which is well established in the Byzantine period; the archangel Ouriel (written *Vretil*, *et sim.*; above, p. 111) dictates his 360 books to Enoch. In a long speech the Lord explains to Enoch, who has become the heavenly scribe and acolyte of Gabriel (p. 14, 3–4), his work of creation (pp. 14, 3–18, 17, chapters XI and XII; addition of MS. *R*): God first created *Adoil* (etymology uncertain, perhaps a Greek and Semitic hybrid: *Hades*+*El*), then 'the substructure of things below' named *Arouchas* (probably the Hebrew feminine term ארוכה, 'geographical basin', transcribed with the masculine flexional ending Ἀρουχας), and finally the creatures of Gen. 1. The speech ends with the announcement of the flood and the salvation of 'a just man of your race'.

The second part of the Slavonic Enoch contains a long moralizing sermon by Enoch, interrupted with revelations obtained from heaven, addressed to Methuselah and his brothers (cf. En. 91: 1) and to the elders of the people (cf. En. 37: 2–3), and finishing with the ascension of the patriarch (pp. 18, 19–32, 14, chapters XIII–XX). The farewells and the Assumption of Enoch take place at *Achouzan* or *Azouchan* (pp. 28, 1 (Vaillant's interpretation), 30, 13, and 32, 11. 20). I think that the fifteenth-century reviser surmised rightly that this is a cryptic name of Jerusalem (p. 58, 3–5), or more exactly the hill

[1] Cf. O. Neugebauer, *Orientalia*, N.S. 33 (1964), p. 61.

of the Temple, for 'Methuselah and his brothers . . . built an altar at the place Azouchan whence Enoch was taken' (p. 32, 10–12). The place-name *Achouzan* (end-syllable of the Greek accusative) corresponds to the Hebrew term אחזה '(special) property (of God)', often applied in the Old Testament to Jerusalem and to God's Temple (e.g. Ezek. 48: 20–1).[1] The author of the Secrets of Enoch does not present the Assumption of the patriarch as a prefiguration of the Ascension of Christ which took place on the Mount of Olives, but he is implicitly contradicting the Muslim belief which put the place of the Ascension of Muhammad at the Rock of the Temple (looked on in the Middle Ages as the altar of holocausts); the liturgical dates of the assumptions of the Prophet and of 'Uḫnûḫ–'Idrîs are quite close, the 25th and the 29th of the month of Ramaḍân.

The third and last part of the Slavonic Enoch, the most original, contains a curious legend about Melchisedek (pp. 32, 15–42, 6, chapters XXI–XXIII). Theological speculation about this mysterious character in Gen. 14 and Ps. 110 had already become very elaborate in the Essene milieu of Qumrân.[2] But it was from Heb. 4: 14–5: 10 and 7: 1–28, which makes him the prefiguration of Christ the high priest, that the spread of theological reflections and pious legends was to gain considerable impetus. The idea of the priesthood of the antediluvian patriarchs goes fairly far back in Christian thought; thus in the *Const. Apost.* viii. 5: *ὁ προσορίσας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἱερεῖς εἰς ἐπιστασίαν λαοῦ σου, Ἄβελ ἐν πρώτοις, Σὴθ καὶ Ἐνὼς καὶ Ἐνὼχ καὶ Νῶε καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ καὶ Ἰώβ*. The author of the Secrets of Enoch draws up a list of twelve or thirteen names with Melchisedek last, that is, in the likeness of the college of the apostles and of Christ (p. 40, 17–19). Apart from Enoch and Methuselah, the names of the antediluvian high priests are all inventions and have then been corrupted in the transmission of the Slavonic manuscripts. This fact can be accounted for by our writer's aversion to accepting a hierarchical succession from father to son, since he was familiar only with Greek Christian hierarchs who had to be monks and single men. Accordingly Melchisedek is not a son of Noah, but his nephew. This calls to mind also the transmission of monastic vocations from uncle to nephew, the very widespread custom in the Greek church during the Byzantine and medieval periods. The anointing of Melchisedek by the three distinguished people (p. 33, 10) reflects the consecration of the new Christian hierarch by the three bishops.

[1] Cf. L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, i, p. 89, v, pp. 117 and 162.

[2] A. S. Van der Woude, *Oudtest. Studiën*, xiv (1965), 354–73, and M. de Jonge and A. S. Van der Woude, 'IIQ Melchizedek and the New Testament', in *N.T.S.* xii, pp. 301–26.

Methuselah, on the point of death, gives over to the priesthood the second son of Lamech, called Nir (pp. 34, 15–37, 7, chapter XXII). This name certainly means 'luminary'; our author doubtless drew on the name of the wife of Noah, *Νωρία*, meaning 'Fire of God' (as he could learn from Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxvi. 1. 3). Nir the priest, as an exemplary hierarch, 'had not slept' with his wife Sophonim since the day of his election; from the womb of this barren wife will come, after her death, the child Melchisedek, born with the seal of the priesthood on his chest and with an angelic appearance. After forty days he will be carried off to paradise by the archistrategus Michael to save him from the flood.

If the author of the Slavonic Enoch makes Melchisedek the nephew of Noah, this is purely because of his scruples about ecclesiastical discipline. Essentially, however, he is referring to the Jewish tradition which identified Melchisedek with Shem, the son of Noah; this name might have been given to Shem at the time of his election to the priesthood.[1] Epiphanius (*Haer.* lv. 6. 1) and Jerome (*Quaest. in Gen.* xiv. 18) echo this, although they attribute the belief to the Samaritans. Melchisedek is one of the four Messiahs according to Sukka 52*b*, an angel according to Origen and Didymus. The Melchisedekians, still in full strength in the sixth century and known also in the Middle Ages, venerated their hero as the Holy Spirit, as the Son of God greater than the Christ, who assists the angels whilst the Christ assists men.[2]

For Christian and Muslim authors Melchisedek was a descendant of Noah: his son, son of Arphaxad, son of Qainan, son of Paleg.[3] According to the 'Cave of Treasures', chapters 22–3, Melchisedek, grandson of Arphaxad, carries with Shem the body of Adam to the 'centre of the earth', to the future Golgotha, where he is to remain as guardian and priest-monk until the time of Abraham. According to the account of pseudo-Athanasius, the most widespread in the Middle Ages, Melchisedek, grandson of Salaad (equivalent to Sala, grandson of Arphaxad?), lived as a vegetarian hermit on Mount Tabor; this tallies with the Jewish legend which placed the academy of Shem on the same mountain.[4] At Tabor the cave of Melchisedek was shown to

[1] Cf. Ginzberg, *The Legends*, i, p. 233 and v, pp. 225–6.

[2] Cf. G. Bardy, *RB* xxxv (1926), 497 ff., and xxxvi (1927), 25 ff.; C. Wuttke, *Melchisedech* (Beihefte zu *ZNTW* 5), 1927; Milik, *JJS* xxiii (1972), 95–144.

[3] Cf. L. Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenväter*, 1900, pp. 103–5; I. Friedlaender, *Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 1913, pp. 258–64.

[4] Texts of the ps.-Athanasius: in Greek, *PG* 28, 525–30, and A. Vasiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, 1893, pp. 206–14; cf. F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographia Graeca*[3], iii, pp. 48–9,

Christian pilgrims in the Middle Ages, whilst the Church of Jerusalem celebrated his commemoration during the octave of the Transfiguration, 8 August.[1] According to Isidorus, Melchisedek is *mortuus et sepultus in civitate sua Jerusalem.*[2]

The name of the patriarch Enoch served as a pseudepigraph to numerous literary and scientific works in several national literatures of the Middle Ages.

Thus towards the mid eighth century, 'Kyriakos [bishop] of Segestan took with himself a wicked doctor, Bar Salṭa of Reš'ayna, and they composed a book of falsehood which they entitled *Apocalypse of Enoch.* They inserted there words signifying that Marwân [killed on 5 August 750] would reign, and his son after him. The book, having been presented to Marwân by one of his wise men, he read it and enjoyed it like a child. He ordered Kyriakos to make a commentary to it. The latter interpreted it according to the desires of the king.'[3] An adulatory court-production like this was clearly ephemeral, and was probably never copied again. But Kyriakos finally achieved his object in it, namely preferment to the rich episcopal see of the Ṭûr 'Abdîn.

An interesting Byzantine apocalypse, called *The Vision of Enoch the Just,* is preserved only in an Armenian version.[4] It begins: 'At the sixth hour of the day a man appeared unto me over against Mount Lebanon and his appearance was like unto flaming fire, and he said unto me: "Hear, O man, what I now relate unto thee, which I have heard from the Lord of Hosts." ' The visions of Enoch and their explanations by the angel concern the struggle between the Byzantine and Arab empires. A period of ninety-six years, counted from Hegira, when 'the children of Ishmael' are predominant, finishes with the decisive victory of a Roman king, a clear allusion to the

nos. 2268–2269*c*; in Coptic, St. Gaselee, *Parerga Coptica*, ii (*De Abraha et Melchisedec*) and iii (1914), 6–13 and E. Laune, *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc* (*PO* xxviii, 2), 1958, pp. 396–9 [132–5].

[1] G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaïticus 34 (Xe siècle)*, 1958, p. 297, and Milik, *RB* lxvii (1960), 557 n. 5.

[2] *PL* 83, 132–3.

[3] See J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche* (*1166–1199*), Book XI, chapter XXII: vol. iv, 1910 [1963], p. 465 (text), and vol. ii, 1901 [1963], p. 507 (translation).

[4] Edited from two manuscripts by S. Yovsêp'eanç, *T'angaran hin ew nor naxneaç*, I. *Ankanon girk' hin ktakaranaç* (*Treasure of the Old and Modern Fathers*, I. *Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament*), Venice 1896, pp. 378–86; translation by J. Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament . . .*, Venice 1901, pp. 306–8 (Introduction) and 309–23.

defeat of the Arabs in 718. Then follows the description of three emperors of the Syrian Dynasty: Leo III (717–41), Constantine V Copronymus (741–75; 'he shall rule thirty-three years'; during his reign came the abandonment of Damascus, caused by the fall of Umayyads in 750), and Leo IV, the Chazar, son of Constantine and of Irene daughter of the Khagan of the Chazars (775–80; 'a king of low birth shall arise, whose name is Hertzik'). Shortly after the death of Leo IV, we are told, will begin the apocalyptical dominion of the Rebel, which will last 1,265 years; he will be overthrown by a pious king of Rome, and the Kingdom of God will set in for eternity.

The composition of *The Vision of Enoch* is thus to be assigned to the eighties of the eighth century. It was written in Greek (rather than in Syriac or in Arabic) by a Christian living probably in Syria under Muslim domination. A similar writing, and nearly contemporary, was translated from Greek into Arabic; it is the *Apocalypse of Daniel* (told to his disciple Esdras!) preserved in Paris.[1]

There existed in Medieval Latin (and in a German translation from the Latin) a hermetic treatise on astrological botany, dealing with the fifteen plants, stones, and talismans, linked with the fifteen fixed stars. This work appears under the name of Mâšallâh, an eighth-century Arab astrologer. A summary of this short treatise attributed to Hermes (*Dixit Hermes* . . .) bears the title of book of Enoch:[2] 'Enoch tamquam unus ex prophetis super res quattuor librum edidit in quo voluit determinare ista quattuor, videlicet de quindecim stellis, de quindecim herbis, de quindecim lapidibus pretiosis et quindecim figuris ipsis lapidibus insculpendis, ideoque quia non moritur qui vivificat scientiam. Dixit Enoch quod quindecim stellae . . . Quinta decima stella et ultima libri Enoch est Cauda Capricorni et est in secundo gradu Aquarii . . .'

For many Muslims Hermes was an authentic antediluvian prophet, whom they identified at one and the same time with 'Idrîs (Koran xix. 57–8 (his ascension) and xxi. 85–6) and with 'Uḫnûḫ, the Enoch of Genesis, generally called *rafî' 'allâh*, 'carried off by God'. A number of sapiential maxims, astrological and alchemistic writings are attributed to 'Idrîs, including treatises on geomancy.[3]

[1] Bibl. Nat. MS. arabe 150, ff. 14–20. Edited by F. Macler, 'L'apocalypse arabe de Daniel', *RHR* 49 (25) (1904), 265–305.

[2] Ed. L. Delatte, *Textes latins et vieux français relatifs aux Cyranides*, 1942, pp. 277–88 (three manuscripts of the fourteenth century); ibid., pp. 241–75, long recension attributed to Hermes. Cf. L. Thorndike, *Mél. A. Pelzer*, 1947, 221–3.

[3] Paris, Bibl. Nat. arabe 2630 and 2631, eighteenth century; cf. G. Vajda, *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, new edn., iii (1970), 1056–7.

A curious reference by a tenth-century Arabic chronographer to the literary activity of Enoch–'Idrîs deserves to be quoted *in extenso*. After mentioning the assumption of Enoch to Paradise, Agapius (Maḥbûb), son of Constantine of Membij (Hierapolis), writes in his *Kitâb al-'Unwân*:[1] 'Hénoch (*'Uḫnûḫ*) est le même que 'Idrîs. Certains savants affirment aussi qu'Hénoch, qui est 'Idrîs, fit connaître, expliqua et enseigna l'écriture, les lettres, les étoiles (l'astronomie) et le calcul. Manéthon, savant d'Égypte et astronome, affirme que Dieu éleva Hénoch jusqu'à la sphère tournante et lui fit connaître les signes du Zodiaque, qui s'y trouvent, les étoiles fixes et errantes, les horoscopes, les termes de l'influence des astres, les décades des degrés, les constellations qui s'y trouvent, et d'autres mystères d'astrologie. C'est pourquoi on dit que son livre des étoiles s'appelle livre du sens caché (*kt'bh fy 'lngwm ysm' kt'b 'lm''ny*). Tous les Harraniens, qui adorent les idoles et les étoiles, s'en tiennent à l'avis de Manéthon l'Égyptien.'

A work entitled *Disciplina clericalis* and composed by Rabbi Moses Sefardi (1062–1110, converted to Christianity in 1106 under the name Peter Alphonsus) contains proverbs, allegories, and fables adapted from the Arabic.[2] A Hebrew paraphrase from the beginning of this document (which contains advice on friendship and on the cult of God, with stories of the old man who had only half a friend, and of two incomparable friends) appears under the title 'Book of Enoch', ספר חנוך, in a compilation by R. Nasim Schomen.[3]

On a late Ethiopic work entitled *Another Discourse on the Birth of Enoch* see below, pp. 258.

Christian visionaries who travelled in the other world inevitably met in paradise the two people who had been carried off to heaven, Enoch and Elijah. Thus in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, written towards the end of the fourth century, the apostle, guided by an angel, enters the doorway of paradise, situated in the third heaven, and meets first an old man whom the angel introduces to him: 'this is Enoch, the scribe of Justice' (ⲉ̅ⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲉⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ ⲛ̅ ⲧⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟ̅ⲥⲩⲛⲏ), then Elijah, and after this other saints.[4]

[1] Ed. A. Vasiliev, *PO* V, 4, 1910, pp. 591–2.

[2] Ed. A. Hilka and J. W. Söderhjelm, Heidelberg, 1911.

[3] Constantinople 1516, Venice 1544 and 1605; the incipit is אמר חנוך הפילוסוף המכונה בלשון ערב אדריס לבנו; cf. A. Pichard, *Le Livre d'Hénoch sur l'amitié traduit de l'hébreu*, Paris 1838, pp. 75–129 (translation) and pp. 131–40 (Hebrew text); M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebraeischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher*, Graz 1893 (1956), pp. 933–5 § 557.

[4] E. A. W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, 1915, pp. 561

During his visit to the paradise of Adam, Paul meets the Virgin Mary, the patriarchs, Moses, twelve prophets, Lot, Job, Noah, Elijah, and Elisha; at least, he does so according to the Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts, which end with the speech of Elijah, but the Coptic text replaces Elisha with Enoch and ends the procession of the saints in paradise with Zacharias, John the Baptist, Abel, and Adam (James, p. 554). According to the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* an angel meets Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Enoch, Elijah, and David in paradise (James, p. 540 n.). In the *Descent into Hell*, added to the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (*Acta Pilati*) no earlier than the fifth century, Christ descends to hell and frees Adam and other saints; upon entering paradise they meet Enoch, Elijah, and the good thief: 'And there met with them two men, ancients of days, and when they were asked of the saints: "Who are ye that have not yet been dead in hell with us and are set in paradise in the body ?", then one of them answering said (James, p. 140; Latin recension A, chapter IX): "I am Enoch which was translated hither by the word of the Lord, and this that is with me is Elias the Thesbite who was taken up in a chariot of fire; and up to this day we have not tasted death, but we are received unto the coming of Antichrist to fight against him with signs and wonders of God, and to be slain of him in Jerusalem, and after three days and a half to be taken up again alive on the clouds.'

A Latin work, now lost, on Enoch and Elijah's stay in the terrestrial paradise, is summarized in verse by Godfrey of Viterbo (d. 1191) in his *Pantheon sive Universitatis Libri, qui Chronici appellantur*, *xx*.[1] He claims to have found this 'History of Enoch and Elijah' in a book of Acts of the apostles preserved *in ecclesia Sancti Matthaei, ultra Britanniam in finibus terrae*, probably the Pointe-de-Saint-Matthieu in Finistère, also called Saint-Mahé and Saint-Matthieu-de-Fin-des-Terres, an abbey founded in 1157 on the site of an oratory where the head of the evangelist, carried from Ethiopia by seafarers from Léon, was supposed to have been laid. This account is connected with the mythical journeys to the West, a favourite theme of ancient Celtic literature, the most famous of which is *Navigatio Brandani*; in these stories Enoch and Elijah are mentioned occasionally.[2] Here is a summary of it:

A hundred or so monks of Saint-Matthew undertake, under the direction of two priests, a journey in the Western Sea; on the high seas, two statues of

(text) and 1048 (translation); cf. James, *The Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 536 (chapter 19).

[1] Basle 1559, cols. 93–6.

[2] See M. Esposito, 'Un apocrifo Libro d'Enoch ed Elia', *Città di Vita* (Firenze), ii (1947), 228–36 (not seen by me); P. Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxv (1947), pp. 301–2.

women point out to them the route to be followed. They arrive at a region with a mountain of gold; in a church containing a statue of the Virgin Mary with Child, situated in a city of gold, they find only two old men who lodge in two narrow rooms of the cloister:

> Surgentes pariter verba dedere senes.
> Rex noster Deus est, coeli terraeque creator.
> Cherubin et Seraphin custodibus urbs habitatur,
> Angelici cives moenia nostra tenent.
> Cantibus angelicis solennia nostra reguntur,
> Corpora nostra cibo coelesti, semper aluntur.

The old men, who are present at the Mass celebrated by two priests,

> Elias et Enoch, fuerant illi seniores,
> Sicut et ambo simul, proprio testantur arbore,
> Ad quos et nautae verba beata movent.
> Vidimus scriptis, quoniam pro nomine Christi,
> Vos hostes antichristi fieri statuistis,
> Ipseque vos perimet, sed corpora non tumulabit,
> Christus eum post haec, propria virtute necabit,
> Dicite quando fit hoc?

Enoch confesses his ignorance of the date fixed by God for the Last Judgement, and Elijah advises them to return home, which they do; the journey which seemed to them to last three years had lasted three hundred.

The theme of the return of Enoch and Elijah at the end of time, of their struggle with the Antichrist, of their death and their resurrection after three (and a half) days was extremely popular in all the Christian churches from the second century (Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian) until the beginning of the modern era. This belief explains, for instance, the commemoration of Enoch on the Tuesday after Easter by the Jacobite Syrians.[1]

It would be easy to collect evidence on the eschatological role of Enoch and Elijah. This is the belief of the universal Church, affirms the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*:[2] οὗτος (sc. Enoch) ἐστιν ὁ ἅμα τῷ Ἠλίᾳ ἐν ἐσχάταις

[1] Numerous texts were collected by W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche*, 1895, pp. 134–9 ('Henoch und Elias') and p. 180. We agree with him that, although connected by ecclesiastical writers with the reference to two witnesses in chapter 11 of the Revelation of John, our theme goes beyond it and differs from it; 'eine Lösung des Rätsels' is still awaited.

[2] Ed. G. Dindorf, i (1832), 36, 5–7.

ἡμέραις ἀντικαθιστάμενος τῷ Ἀντιχρίστῳ καὶ ἐλέγχων τὴν πλάνην αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδοσιν. Exactly the same phrase (except ἐκκλησιαστικὴν instead of τῆς ἐκκλησίας) occurs in the *Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*.[1]

In the Oracle of the Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek we find the following passage:[2] 'And then there will appear two men who did not come to know the experience of death, Enoch and Elijah, and they will wage war upon the ruler of perdition. And he will say: "My time has come", and he will be angered and slay them. And then he who was crucified on the wood of the cross will come from the heavens, like a great and flashing star, and he will resurrect those two men. And he who was hung on the cross will wage war upon the son of perdition and will slay him and all his host.'

Freely adapted, this passage occurs in many versions of this Oracle. Thus in Latin:[3] 'Regnante autem eo egredientur duo clarissimi viri Helias et Enoch ad annuntiandum Domini adventum et Antichristus occidet eos, et post dies tres a Domino resuscitabuntur.' Both Enoch and Elijah appear anonymously in several Arabic and Ethiopic paraphrases of the same Tiburtine Sibyl.[4] One reads, for example, in the Arabic I Version, no. 180: 'Da wird Gott zu ihm (Antichrist) zwei Männer senden, die früher lebendig in den Himmel versetzt worden waren; und sie werden ihn ausschelten und ihn vor allen Leuten für einen Lügner erklären und zu ihm sagen: "Nicht bist du der Messias und nicht bist du ein Gott" ', etc.

In the Arabic Apocalypse of Daniel (eighth century; cf. above, p. 117) one finds the following phrase:[5] 'Puis viendront Elie et Enoch; alors ils l'apostropheront en face et lutteront contre lui. Leur sang sera répandu par lui.' In the Coptic Apocalypse of Daniel, composed shortly after 1187, we read:[6] 'Puis apparaîtra l'Antichrist qui en abusera plusieurs. Lorsqu'il sera fortifié, il séduira même les élus. Il fera périr les deux prophètes Enoch et Elie, de sorte que pendant trois jours et demi ils seront morts dans les places publiques de la grande ville de Jérusalem.'

[1] V. 82. Ed. W. Wolska-Conus, *SC* 159 (1970) 125 (ibid. on miniatures of Enoch in Cosmas' manuscripts, which influenced the iconography of Octateuch, discussed above, p. 21).

[2] P. J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek*, p. 29 and p. 22 (Greek text).

[3] Ed. E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, 1898, p. 186.

[4] See J. Schleifer, *Die Erzählung der Sibylle, ein Apokryph nach den Karschunischen, Arabischen und Aethiopischen Handschriften zu London, Oxford, Paris und Rom* (Denkschriften d. k. Ak. d. Wiss. Wien, Philos.-hist. Kl. 53, i), 1908, pp. 46–7 (texts) and pp. 71–2 (translations).

[5] F. Macler, *RHR*, 1904, pp. 27 (translation) and 41 (text, 66) of an offprint.

[6] F. Macler, *Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel*, 1895, p. 54 § 26.

In a fragmentary Coptic apocalyptic Gospel, the Antichrist and his followers are thrown into chains of fire; then there appears the Great Devil who takes up his abode at Chorozain and at Bethsaida and, presenting himself as a god, causes many people to go astray. Enoch pronounces a sermon of warning against him:[1] 'Then Enoch shall say unto them in that day: "This is not God, believe not on him. But this is the Son of Iniquity (ἀνομία); this is the Devil (διάβολος) who from the beginning hath led man astray from life. Lo, in the land of Inheritance (κληρονομία) shall the Christ do judgement . . .'; the continuation is missing.

In a late Ethiopic book the phrase of 4 Esd. 11: 2: 'and the clouds gather upon it (sc. the eagle)' is applied to Enoch and Elijah confronting the Antichrist born of an Arab woman.[2]

In the MS. Vat. Reg. 2077 (sixth to seventh century) containing the *Epitoma Chronicon* of Prosper of Aquitaine there is an account 'de duobus testibus: dicitur venire Enoch et Helia praedicaturi adventum domini et diem iudicii mensibus XLII . . . ut tribus et semis annis per eundem Heliam dei notitia confirmetur, de qua dicit (quotations from Dan. 9: 27 and Matt. 24: 15).[3]

A Carolingian poem on the last days, entitled (in one manuscript) *de Enoch et Heliae*,[4] contains these lines:

Apparebunt ante summum saeculorum iudicem.
Enoch magnus et Helias · quondam raptus in polum, Inminente die iudicii.
  Qui docendo corda patrum, convertunt in filios.
  inbuunt et infideles · iustorum prudentia, Inminente die iudicii.
Qui tres annos sexque menses, dum doctrinae serviunt,
atque multos ad perenne caeli regnum convocant. Inminente
  Tum repente serpens ater, iam peccati filius.
  orbe toto virulentus, frendens saevit dentibus. Inminente
Et Christum bello superbo, antichristus appetens.
contra recte structa prauus· dissipare nititur. Inminente
  Tantos (tanto Par.) inprimis prophetas, Christi plebes (plebe Par.) ac duces.
  sternit ense plurimique Christi fiunt martyres. Inminente . . .

[1] See H. G. E. White, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, 1926, p. 21.

[2] Ed. J. Perruchon and I. Guidi, *Le livre des mystères du ciel et de la terre*, *PO* i, 1 (1907), 84.

[3] Th. Mommsen, *MGH auct. ant.* ix (1892), 493.

[4] Two manuscripts are preserved: Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 16668 (ninth century), ff. 21r–22r (checked by me), and Brussels MS. 8860–7 (beginning of the tenth century), ff. 18v–20v. See K. Strecker, *MGH Poetae*, iv. 2 (1923), 491–5, nr. XIII; cf. E. Dümmler, *Rythmorum ecclesiasticorum aevi Carolini specimen*, 1881, pp. 9–12, nr. VI (only from the Brussels MS.).

A rich iconography on the apocalyptic role of Enoch and Elijah is to be found in manuscripts of the Commentary on the Revelation of St. John compiled by Beatus of Liebana at the end of the eighth century. Chapter eleven of the Revelation is usually illustrated by three miniatures: the two witnesses (Rev. 11: 3–8*a*), Antichrist kills the two witnesses (Rev. 11: 7–10), the ascension of the two witnesses to heaven (Rev. 11: 11–14).[1] In some manuscripts[2] the image of the killing bears the legend: *Antichristus Heliam et Henoc occidit.* This iconographic tradition is quite independent of the text of Beatus, who does not mention Enoch, but Elijah and Jeremiah, and denies their resurrection after three days and a half.[3] In only a few manuscripts do the illuminations follow the text and call the two witnesses *Elias et Jheremias.*

Occasionally along with Enoch and Elijah as adversaries of the Antichrist there appear John the Baptist, John the Evangelist,[4] Jeremiah, or else one or two women, Tabitha in the Apocalypse of Elijah, Sibyl and Tabitha in the Arabic History of Joseph the carpenter.

Enoch and Elijah appear, finally, in mystic experiences of Christian Saints. In the 'Life' of a French female recluse of the twelfth century, whose visions were written down from 1180 to 1184 by a Cistercian priest, she tells, among other things, of a Vision she had one Christmas Eve: she contemplated the Trinity, the Virgin Mary with Child and then 'statimque de coelo descenderunt ad terram duo antiqui senes veneranda candidati canitie, prophetis similes, erantque quasi ad bellum praeparati'. The Antichrist kills them; 'quos ad coelum de coelo columbae descendentes nive candidiores detulerunt'. The Adversary pursues them up to Heaven, but God precipitates him into Hell. Another time, 'vidit puella duos antiquissimos senes, prolixa barba, veneranda canitie candidatos, super tenuissimam nubem ad se per aera venientes, et ostendentes ei amoenissimum fontem liquidissimis manantem aquis, nitidissimas habentem arenas, de quo egrediebantur quattuor maxima flumina per quattuor partes hinc et inde distinctis alveis fluentia. Admonebant puellam senes illi grandaevi, ut ad fontem illum accederet, et in aquis illius se lavaret.' To her inquiries Enoch et Elijah, who 'angelis

[1] See W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration* (*Das Problem der Beatus-Handschriften*), 1931, pp. 176–81 and 257, figs. 143–53, 252, 255.

[2] e.g. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8878 (mid eleventh century), f. 155.

[3] Ed. H. A. Sanders, *Beati in Apocalypsin libri XII* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vii), 1930, pp. 448 and 452.

[4] See Th. Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae*, 1907, pp. 154 and 198.

Dei viderentur esse consimiles', replied: 'Multum transiit temporis ex quo nati sumus, et numquam mortem subivimus, nec morte propria moriemur, sed alieno gladio occisi erimus, et sic occumbemus.'[1]

An Abyssinian ascetic woman of the fifteenth century, whose 'Life' was composed a few decades after her death by Philippos, a monk of the convent of Dabra Libânos, used to make ecstatic voyages to Abodes of Saints:[2] 'E la madre nostra Krestos Samrâ alcune volte andava alla Terra dei Beati e si tratteneva con loro a conversare per sette giorni. Dopo sette giorni tornava in fretta alla sua dimora. Altre volte andava alla Terra dei Viventi dove sono Enoc ed Elia e conversava con loro, ritornando poi celeramente alla sua dimora. Così visse per molti anni.' Then she began new ascetic practices: ten years in a pit, nailed to a pole; three years standing in an icy lake, etc.

In the doctrines of various sects the person of Enoch plays an important role, either negative or positive. Here is a passage of the Bogomil document *Altercatio Johannis* (James, p. 190): 'And I asked the Lord and said: "What shall be in that time?". And he said to me: "From the time when the devil fell from the glory of the Father and lost his own glory, he sat upon the clouds, and sent his ministers, even angels flaming with fire, unto men from Adam, even unto Henoch his servant. And he raised up Henoch upon the firmament and showed him his godhead, and commanded pen and ink to be given him; and he sat down and wrote threescore and seven books. And he commanded that he should take them to the earth and deliver them unto his sons. And Henoch let his books down upon the earth and delivered them unto his sons, and began to teach them to perform the custom of sacrifice, and unrighteous mysteries, and so did he hide the kingdom of heaven from men." '

According to the secret doctrines of the Druses, 'Uḫnûḫ is a passive feminine principle, identified moreover with Eve, 'Idrîs, and Hermes, and in addition with the second emanation called Nafs and Ḥuyya (pieces XII and XXXII of the Druse Canon).

The figure of Enoch is equally popular among the Falasha, the Abyssinian Jews, who, however, accept the Old Testament canon of the Ethiopic Christians, in which the Book of Enoch is included.

[1] See P. Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais, Vierge, de Cudot, au diocèse de Sens, 1150 à 1211*, Marly-le-Roi 1893, pp. 117–18 (ii 5) and 174–5 (iv 3); J. de Backer, *Acta Sanctorum, Novembris*, ii. 1 (3 Nov.), Brussels 1894, pp. 184 and 199.

[2] See E. Cerulli, *Atti di Krestos Samrâ*, *CSCO* 163/Aeth. 33, p. 54 (text), 164/34, p. 37 (translation).

ENOCH IN CABBALISTIC LITERATURE

The Hebrew Enoch or 3 Enoch are the conventional titles given to a cabbalistic compilation, written in Mishnaic Hebrew, the most complete text of which is preserved in a Bodleian manuscript under the title: ספר חנוך לר׳ ישמעאל כוהן גדול 'Book of Enoch by R. Ishma''el (ben Elisha'), the high priest'.[1] It is not at all certain that this manuscript is a reproduction of an earlier archetype; all that one can say is that at the beginning of the sixteenth century a German Jewish copyist gave the title 'Book of Enoch' to a heterogeneous compilation. Various elements of this compilation appear in other manuscripts and editions, where they have various titles, e.g. 'Teachings (פרקי) of R. Ishma''el'[2] or 'Ascension of Meṭaṭron' and 'Names of Meṭaṭron';[3] other parts are found in the 'Book of the heavenly palaces (ספר היכלות) of Tanna R. Ishma''el the high priest' and in the 'Alphabet of R. 'Aqiba'.

The contents of MS. Oppenheim 556 are as follows:

1. Introduction (chapters 1–2).
2. Enoch–Meṭaṭron piece (chapters 3–16), together with a fragment of the Ascension of Moses (chapter 15B).
3. Angelological section (chapters 17–22A and 25–28. 6), in which three angelological systems are distinguished.
4. Section on the Judgement (chapters 28. 7–33. 2).
5. Celestial Qᵉduššah (chapters 35, 36, 38–40).
6. Section on Merkabah, 'divine chariot', and on the heavenly regions (chapters 22B and C, 23, 24, 33. 3–5, 34, 37).
7. Section on Meṭaṭron who shows the secrets of the heavens to R. Ishma''el: mystic or cosmic 'letters' (chapter 41); polar opposites kept in balance by divine Names (chapter 42); the Pargod of the Throne on which are represented all the events of the past, present, and future (chapter 45); constellations and planets (chapter 46);

[1] Bodl. MS. Oppenheim 556, ff. 314ʳ, 1–333ʳ, 7, copied in German Hebraic cursive by Yiṣḥaq גואקיל in 1511 (the first part of this manuscript, ff. 306ʳ–307ᵛ, was finished on 2 Elul 5271 = 1511). Edited by H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, Cambridge 1928, with introduction (pp. i–x and 1–192), text and critical apparatus (pp. א–עד), translation and commentary (pp. 1–179). This very careful edition supersedes A. Jellinek's edition, *Bet Midrasch*, v (1873), 170–90 (chapters 1–15, 23–48A), which reproduces a rather poor text.

[2] Bodl. MS. Michael 175, ff. 18ᵛ, 1–25ᵛ, 8 (chapters 3–24 of Odeberg's edition and other texts).

[3] Bodl. MS. Michael 256, ff. 25ʳ, 1–28ᵛ, 17 and 29ʳ, 1–44ʳ, 21 (cf. chapters 3–12 and 15).

the spirits of the unborn children and the deceased, and also the spirits and the souls of the punished angels (chapters 43, 44, 47); apocalyptic matters (chapters 44. 7–10, 45. 5, 48A).

8. Section on divine Names (chapter 48B).
9. A shorter Enoch–Meṭaṭron piece (chapter 48C).
10. The names of Meṭaṭron, the transmission of the secrets to Moses, the protest of the angels, the chain of tradition.

After a long discussion Odeberg reaches the conclusion that the compilation of the main part of the work, namely chapters 3–48A, goes back to the second half of the third century A.D. If he concedes that this writing scarcely constitutes a 'homogeneous unity or a work by a definite author in the modern sense of the word', this simply provides an opportunity for him to suggest that certain 'layers' of this work, in particular chapters 3–15 concerning Enoch–Meṭaṭron, might have been composed in the second century or even, in part, towards the end of the first century (pp. 23–43 and 188). While one must admire Odeberg's scholarly erudition in the immense field of Jewish mystical literature, we shall find it easy to prove that he is mistaken in his dating of the 'Hebrew Book of Enoch' by at the very least a thousand years. Hardly less inexact is the dating to the sixth century put forward by some Jewish scholars.

The main argument results from our dating of the Slavonic Enoch, the Book of the Secrets. Odeberg, who realizes that the date of the short recension of the Slavonic Enoch is earlier than that of the long recension, proves beyond doubt, through a detailed comparison of themes and formulas, that the text of the Slavonic Enoch was known to the authors of the Hebrew Enoch (pp. 52–63). However, he accepts the dating of the original of the Slavonic Enoch to the first century A.D., the dating of Charles and other scholars, qualifying this by the addition 'that there was originally a Jewish writing, belonging to the Enoch Literature and embodied in the present *2 Enoch*, and that this Jewish Book of Enoch was well known to the circle from which *3 Enoch* has emanated' (p. 63). Our dating of the Greek original of the Slavonic Enoch ('2 Enoch') to the ninth if not the tenth century (see above, pp. 110–12) constitutes the *terminus post quem* of the writings incorporated in the Hebrew Enoch. Besides, it is well known that Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages easily read and translated works of Greek and Latin Christian literature (e.g. chronicles and biblical apocrypha) and of Arabic Muslim literature. Accordingly, Odeberg's assertion of 'the impossibility of conceiving any

direct dependence of *3 Enoch* upon a non-Jewish writing, to the extent obtaining here' (p. 63) is certainly gratuitous and contrary to the established facts. Furthermore, it seems to me highly likely that the Book of the Secrets of Enoch could have been carried as far as Germany and France by learned Jewish merchants in its Slavonic version—and not in the original Greek text (which was not widely circulated)—from the towns of Ruthenia, particularly Kiev (or from other Cyrillo-Methodian centres in Poland or Bohemia or even in the Balkans).

Moreover, recent research into the origins of the Cabbala in Western Europe, in particular the work of G. G. Scholem, definitely excludes a date earlier than the twelfth century for the greater part of the theological and mystical theories contained in the Hebrew Enoch. Thus it was between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries that the majority of the cabbalistic texts found in MS. Bodl. Opp. 556 were elaborated, put down in writing, and gradually collected together. The text, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the title 'Book of Enoch' was only one element in this collection, which itself formed part of a bigger compilation known by the name of *Ma'aśê Merkabah* or by other names again, which contained *Hêkalôt*, *Ši'ûr Qômâ*, Revelations of Moses, etc.

The dating of Talmudic, Midrashic, and cabbalistic elements belonging to larger collections is a very delicate task, in which subjective preconceptions are liable to mislead if it is based only on arguments of internal literary and ideological criticism; one can easily be out by several centuries, if not by a thousand years or more. Therefore, in order to date any ideas or literary works, in terms of relative or absolute chronology, one must, if possible, look for criteria external to this literature itself. We are in the privileged position of being able to do this where theories about the angel Meṭaṭron are concerned. According to the writings incorporated into the Hebrew Enoch Meṭaṭron is an almost divine being, an intermediary between God and creation, and he is identified with the patriarch Enoch who was lifted up to heaven.

This identification already appears in the Targum of Jonathan (Gen. 5: 24):[1] ויתהלך ופלח חנוך בקושטא קדם יי והא ליתוהי עם דיירי ארעא ארום אתנגיד וסלק לרקיעא במימר קדם יי וקרא שמיה מיטטרון ספרא רבא, 'And Enoch served in the truth before the Lord; and behold, he was not with the sojourners of the earth; for he was withdrawn, and he ascended to the firmament by the Word before the Lord, and his name was called

[1] Ed. Ginsburger, p. 11.

Meṭaṭron the Great Scribe.'[1] But the second part of this passage is certainly, in my opinion, a very late addition, as it does not appear in other Palestinian Targums.[2]

Now the concept of Meṭaṭron–Enoch as a single heavenly being is not attested by the magical texts from Mesopotamia written in Judaeo-Babylonian Aramaic, which date, I think, from the seventh to eighth centuries or even from the ninth century. Odeberg does not mention them, though at the time of his edition two good examples were known. I give all the passages from the magical bowls relating to Meṭaṭron which are known at the present time:

I. [5] אשבעית לכון במלאכין קדישין ובישמיה [6] דמיטטרון מלאכה דביה . . דריאל ונוריאל ו . . . יאל [7] וססגביאל והפכיאל ומהפכיאל אילין אנון שבעה [8] מלאכין דאזלין ומהפכין שמיא וארעה וכוכבי ומזלי וסיהרא וימא

'I adjure you by holy angels and in the name of Meṭaṭron, the angel of . . ., -drî'el and Nûrî'el and -î'el and Sasgabî'el and Hafkî'el and Mᵉhafkî'el: these are the seven angels that go and turn around heavens and earth and stars and constellations and moon and sea.'[3]

For the enigmatic term דביה see below, p. 133.—Name of the second angel: נידריאל Wohlstein, הדריאל Stübe; name of the fourth angel: חתיאל Wo., אוריאל St.—שבעה with Wo., against שבעת of St.—Reject the correction of מטיווטיוטי (line 35 of this text) to מיטטרון, suggested by St.

II. ברוך אתה יהוה על דיברי השים בשים [אתה ש?]יופיאל שמך יחיאל קרו לך שסנגיאל יהוה יבי יה[. .] שמהתיך והרמסה מיטטרון יה

'Blessed art thou, Yahweh, on account of the Name; in thy name, thou whose name is Yôfî'el, and Yᵉḥî'el they call thee, whose names are Sangî'el, Yahweh, Yavê(?), Yh[. .], and Hermes Meṭaṭron Yah.'[4]

[1] Cf. the translation of J. W. Etheridge, 1862 [1968], p. 175.

[2] Thus we read only ופלח חנוך בקושטא קדם יי והא לית הוא ארום איתנגד במימר מן קדם יי in the Targum Yerushalmi; ופלח חנוך בקושטא קדם ייי [a]ולית ידיע אן הוא[a] אתנגד[b] במימר מן קדם ייי ([a–a] והא לית הוא 2[a] manu in marg. dext.,[b] 1[a] manus, in marg. sin., praemittit huic verbo ארום) in the MS. Rome, Vat. Neophyti I, f. 10[v], 8–10 (cf. the edition of A. Díez Macho, 1968, p. 31 and pl. 12); ויתהלך ופלח חנוך בקושטא קדם יי לית אנן ידעין מה הוה בסופה ארום אידכר מן קדם יי in the MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Heb. 110, f. 1[v], 27.

[3] J. Wohlstein, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ix (1894), pp. 11–27 (magic bowl in the Berlin Museum, VA 2416); R. Stübe, *Jüdisch-Babylonische Zaubertexte*, 1895, pp. 22–32.

[4] A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Univ. of Pennsylvania, The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section, iii), 1913, pp. 207–8 no. 25 (CBS 16009) and pl. XXIV.

This passage has been rather badly read and wrongly interpreted by Montgomery: דיבריה שום בשום יופיאל שמך יחיאל קרי לך שסנגיאל יהוה וכן יה . . . שמהת . . . [אר]מסה, ‘on account of the name of . . . Yophiel thy name, Yehiel they call thee, Sasangiel, YHWH, and so . . . names . . [Ar]masa Metatron Yah’. He has not seen that the beginning is written in Hebrew (as far as the second ש) and that the syntax of the Hebraic phrase takes up that of line 2: בּשים אתה ש[תשב? מ]רום ומרכבתך עֹל כל האפנים, ‘in thy name, thou who [sitteth on] high, and thy chariot (rests) on all the wheels’.—The angel יחיאל occurs in our No. V below and on the bowl of the British Museum No. 19745, published by C. H. Gordon (*Orientalia*, x (1941), 339–41), line 3 of the text: בשום עזא יחיאל; for the angel עזא see our No. III.—The name of the angel סנגיאל is probably formed from the adjective *saggî*(’), ‘numerous’, or else from the verb in the Pael *saggai*, thus referring to the numerous names of God. Alternatively, there might be an alteration of the Greek *συνήγορος* to be read as סנגו⟨ר⟩אל?; Meṭaṭron is the סניגור of men according to Echa Rabba, Intr. 24.—יבי׳ (reading uncertain), phonetic form of יהוה? cf. יהביה *Ya*(*h*)*vêh* in Mo. 7, 8.

III. מן מימריֹה דאל קנא ונוקם[ ]הוא דשלח [11] עזא ועזאל ומיטטרון איסרא רבא דכורסיה

‘by the word of “God who is zealous and revengeful (Nahum 1: 2)”, who sent ‘Azâ and ‘Aza’el and Meṭaṭron the great prince of His throne.’[1]

IV. בשמיה דשמיה קדישין ובשמיה דמיטטרון [13] איסרא רבה דכליה עלמא ובשמיה דרפאל איסרא דאסותה כולהין

‘In the name of the holy heavens and in the name of Meṭaṭron the great prince of the whole world and in the name of Raphael the prince of all healings.’[2]

At the beginning, Gordon reads and translates: בשמיה בשמיה קדישא ‘In His name! In His holy name!’

V. [9] אסיריתון וחתימיתון [10] בשום מטטרֹון איסרא רבא [11] דהוא ממֹונֹי על כל ראשי שרית[א] [12] ובשום יחיאל איסרא {אי}רבה די הוֹא [13] מרחק . . . בשמיה על ימא דסוף

[1] C. H. Gordon, *Archiv Or.* vi (1934), 328–30 (Istanbul Museum No. 6519: excavations of the Univ. of Pa. Expedition in 1888–9); = W. H. Rossell, *A Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts*, 1953, pp. 106–7 no. 27.

[2] Gordon, *Archiv Or.* ix (1937), 93–5, no. 1 and pl. VIII–IX (Nat. Mus. in Washington No. 207963); = Rossell, pp. 91–2 no. 16.

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'Ye are bound and sealed by the name of Meṭaṭron the great prince who is in charge over all the chiefs of the Service, and by the name of Yᵉḥî'el the great prince, who is keeping at distance . . . by His name by the Reed Sea.'[1]

In lines 11–13 Gordon reads: דהוא מ̇לכ̇א על כל . . . איסרא {אי}רבה . . . רחק . . . . בשמיה על ימא דסוף. I did not see clearly his בשמיה.

VI. בחומרתיה דמיטטרון סרא רבא דמיתקרי אסיה רבא דרחמי ⟨מי⟩כבד בישתא ∘ דהוא כביש שידין ודיוין וחרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין

. . . 'by the talisman of Meṭaṭron the great prince, who is called the great healer of mercies, sweeping away evil things, who vanquishes devils and demons and black-arts and mighty spells'.[2]

At the end of line 5, Gordon reads and translates: מ?ברכי (?)אשונא 'that bless the season(?)'.

The role of Meṭaṭron in the popular beliefs of Babylonian Jews was thus very elevated. He is the archangel, 'the great prince' *par excellence*: 'the great prince of the throne of God' (III), 'the great prince who presides over all the chiefs of the Service' (V), 'the great prince of the whole world' (IV), 'the great prince who is called the great healer of mercy' (VI). This title corresponds to the name 'the prince of the presence', שר הפנים, which Meṭaṭron has in Tanḥumâ, parašah *wa'etḥanan* 6, and is found again unaltered as שרא רבא or else 'the great prince who is above all the princes' in medieval mystical and apocalyptical writings, in particular in *Šiʿûr Qômâ*.

Meṭaṭron appears, in text I, in his role as the chief of the seven archangels who preside over heaven and earth; as a great healer he is linked with Raphael who, by his name (*rafa'* 'to heal'), is the prince of all healings (IV). These archangels participate in an outstanding degree in the essential power of God who is 'the master of healings'. This aspect of the activity of God and the angels, rather neglected in Jewish medieval theories, is linked with the great fashion for healing gods during the period of the Later Roman Empire, followed by the popularity of healing saints in the Byzantine period.

The special connection of Meṭaṭron with the divine throne (III) recalls the idea described in Hag. 15*a*, where Meṭaṭron is the heavenly scribe 'who

[1] My reading on the original, the bowl of the Ashmolean Museum, No. 1932.620, fourth quadrant; cf. Gordon, *Orientalia*, x (1941), 280.

[2] Gordon, *Orientalia*, xx (1951), 306–9, and facs. at pp. 312–13 (private collection in Teheran); = Rossell, pp. 78–9 no. 3.

had permission to sit when he was recording the merits of Israel';[1] later Meṭaṭron, and he alone, from among the inhabitants of heaven, will occupy the second celestial throne. According to the same passage (our No. III), 'Azâ, 'Aza'el, and Meṭaṭron are the special envoys of God.[2] We know that 'Aza'el (often duplicated as עזא, עזיאל, עזזאל, עשאל, עשיאל, עשואל), plays an ambivalent role in theological and magical ideas. He is at one time one of the two chiefs of the fallen angels and the main instructor in wicked arts and sciences, at another time one of the good archangels of God.[3]

The most elaborate angelological speculation is reflected in our No. II (Montgomery, op. cit., no. 25): the names of the angels are equivalent to the names of God, in particular Yôfî'el and Meṭaṭron. These two angels are found in the Jerusalem Targum (Deut. 34: 6), where the four 'masters of wisdom', Meṭaṭron, Yôfî'el, 'Ûrî'el, and Y^efipp^eyah, take charge of the soul of Moses on his death. According to Sanh. 38*b* Meṭaṭron is identified with the Angel of Yahweh mentioned in Exod. 23: 20 ff.: he even bears the divine name of Yahweh, and it is he who is the Yahweh of Exod. 24: 1. According to II above it is the Greek god Hermes, divine messenger *par excellence*, who is identified with Meṭaṭron and with Yah: הרמסה מיטטרון יה. This phrase lends itself to an alternative translation in which the name of *mêṭaṭrôn* would be an appellative, and not a proper name: 'Hermes (who is) *mêṭaṭrôn* of God.'

This brings us back to the problem of the etymology of this term. Odeberg discusses a dozen and more derivations of it, declaring himself to be in favour of μετὰ—θρόνος.[4] This etymology, however, is definitely to be rejected, since it in no way satisfies the rules of transcription (θ, ט); moreover, it involves the invention of a Greek compound substantive, μετάθρονος, which never existed and scarcely could exist. The only acceptable etymology from the linguistic point of view is that already well known by the medieval Cabbalists themselves and adopted by several modern scholars: מיטטרון is a Hebrew derivative, with the elative *-ôn*, from the Latin *metator* through the Greek μητάτωρ, μιτάτωρ.

The Latin term *metator* in its original and classical use denotes the person

[1] Cf. an analogous role of Enoch, 'the scribe of righteousness', in Coptic literature; above, pp. 103–6.

[2] בשום עזא ועזאל occurs in the first quadrant of the Ashm. bowl 1932.620, quoted above (No. V); בשום עזיאל in line 13 of the Ashm. 1932.619 (Gordon, loc. cit. (1941), p. 279).

[3] Sib. ii. 215, Test. Solomon vii. 7, etc.; cf. E. Peterson, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. 75 (1926), p. 394, No. 5 and p. 397, No. 18, and *ZNW* 25 (1926), 243; C. D. G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche*, pp. 59–60, 312–13, 285–6, 294–5, 298, 309, etc.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 125 ff.

who traces the boundaries of fields, the surveyor; it is also found with this meaning as a loan-word in Greek.[1] Later, in the administrative and military language of the Empire, *metator* comes to mean a quartermaster, who prepares the lodgings of an army on the march, or those of an important official, a prince, or the emperor on a journey.[2] In this sense the word lent itself to the metaphorical usage common in Christian Latin writers: 'quartermaster; he who prepares the routes' in Cyprian (*Ep.* 6. 4, speaking of a martyr already dead who prepares a place in heaven for his faithful followers); Christ is a precursor of this kind, and the womb of the Virgin is *metatus metatoris Christi* according to Peter Chrysologus (*Sermo* 91, *PL* 52, 457A); in a pejorative sense the heretics are *metatores Antichristi*, a phrase used by Cyprian, Gregorius of Elvira, and Arnobius the Younger.[3]

Exactly the same Christian semantic uses are found in the Coptic texts, where the word *mitator* comes naturally from Greek. In the Discourse on the Archangel Gabriel, attributed to Celestinus, archbishop of Rome, the functions of Gabriel are enumerated as follows: 'And Gabriel is the faithful messenger who is equipped for service in the midst of the angel host, and it is he who bringeth glad tidings among the angels. And Gabriel is the ⲡⲙⲓⲧⲁⲧⲱⲣ of God Almighty, and the steward (ⲡⲟⲓ̈ⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ) of the kingdom which is in the heavens.'[4] John the Baptist 'is the forerunner (ⲙⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲧⲱⲣ) of the Lord, of the King of kings, and he is the baptist of the aeons of light'.[5] There is a similar example in the Coptic Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, where the Baptist is called ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲓⲧⲁⲧⲱⲣ.[6]

In Hebrew, the same appellative, מטטור or מיטטור, is found in Gen. Rabba 5, 2.[7]

The derivation of the name of the angel מיטטרון from the Latin–Greek substantive *metator*–μιτάτωρ is confirmed by the explanation which I put forward for an enigmatic epithet for Hermes and Meṭaṭron in the Judaeo-Babylonian magical texts. In Montgomery[8] 2, 2 (= Rossell[9] 4) Hermes is

[1] In a papyrus (F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 111) and in literary texts (see, e.g., J. L. Lydus, *De magistratibus populi Romani*, ed. R. Wünsch, 1903, 3, 70).

[2] e.g. Ambrosius, *Hexaemeron* v 10; in Greek: *Glossae Basilic.* lvii 12 and Suidas s.v.

[3] See A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, 1954, p. 529.

[4] E. A. W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, 1915, p. 306 (text: B.M. MS. Or. 7028, year 989) and p. 878 (translation).

[5] C. D. G. Müller, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel*, *CSCO* 225/*Copt.* 31, 1962, p. 72 (text), and 226/32, p. 88 (German translation); cf. id., *Die Engellehre*, p. 140, No. 18: Coptic ⲙⲓ̈ⲧⲁⲧⲱⲣ = Arabic *rasûl*, 'messenger'.

[6] E. Revillout, *PO* ix, 2 (1913), 136 [162].

[7] Cf. Odeberg, loc. cit., p. 94.

[8] Op. cit. (above, p. 128, n. 4).

[9] Op. cit. (above, p. 129, n. 1).

called ארמסא דביא וממללא. The same phrase occurs in Montgomery 27, 5 (ארמסא דביא ומללא) and in Gordon, *Orientalia*, x (1941), 273, no. 11, 3 (= Rossell 26) and pl. II: ארמיסים דביה ומללא.[1] Now, the first epithet can be applied equally well to Meṭaṭron: מיטטרון מלאכה דביה (No. I above). The expression דביה is neither the name of an angel (Stübe), nor 'der da weilet bei . . .' (Wohlstein), nor 'who-is-in-Yah' (Montgomery), but the relative pronoun *dᵉ* plus the substantive ביא or ביה, which is the Latin borrowing *via*, well attested in Judaeo-Aramaic texts. Meṭaṭron is thus *nuntius viae*, מלאכה דביה, and Hermes 'he who (prepares) the way and announces (the coming of a Great Lord)', דביה וממללא.

The second epithet, the substantive *mallᵉlâ* or Pael participle *mᵉmallᵉlâ*, 'he who speaks, announces, acts as intermediary and intercessor (spokesman)', occurs in Montgomery 19, 7 (= Rossell 29) and pl. XX: ובשום אנגרוס ובשום מריא מלילא מגמלא (Mo. ומרגלא) דארמסא (Mo. וארמסא) ובשום אנפא (Mo. אזפא) ועלים, 'and in the name of the Angelos and in the name of the Lord who speaks (and) repays, (the Lord) Hermes, and in the name of the Presence and of the Youth'. The last two names recall the Talmudic designations of Meṭaṭron: 'Angel/Prince of the Presence' and 'Youth', נער (and in the phrase משכן הנער, 'Abode of the Youth'), the latter in Num. Rabba 12, 15. Just as Meṭaṭron is linked with 'Azâ and 'Aza'el, so Hermes appears in the company of 'Aśa'el-'Aśî'el (or 'Aśû'el) in Montgomery 7, 8 (= Rossell 22) and in the parallel text published by D. W. Myhrman.[2]

On the other hand, the same Judaeo-Babylonian incantation bowls present the figure of Enoch as a purely human person. He is a famous doctor, founder of the 'School of Enoch', and a redoubtable magician who pronounced terrible curses, shortly before the flood, against his contemporaries ('his wicked brothers'), against the wicked angels, and against Mount Hermon.[3]

The evidence which has just been discussed allows us to establish a certain chronological sequence, relative and absolute, in the beliefs relating to Meṭaṭron:

1. The term *metator*–*μιτάτωρ* could scarcely have been taken over from Greek into Mishnaic Hebrew and Judaeo-Aramaic before the Byzantine period; for it was mainly in the fifth to sixth centuries that Latin borrowings,

[1] ארמיס ודדביה Gordon; for this orthography of Hermes cf. ארמסס in Rossell 20, 6.

[2] *Hilprecht Anniversary Vol.*, 1909, pp. 342–51 (omission of עסאל and orthography הירמיס): ובשום עסאל עסיאל מלאכה ואירמיס מ[ריא רבא]. For other references to Hermes in the magical texts, see Montgomery, pp. 123–4.

[3] See below, pp. 335–8.

especially for administrative and military terminology, entered the spoken and written Greek languages *en bloc*.

2. At the same period, but even more so in early Arab times, hermetic doctrines flourished.

3. The role of Meṭaṭron in the magical Jewish texts dating from the seventh to eighth centuries is more important than his role in the Talmudic and Midrashic passages (where the discussions of the rabbis who wished to minimize the functions of Meṭaṭron are also related), but it is less important than his role in cabbalistic theories, '3 Enoch' included.

4. The magical texts identify Meṭaṭron with Hermes, but are unaware of the equation Meṭaṭron–Enoch.

5. As the equation Hermes–'Uẖnûḥ ('Idrîs) is current in Muslim mystical literature of the eighth to tenth centuries, it is from there, in all probability, that the identification Meṭaṭron–Enoch of the Targum of Jonathan, Gen. 5, 24, and of the mystical Jewish writings of the Middle Ages must come. Quite obviously there was no place there for hermetic doctrines.

6. Cabbalistic theories, including the figure of Meṭaṭron–Enoch in his role as lieutenant of God, do not appear in Western Europe until the twelfth century.

Besides MS. Bodl. Opp. 556, Enochic pseudepigrapha occur sometimes in Jewish medieval literature. Thus MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 15299, ff. 45[v] and following, contains a 'Book of Enoch' that deals with the preparations which make possible communion with the great angel-princes, in particular with Yehô'el (which is simply one of the numerous names of Meṭaṭron). This magic writing is followed by *Sefer ha-Yašar*, at the beginning of which we find that *Sefer ha-Yašar* and a second book were given to Adam by the angel Gallîṣûr; the two books were transmitted to Seth and then to Enoch. The same tradition is found in *Sefer Razî'el ha-mal'ak*. According to *Zohar* i 55*b* and 58*b* one of these two books is 'the book of Enoch'. The compilers of the magic materials of the *Sefer ha-Yašar* thus claimed Enochic authority for their own work which they allowed to be accepted as the Second Book of Enoch.

In the vast cabbalistic compilation known under the name of *Zohar* we find frequent references to the Book of Enoch, ספרא דחנוך. Certain of these quotations and allusions are encountered in the 'Hebrew Enoch';

others recall themes developed in the early Enochic writings (Aramaic, Greek, Ethiopic) or even in the Slavonic Enoch; others again seem to be unknown elsewhere.[1]

The *Sefer ha-Yašar*, in the parashah *Berešit*, contains a short and rather meagre 'Life of Enoch', חיי חנוך.[2]

The 'Hebrew Book of Enoch' and other cabbalistic works dealing with, among others, the person of Meṭaṭron–Enoch were read avidly by European Jews at the height of the Renaissance and on the threshold of the modern period. At that time there was a renewal of critical literary studies, as the curiosity of European scholars turned gradually towards a recognition of early Christian texts, and among them the Enochic writings. They were first recognized in the Greek extracts of Syncellus, then in the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch the prophet; next came the discoveries of the codices and fragments of Enoch in the sands of Egypt; and finally the samples of the Aramaic originals of the books of Enoch were recovered among the fragments of scrolls from Cave 4 at Qumrân.

[1] See Odeberg, loc. cit., p. 22.

[2] Cf. A. Jellinek's edition, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iv (1857), 129–32; J. D. Eisenstein, *'Oṣar Midrašîm*, i (1915), 182–3; German translation by A. Wünsche, *Aus Israels Lehrhallen*, i (1907), 1–6.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

THE BOOKS OF ENOCH

FIRST COPY (4QEn[a], Pls. I–V)

WHITE or cream skin, blackened in places, very thick and very stiff; surface fairly smooth, partly damaged and flaking easily; verso similar to the recto, blotted with ink. Ink rather faint: it has often spread and blurred the lines of writing, or even disappeared.

There were probably no guide-lines, except perhaps the vertical lines which marked off the columns of the text.

The recto bears traces of wear, as a result of the scroll's having been read many times. It was withdrawn from use, perhaps a century after the copy was made, and the verso—at the very least the large piece containing columns ii and iii of group no. 1—was re-used for copying a genealogical list (הוליד several times), as it seems, of the patriarchs. This might have been a school-exercise, as the surface of the verso is badly blotted with ink.

The fragments which have been identified belong to the first six columns of the text of the Aramaic Enoch, no doubt set out on two leaves of the scroll: first leaf, columns i–iv; second leaf, columns v–vi. The arrangement of the text is very economical: lines of writing fairly close together; the words in the lines almost without a gap; narrow upper and intercolumnar margins, approximately 1·2 cm broad; but the lower margin seems wider, approximately 3 cm (fragment 2). This scroll did not have a fly-leaf, i.e. a blank first column. Instead the first column of the text had only about fifteen lines of writing, and the upper half left blank, to allow the hand to hold it as the text was read, the use normally reserved for the first blank column. Here is the table of codicological details of 4QEn[a]:

Leaf	Col.	Letters per line	Width of col.	Sections of text	Text preserved	Sigla of fragments	Fragments on plates
1	i	67	20 cm	En. 1: 1–2: 1	En. 1: 1–6	4QEn[a] 1 i 1–8	4QEn[a] 1 *a*, *b*
	ii	47	13·5	2: 1–6: 4	2: 1–5: 6	ii 1–17	*c*, *d*
	iii	39	12·5	6: 4–8: 2	6: 4–8: 1	iii 1–23	*c*, *e*
	iv	42	13	8: 3–10: 2	8: 3–9: 3, 6–8	iv 1–11, 19–22	*f*–*k*
2	v	48	13·5	10: 2–19	10: 3–4	v 1–5	*l*–*n*
	vi	40	12·5	10: 19–	10: 21–11: 1; 12: 4–6	vi 1–6, 14–17	*o*, *p*

There are about twenty-seven lines of text to each column. Estimated height of the scroll, approximately 23 cm.

The alphabet of 4QEn[a] is quite archaic and is connected with the semi-cursive scripts ('semi-formal') of the third and second centuries B.C.[1] Our manuscript probably dates from the first half of the second century. However, it does not fit very well into the scribal traditions of the Jewish copyists of Judaea or even Egypt; the scribe would perhaps be dependent upon the Aramaic scripts and the scribal customs of Northern Syria or Mesopotamia.

Note the use of a particular symbol to indicate a supralinear insertion, column iii, lines 13 and 21.

The orthography is of the popular type, mainly phonetic. Features relating to the consonantal system: (1) omission of Aleph or its replacement by Yod: ממרה ii 12; למכל iii 21; טמתכן ii 13; לת ii 14; אתמלית and אתחטי iv 8; (2) Śin marked by Samekh: סגי and יסגין iv 7 and ii 15; עסר ii 5 and iii 9–13, עסירי iii 9; עסאל iii 9; (3) weakening of the 'Ain: אסר (corrected to עסר) iii 10; (4) weakening of the emphatics: זיכאל (corrected to זיקאל) iv 3; (5) absence of assimilation: ינפק i 5; (6) on רמטאל iii 6, as also on a few cases of the retention of the primitive Śin, see the commentary to column iii, lines 5–12, notes (e), (l), and (o) to the table of the names of the angels. The final vowel *-a* of the emphatic singular and plural states is usually marked by He: דרה i 4; רבה i 5; ארעה i 7; עפרה ii 8; אילניה ii 9; עבדיה ii 10, etc. (rare exceptions: שתוא ii 3, ארעא ii 3, etc.); likewise, He marks the *-a* of the infinitives, e.g. that of the Pa'el: לאלפה iii 15, etc. The final *-e* on the other hand is marked by Aleph: עסרא iii 9; מתחזא ii 2. The use of *matres lectionis* is very limited: חנך i 1 (probably corrected to חנ̊ך; cf. חנוך on fr. 8); ימיאל iii 12; נגי iii 21 (added above the line), תשבחה ii 10; כל *passim*, etc.

So far as the grammar of 4QEn[a] is concerned, we should point out the hypothetical existence of the demonstrative 'emphatic' pronoun of the East-Aramaic type, דרה [הד]ן i 4; elsewhere note the usual forms: ד[ן] iii 2; אלין, אנון, and feminine אנין iii 15; personal pronouns: אנה i 4; הוא ii 11; אנתן ii 12; pronominal suffixes: עלוהי ii 13; עליה ii 3 and iv 8; נה′ (e.g., כלנה iii 2); כן′ and הן′ *passim* (once without He: בסרכן ii 1); relative pronoun: ד before nouns (ii 4 and 6, etc.), די before the finite forms of verbs (iii 5 and 14, etc.); adverbial כלה, i 3, etc. The causative verbal

[1] Compare the alphabets traced by Cross, p. 137, fig. 1, line 3 (4QEx[f], mid third century), lines 6 and 7 (4QQoh[a] and a manuscript of liturgical prayers, 175–125 B.C.); p. 148, fig. 3, lines 1 and 2 (Nash papyrus, approximately 150 B.C., and ostracon Mur. 72, approximately 140 B.C.).

form is 'Aphel: אחרמו iii 3 and 5; אדיק iv 6; imperfect of the causative: יופע i 6; similarly, the initial Aleph is used in the reflexive forms with *-t-*: אתמלית iv 8. The third person plural feminine of the perfect has the in-inflexional ending *-a*: הויה iii 16; the same person in the imperfect ends with *-ân*: יסגין ii 15. Note that the preformative is already that of the masculine form *yi-* and not *ti-*, while the Palmyrene keeps the form *tiqtᵉlân*: תהוין in an inscription dated June A.D. 73.[1] For these forms in the Byzantine and Medieval Judaeo-Aramaic dialects, see Dalman's *Grammar*, pp. 255 and 266. The form of the perfect is attested once in the Genesis Apocryphon: שלמא 1QGenAp xxii 28.[2]

So far as the vocabulary is concerned, note several expressions relating to magic and astrology in iv 1–4 and in particular the names of the fallen angels and of the archangels in iii 5–13 and [23] and iv 1–6; in addition, מלכה 'counsel, decision' iii 2, רזין 'mysteries' iv 5.

4QEn[a] seems to have been made from a very old copy, dating from the third century at the very least; note in this connection the instances of strictly consonantal orthography, as חנך in i 1, and also a confusion in the forms of letters: a Pe in the archetype has been read by error as a Yod, hence ביום instead of בפום in ii 13. Elsewhere several orthographical and phonetic features have quite late characteristics, in particular לת instead of לא איתי; 4QEn[a] is perhaps a school-exercise, copied by a young scribe from the master's dictation. Without insisting too much on its date, or that of its archetype, it seems to me highly probable that this first copy of Enoch, as also 4QEn[b] (see below, p. 165), contained only the first part of the book of Enoch, corresponding to chapters 1–36 of the Ethiopic Enoch.

In addition to the large group of fragments labelled 1 i–vi, there are seven little unidentified fragments, 4QEn[a] 2 to 8. For 1 i–iii, especially for the large fragment containing columns ii–iii, another good photograph is PAM 42. 227.

4QEn[a] 1 i—En. 1: 1-6 (Pl. I)

[1 מלי ברכתה די ברך בה]ן̇ [a]חנ̇ך לבח̇[ירין קשיטין די להוון ביום עקתה
לאעדיה̇ כל סניה]

[1] Ed. Chr. Dunant, *Le sanctuaire de Baal-shamin à Palmyre*, iii. *Inscriptions*, 1971, p. 37, no. 24, 3; cf. A. Caquot, *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, vii (1954–7), 77.

[2] See the remarks of Kutscher, pp. 10–11 and note 48, p. 13 note 65, p. 34 Appendix 2.

[וקשיטין יפלטון 2 ונסב] מתלוה[י וא]מר [חנוך גבר קשטה די חזו מן
אלהה לה פתיח חזות קדישה ושמיה]

[אתחזית לי] ומן מלי [עירין] וקדישין כלה [שמעת אנה וכלקבל די
שמעת מנהן אנה כלה ידעת ואתבננת]

[אנה לא להד]ן דרה להן לד[ר ר]חיק אנה אמ[לל 3 ועל בחירין כען
אנה אמר ועליהן נסבת מתלי ואמרת]

[*v[acat* ינפק קדיש[ה ר]בה מן מ[דורה 4 ואלה עלמה ינחת על ארעה
וידרך על סיני טורה ויתחזא]

[עם חילה ר]בה ויופע ב[תקף] גברו[תה מן שמי שמיה 5 וידחלון כל
עיריה ויענון במסתרין]

[בכל קצו]ת ארעה ויזו[עון כ]ל קצו[ת ארעה ותנסבנהן רעדה ודחלה
רבה עד סיפי ארעה 6 ויזועון וינפלון]

[וישתריון] רמן וי[שפלון טורין רמין]

[1 1The words of blessing with] which Enoch [blessed the righteous] elect [who will be present on the day of tribulation to remove all the enemies, and the righteous will be delivered. 2And taking up] his parable [he] said, [Enoch, a just man to whom a vision from God was disclosed:

'The vision of the Holy One and of heaven was shown to me], and from the words of [the Watchers] and the holy ones [I heard] it all; [and because I heard from them, I knew and I understood everything; not for] this generation, but for a far-off generation I shall speak. [3And concerning the elect I now say, and about them I took up my parable and said:] the Great Holy One shall come forth from [His dwelling, 4and the everlasting God shall come down upon earth, and tread on Mount Sinai, and will be shown with His] mighty [army]; and He will appear [in the strength of His] might [from the heaven of heavens. 5And all the Watchers will fear and they will be punished in hidden places among all] the creatures(?) of the earth; and all the creatures(?) of the earth will quake, [and trembling and great fear will take hold of them, unto the ends of the earth. 6And] the heights [shall be shaken and fall and be dissolved], and [the high mountains] shall be [laid low . . .]

The text of this first column of the scroll began half-way up the scroll, leaving the upper part of the column blank, this part corresponding to approximately twelve lines of writing. As the scribes could not, no doubt for reasons of economy, leave the whole of the first column blank, they were content occasionally to leave the upper part blank, which meant that the top of the scroll could be held in the right hand, without soiling and damaging the text of the *incipit*, as it was read. There are other examples of such half-blank pages among the manuscripts of Qumrân Cave 4.

The four fragments of column i of 4Q En[a] which have been preserved were probably adhering to the lower right-hand part of column iii, during the time that they lay hidden in cave 4.

The ancient versions to be compared are C and E, the former being a copy, which although faulty is relatively close to the archetype of the Greek version and to the Aramaic manuscript used by the translator. The Ethiopic version, on the other hand, gives a somewhat abridged and paraphrased text, owing to the Ethiopian interpreter's technique of translation and to the vagaries of the manuscript's transmission. These comments hold good for the whole collection of Aramaic fragments of 4Q collated with these two main witnesses of early versions of the books of Enoch.

L. 1 (En. 1: 1). In the title of a book the plural מלי (Hebrew דברי) is *de rigueur*; *λόγος* of C (and of E) is its normal equivalent in Greek; cf., e.g., Acts 1: 1.—The reading and the restoration [ברך בה]ן appear to be preferable to [בר]ך, since otherwise one ought to see, on the right-hand margin of the fragment, the left-hand end of the upper bar of the Kaph.—I restore לבח[ירין קשיטין] without connecting particle, equivalent to *ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους* in C, as against *ḫĕruyân waṣâdĕqân* in E; cf. note to line 5 (En. 1: 3) for a similar superfluous addition in E of 'and' in the epithet of God, 'the Holy (and) Great'.

Ll. 2–4 (En. 1: 2). The corresponding passage in C is a little corrupt and slightly changed compared with the Aramaic original.

L. 2. The verbs *ἦν ἔχων*, which follow the phrase *ἔστιν ὅρασις ἐκ θ̅υ̅ αὐτῷ ἀνεῳγμένη*, were, in my opinion, at first the marginal glosses which corrected *ἔστιν* into *ἦν*, 'were', in order to put 'the revealing (lit. opening) of the vision' in the past tense, *ἔχων*, 'having', being added to make this whole clause agree syntactically with *Ἑνὼχ ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος*. This clumsiness in the Greek has been caused by the inadequate translation of פתיח, taken by the Greek translator of the Aramaic Enoch to be a passive Pe'al participle, while in fact it is a passive perfect Pe'îl. A Greek copyist has inserted these two glosses, *ἦν* and *ἔχων*, in front of *τὴν ὅρασιν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, and he has changed into an accusative the nominative of *ἡ ὅρασις*, etc., the phrase which introduces the direct speech of the hero of the book. This phrase of the Greek, 'the vision of the Holy One and of heaven', is, in all probability, original, because it refers to the visits of Enoch to the heavenly palace (En. 14: 8–16: 4) and to paradise (En. 24–5 and 32).

L. 3. The verb *ἔδιξέν μοι* should have been translated in the passive. The error can be explained by the alternation of חזית 'I have seen' and אתחזית 'I have been made to see', which recurs frequently in the book of Enoch and in other Jewish Aramaic apocalypses. The E text has also the active form, in the plural, and anticipates here 'the angels', short for 'Watchers and holy ones': *za'ar'ayumi malâ'ĕkt*, 'which the angels showed me'.—In the phrase *καὶ ἁγιολόγων ἁγίων ἤκουσα ἐγὼ* correct *ἁγιολόγων* to *ἀπὸ λόγων* (*Π* misread as *ΓΙ*), equivalent to מן מלי; the noun מלי seems preferable to ממר, if one studies closely the traces of the letters. E has 'and from them I heard everything', *wasamâ'ĕku 'ĕmḫabehomu kwĕllo*. A free quotation of

this passage in the *Book of Mysteries of the Heaven and of the Earth* (see above, p. 86) retains 'the word' preserved, in the plural, by C: *Henok walda Yâred wasamâ'a nagara malâ'ěkt* (*wakamazě maharěwo malâ'ěkt*), 'Enoch son of Jared, and he heard the word of the angels (and thus the angels taught him)', *PO* i, 1, p. 30, 3–4.

The term ἁγίων, 'of the holy ones', abbreviates the compound expression 'of the Watchers and holy ones', עירין וקדישין [עירין]. The author of the work made a distinction in his angelological terminology between the 'Watchers', who as a rule refer to the evil angels (fallen stars, incubi), and the 'Watchers and holy ones', who refer to the good angels, messengers of God, the guardians and the guides of just men; cf. עיר וקדיש in Dan. 4: 10, 20; עירא [וקדישא רבא] in Enᶜ 1 v 19–20 (En. 12: 3: οἱ ἐγρήγοροι τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μεγάλου C, 'the Watchers' alone E); עירא וקדישא in Enᵉ 1 xxii 5, translated as 'the angel' in C and E (En. 22: 6), and in particular the phrase [ומן] ממר עירין וקדישין in Enᵍ 1 iii 21 (En. 93: 2), translated as 'by the voice of the holy angels' in E; 'Watchers . . . holy ones' in parallel phrases: Dan. 4: 14, 1QGenAp ii 1, En. 12: 2 (C, E); cf. 'Watchers . . . sons of heaven' 1QGenAp ii 16.

The pronoun πάντα = כלה has been omitted by the Greek translator (or a Greek copyist), before or after ἤκουσα ἐγώ, because it is taken up again immediately afterwards. The phrase in C καὶ ἔγνων ἐγὼ θεωρῶν seems to me to be an alteration of the original expression ἔγνων ἐγὼ καὶ διενοούμην by a copyist who, it would seem, replaced the verb 'to meditate' by the synonym 'to look at' by analogy with the text of En. 2–5, where the imperatives of these two terms occur several times, e.g. εἴδετε καὶ διανοήθηται En. 2: 2 and 5: 1. A subsequent scribe, who may perhaps have collated a better Greek manuscript, has added διενοούμην in the margin, a gloss which has been reintegrated into the text by another copyist, but in the wrong place; see below. As a result the division of the phrases by means of καί has been blurred; one must restore something like: καὶ ὡς ἤκουσα παρ' αὐτῶν, πάντα ἔγνων, καὶ διενοούμην ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰς τὴν νῦν γενεὰν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πόρρω οὖσαν ἐγὼ λαλῶ.

L. 4. The expression ἰς τὴν νῦν γενεάν (followed by διενοούμην, a marginal gloss which has been badly inserted; see note on l. 3 above) corresponds to [להד]ן דרה rather than to לדן ד' or לכען ד'. This restoration would give us the 'East-Aramaic' form of the demonstrative pronoun; cf. הדא in GenAp ii 6.

L. 5 (En. 1: 3). The predicate ינפק is not preceded by 'and', like *yěwaḍě'* in E, as against καὶ ἐξελεύσεται in C.

In ὁ ἅγιος μου the pronoun is obviously superfluous; it is perhaps a double insertion of the marginal μου, the pronoun which is necessary after τὴν παραβολήν, where it is correct from the point of view of the Semitic idiom; in the present instance, 'my Holy One', it is incorrect from the point of view of the author's theological thought. As an epithet of God 'the great Holy One' occurs several times in Enochic writings: קדיש[ה ר]בה, ὁ ἅγιος {μου} ὁ μέγας C, *qědus wa'âbiy* E, En. 1: 3; [קדישא רבא]א, τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μεγάλου C, *qědus wa'âbiy* E, in Enᶜ 1 vi 10 (En. 14: 1); *laqědus walâ'âbiy* E, En. 84: 1; *qědus* (*wa*)'*abiy* E, En. 92: 2 (cf. Enᵍ 1 ii 26); τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μεγάλου CM, *qědus 'abiy* (many manuscripts, *qědus wa'abiy*) E, En. 98: 6. The same phrase, in spite of the transposition of the adjectives, is to be found in ὁ μέγας ἅγιος C, *'âbiy waqědus* E, but correctly ὁ ἅγιος ὁ μέγας S, in En. 10: 1; τοῦ μεγάλου ἁγίου CM, *'abiy* (*wa*)*qědus* E, in En. 97: 6. The same epithet occurs twice in 1QGenAp: בקדישא רבא ii 14, לקדישא רבא xii 17. In ἐπεὶ γῆν πατήσει there is probably an omission: ἐπὶ γῆν ⟨καταβήσεται καὶ⟩ πατήσει.

L. 6 (En. 1: 4). The indication of place, ἐκ τῆς παρενβολῆς αὐτοῦ, is a correction of the original

phrase *ἐν τῇ παρενβολῇ* which E presupposes (as Charles has observed). The corrector has not understood that *παρεμβολή* should be understood here in terms of people, i.e. 'army', and not in terms of place, i.e. 'camp', exactly as in Test.Levi 3: 3: *αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν παρεμβολῶν οἱ ταχθέντες κ.τ.λ.*

Ll. 6–8 (En. 1: 5–6). These verses and the following ones, somewhat abridged in E, must in the Aramaic original have had the form which they have more or less retained in C. Certainly, the passage on the 'song of the Watchers', considered by Charles to be a gloss of the Greek, was in the Aramaic, although it is true that the idea expressed in this clause is 'at variance . . . with all that follows on the fate of the Watchers who were imprisoned beneath the hills'. My explanation is as follows. In the long passage of En. 1: 5: *καὶ φοβηθήσονται πάντες καὶ πιστεύσουσιν οἱ ἐγρήγοροι καὶ ᾄσωσιν ἀπόκρυφα ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς ⟨γῆς⟩ καὶ σισθήσονται πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς καὶ λήμψεται αὐτοὺς τρόμος καὶ φόβος μέγας μέχρει τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς*, the E version omits two phrases: the first, *ᾄσουσιν . . . καὶ*, by a simple homoioteleuton, the second, *πάντα τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς*, by an intentional elimination of an apparent duplicate of *τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς*. On the other hand, the text of C presupposes a mistranslation and a few alterations of the original Aramaic wording. I suggest that the Greek translator misunderstood the Aramaic verb ויענין which he took for 'and they shall sing' instead of 'and they shall be punished', Puʿal of the verb whose Paʿel, ענׄי, occurs in 4QEnGiants[a] 7 i 5 (below, p. 313). The noun *ἀπόκρυφα* means, exactly as *εἰς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα* in En. 100: 4 (CM), 'hidden places' of the fallen angels' prisons; cf. above, p. 52. The Aramaic text probably had במסתרין: for this word see En[a] 1 ii 7 (En. 4). The translation *ᾄσουσιν* caused the omission of *εἰς τὰ* before *ἀπόκρυφα* and gave an occasion for the explanatory gloss *καὶ πιστεύσουσιν*, contributed perhaps by a copyist who accepted the Origenistic conception of the final conversion of the evil spirits and wicked men. Moreover, the term *ἄκρα*, in *ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς ⟨γῆς⟩* and in *τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς*, can hardly refer to geographical limits of the earth, which are in any case designated here by the expression *μέχρει τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς*. The formula קצות ארעה certainly carries the personal meaning here, since these ends of the earth 'will shake, and trembling and a great fear will seize them (*αὐτούς*) to the very limits of the earth'; the use of *αὐτούς* instead of *αὐτά* is significant (cf. the quotation of Test.Levi 3: 3 in the note to l. 6, where *οἱ* appears instead of *αἱ*). In En. 93 the author wonders if one can understand and act like 'the extremities of the spirits', this last expression corresponding to קצות רוחות of Hebrew Sir. 16: 17 ('universitas spirituum', Zorrell's dictionary); see the note to En[g] 1 v 19 (En. 93: 12). In our passage the expression קצות ארעה is to be understood as 'the totality of the creatures, especially men, living on earth'.

L. 8 (En. 1: 6). The reading רמׄן, indefinite plural state of רמתא, seems to me better than [טורין] ר[מ]ין; nevertheless, the correspondence רמן = *ὄρη ὑψηλά* is not quite satisfactory. Of the three predicates to this subject in C, *καὶ σισθήσονται καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ διαλυθήσονται*, the E text retains only the first.

4QEn[a] 1 ii—En. 2: 1–5: 6 (Pl. II)

margin

1 [2]ובמעדיהן מתחזי]ןׄ ולׄא מעׄבׄ[רין]בׄסׄרכן [2] חׄ[זו] לׄאׄרׄעׄהׄ וׄאׄ[תבו]ננו
בעבדׄה

[מן קדמיה לא]חרנה דמ[נ]ד[עם לא ל]אשניה וכל מתח[ז]א [לכן] 3 חזו לדגלי

[קיטה] .... י .... עליה ובדגלי שתוא ד[כל] ארעא

[תתמלא מין ו]ענגה מטרה שפכין 3 חזו דכל איל[ניה] כלהן מיבישין

[ומנפילין כל עליהן ברא] מן ארבעת עסר אילני[ן] דעליהן מתקימי 1

[ולא מחדתין עליהן עד] דתרתין ותלת שנין [יעברן] 4 חזו לכן לדגלי

[קיטה דשמשה בהן כוי]ה ושלקה ואנתן טלל ומסתרין בעין מן קדמיה

[על אנפי ארעה כויתה ולמ]דרך על עפרה ו[ע]ל [כפ]יה לא תשכחון מן

[חמתה 5 1 חזו ודעו בכל א]ילניה כלהן יתניצ[ון] עליהן בהן ירוקין וחפין

[אילניה וכל פריהן לה]דר תשבחה [הל]ל[ו ו]אתבוננו בכל עבדיה אלין

[ואשכילו דאלהה די חי] הוא לעלם דעלמין עבד כל עבדיה אלין 2 שנה

[ושנה לא ישניון עבדהן ו]כלהן עבדין ממרה 4 ואנתן שניתן עבדכן

[ולא תעבדון ממרה ותע]ברון עלוהי רברבן וקשין ביום[a] טמתכן

[על רבותה הא קשי לב]בן לת שלם לכן 5 אדין יומיכן תלוט[ון ו]שני

[חייכן יבדן ושנ]י אבדנכן יסגין בל[וט ע]ל[מין ורח]מין

[ושלם לת לכן 6 אדין להוון שמהתכ]ן ללוט עלם ל[כל קשיטין ובכן ילוטון]

[כל מתליטין וכל חטאין ורשיעין בכן ימון] ולכל [חטאין]

[ ]

a Read בפום.

[2 1 . . . and in their constellations they appear] and do not transgress their appointed order. 2Observe ye the earth and consider its works, from the first to the last, that nothing at all changes, and everything is visible to you. 3Observe ye the signs [of summer . . . and] dew [descends (?)] upon it, and

⟨consider⟩ the signs of winter that the whole earth [is filled with water, and] clouds pour down rain. [3]Observe that all trees wither and [shed all their foliage] except fourteen trees whose foliage remains, [and they do not renew their foliage until] two or three years [pass]. [4]Observe ye the signs [of summer, that the sun burns] and glows; and ye seek shade and shelter before it [upon the burning earth]; and ye are not able to tread on the dust or on the rocks on account [of the heat. [5] [1]Observe ye and enjoy all] trees; on all of them their foliage blossoms green, and it covers [the trees, and all their fruit is (brought forth) in] glorious pride. [Praise ye] and consider all these works, [and understand that God who lives] for ever and ever, created all these things. [2]Year [in year out they do not change their works but] they all do His Word. [4]But ye, ye changed your works [and do not do His Word]; but ye transgress against Him with great and hard (words), with your unclean mouths [against His magnificence. Oh, hard-]hearted, you shall have no peace. [5]Then your days ye will curse, and the years [of your life will perish...], and the years of your destruction will be multiplied with an everlasting curse; and compassion [and peace ye will not have. [6]Then your name shall be] an eternal curse for [all the righteous; and in you shall all the accursed be cursed; and all the sinners and the wicked shall swear by you], and to all [sinners . . .]

There has been considerable wear and tear on the surface of this column, especially on the right-hand side. This, together with the confused state of the text (due to omissions either in the manuscripts of 4QEn or in the ancient versions), means that several readings and restorations are of a somewhat hypothetical character.

Texts to be compared: En^{c} 1 i (En. 1: 9–5: 1), C (En. 2: 1–3 and 5: 1–6), E.

L. 1 (En. 2: 1). These last two clauses of verse 1 are found in C; E does not mention the 'feasts': *καὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς* (MS. *τες εορτης*) *αὐτῶν φένονται*; En^{c} omits this whole passage by homoeoteleuton: ⟨בסרכהן ...⟩ בסרכה. For מעדין = *ἑορταί* see below, note to En^{c} 1 i 19.

Ll. 1/2 (En. 2: 2). חזו לארעה En^{a} = C and E, חזוא לכון לארעה En^{c}. This whole verse is drastically paraphrased and glossed in C (and also in E): *εἴδετε τὴν γὴν καὶ διανοήθηται περὶ τῶν ἔργων {τῶν ἐν} αὐτῇ* ('its work' En^{a}, 'the work' E) *{γεινομένων} ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρει τελιώσεως* ('from the first to the last' En^{a}) *{ὥς εἰσιν φθαρτά* Christian gloss*} ὡς οὐκ ἀλλυοῦνται οὐδὲν {τῶν ἐπεὶ γῆς} ἀλλὰ πάντα {ἔργα $\overline{θυ}$} ὑμῖν* (om. E) *φένεται.*

Ll. 2–4 (En. 2: 3). This verse, on the other hand, is somewhat abridged in E; C only keeps the beginning of it: *ἴδετε τὴν θερίαν καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα*; then there is a long omission down to 5: 1, caused no doubt by the eye accidentally jumping from one column to the next (a type of inadvertence easier when reading a scroll than a codex). En^{a} and En^{c} differ in other respects, the text of En^{c} appearing closer to that of the Aramaic manuscript used by the Greek translator; see the commentary on En^{c} 1 i 21–3.

Ll. 2 (and 3 and 6). דגלי primarily 'military banners, signs (*σημεῖα, signa*)'; cf. A. Cowley,

Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, Oxford 1923, Index, p. 282; C. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, New Haven 1953, pp. 41 ff. Here 'natural, regular and cyclical phenomena'; cf. אותות in Hebrew.

L. 3. Perhaps restore [ו]טלה י[נחת] עליה. Cf. the end of verse 3 in E: 'and the clouds and the dew and the rain lie on it'. Only the dew is in fact one of the 'signs of summer'. Before בדגלי the scribe of Enᵃ has probably omitted the imperative: ו⟨אתבוננו⟩ בדגלי.

L. 4. The first word preserved, ענ̊נה, is on a detached fragment, *d*: collective subject with predicate in the plural.

Ll. 4–6 (En. 3). At the beginning of this passage the text of E (and probably of Enᶜ, q.v.) is longer than that of Enᵃ. In the second part of the passage, considerably shortened in Enᶜ, E renders the meaning of the original, but not word for word; compare with it the fragmentary text of Enastrᵈ 1 i 4–6, quoted below, p. 296.

The fourteen trees with everlasting foliage are enumerated in *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici de re rustica eclogae*, book XI, ch. 1, ed. H. Beckh, 1895, p. 326, lines 17–20: *Δένδρα ἀειθαλῆ ἐστι, μηδέποτε φυλλορροοῦντα ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, ιδʹ· Φοῖνιξ, Κίτριον, Στρόβιλος, Δάφνη, Ἐλαία, Κυπάρισσος, Κερατέα, Πίτυς, Πρῖνος, Πύξος, Μυρσίνη, Κέδρος, Ἰτέα, καὶ Ἄκρευθος.*

In my opinion the text of En. 3, although shortened, depends on the text of Enastr; see above, pp. 8 and 28, for the dating of these two Enochic books. Furthermore, our writer describes only two main seasons, summer and winter (En. 2: 3–5: 2), while the final section of the Astronomical Book contained the description of four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, winter; see En. 82: 15–20 and below, pp. 296–7. I have found an early Christian reminiscence of this section of Enastr in the Epistle of Clement, 1 *Cor.* 20: 9 (ed. A. Jaubert, *Sources chrétiennes*, 167 (1971), 136): *καιροὶ ἐαρινοὶ καὶ θερινοὶ καὶ μετοπωρινοὶ καὶ χειμερινοὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μεταπαραδιδόασιν ἀλλήλοις.* Compare 20: 1–3 of the Epistle with En. 2: 1; 20: 4 with En. 2: 2; 20: 6 with En. 5: 3. I shall try to prove in detail elsewhere that the most interesting passage of this chapter of the Epistle, namely 20: 8, is inspired by the cosmological teaching of Enastr.

En. 3 is freely quoted in the Ethiopic *Book of Mysteries of the Heaven and of the Earth*, where it is followed by curious typological explanation: 'As Enoch said: "I saw 14 trees whose leaves do not fall, and all (other) trees were dry and their leaves were fallen."—"And these 14 (trees) of which Enoch speaks, what are they?", said Abba Baḫayla Mikâ'el.—The Holy Ghost said: "the 10 words of the Law, the covenant of Noah, and the circumcision of the patriarchs, and the priesthood of Melchizedek, and the baptism of John" '; *PO* i, 1, p. 27.

Ll. 6–9 (En. 4). The parts of this passage preserved in Enᵃ and Enᶜ allow a fairly reliable restoration of the original text, which is the same in the two manuscripts, apart from an inversion in Enᶜ: מן חמתא לא תשכחון. In E the text is considerably rearranged.

Ll. 9–11 (En. 5: 1). The phrase *καταμάθεται καὶ ἴδετε πάντα τὰ δένδρα* in C does not belong to the beginning of En. 3 but to that of En. 5: 1. The Greek translator has transposed the two connected verbs, [חזו ודעו] = *καταμάθετε καὶ ἴδετε*, just as he has done further on in the same verse: הל[לו ?] ואתבוננו = *διανοήθεται καὶ γνῶται.* This practice of translators of Semitic origin, which consists of the transposition of nouns, of verbs, or of phrases which are more or less synonymous, is very well attested in the bilingual (Palmyrene and Greek) inscriptions of Palmyra. See J. T. Milik, *Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale*, i (1972), 33 and 315.

Ll. 9/10. At the beginning of the verse the text of Enᵃ is the most complete; C and E both omit the phrase 'on all of them their (foliage) blossoms' while Enᶜ omits 'and it covers the trees'.

L. 10. The phrase in C, *εἰς τειμὴν καὶ δόξαν*, omitted by E, is a hendiadys of להדר תשבחה = *εἰς τιμὴν δόξης*. The Aramaic equivalent of *γνῶτε* is not at all clear to me; for [ ]הל of Enᶜ and [ ]ל [ ] of Enᵃ one can conjecture אלפו, 'learn', mis-spelled, or else the Hebraism הללו, 'praise (God)', as you behold all these works of nature. Instead of *τούτων* = אלין in Enᵃ, C has the personal pronoun *αὐτοῦ*, thus anticipating the phrases which follow and which refer to God.

L. 11. The second part of En. 5: 1, which speaks of the living God, the Creator, differs in Enᵃ and Enᶜ. The formulation of the text in Enᶜ, [ואשכילו די אלהא חי]א די לכול עלם [דעלמין חי הוא עבד כול עבדיא אלין], appears to me to be approximately the same as that in the Aramaic archetype of C, at the very least if one assumes that an omission added in the margin has been wrongly inserted in the text of C; here, therefore, I correct: *καὶ νοήσατε ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν καὶ ζῇ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ οὕτως*. The last two words of this passage abridge *πάντα τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα*, which is found in E.

Ll. 11–12 (En. 5: 2–3). The text of Enᵃ is considerably shortened here in comparison with that of C, as a result of three long omissions, the third of which is due to homoeoteleuton; curiously, however, with only a little obvious reconstruction, it gives a complete and satisfactory meaning. On the other hand, it is possible that C and E have here paraphrased the text of earlier Greek manuscripts, or of the Semitic archetype of the Greek version, which was just as short as that of Enᵃ. Be that as it may, the final phrase of 5: 2, 'and they all (sc. His works) do His Word' according to Enᵃ, has been paraphrased in C as follows: *ἀλλ' ὡσπερεὶ κατὰ ἐπειταγὴν τὰ πάντα γείνεται*.

Ll. 12–14 (En. 5: 4). It seems highly improbable to me that a phrase of Enᵃ, 'and you, you have changed your acts', which is an excellent contrast to the image of nature, the cycle of whose works never varies, should be translated in Greek by a tame phrase such as that of C: *ὑμεῖς δὲ οκ ἐνεμίναται*. I suggest, therefore, that this phrase in Enᵃ, as also a parallel phrase restored at the beginning of l. 13, may well have been omitted in a Greek manuscript by homoeoteleuton with the preceding stichos, ⟨. . . *τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ*⟩, while Enᵃ probably omitted, by the same error, the two hemistichoi at the beginning of 5: 4: ⟨. . . *κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ* = כפקודוהי⟩. Note, in addition, that in the Greek all the verbs are in the preterite, while in Enᵃ the imperfects follow on after an initial perfect, and are to be translated by the present: 'you have changed . . . and (henceforth) you no longer execute . . .'.

L. 13. The phrase ותעברון עלוהי is certainly the equivalent of *ἀλλὰ ἀπέστηται* in C; so there must be an omission in Enᵃ: ⟨ותמללון עלוהי מלין⟩.

L. 14. After *κατὰ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ* = [על רבותה], there is a gloss in C (but not in E): *ὅτι κατελαλήσαται ἐν τοῖς ψεύσμασιν ὑμῶν*.

Ll. 14–16 (En. 5: 5). [ושני [חייכן in Enᵃ is well translated in E; the first word of *κατὰ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν* in C was correctly emended by Dillmann and Lods to *καὶ τὰ ἔτη*. After *ἀπολῖται* = [י(א)בדן], there was a short expression in Enᵃ, e.g. לכול עלם or אבדן רב.

Ll. 16–17 (En. 5: 6). The text of Enᵃ was more or less similar to that of C, as far as one can judge from the few words preserved.

4QEn[a] 1 iii—En. 6:4–8:1 (Pl. III)

margin

ואמׄרו לה כלהן נמ[א מומא כלנה ונחרם כלנה חד לחד בה די לא]
נתוב כלנה מן מלכה דׄ[ן עד די נעבד עבדה דן 5 אדין ימו]
כלהן כחדה ואחרמ[ו חד לחד 6 והוו כלהן מאתין די נחתו]
ביומי ירד עׄל [ראש חרמו]ןׄ [טורה וקרו לטורה חרמון בדיל]
די ימו ואחרמׄ[ו חד לחד ב]הׄ 7 ואלין [שמהת רבניהן *vacat*]
שמיחזה דׄ[י הוה ראשהן ארעתק]ף תנין לה רמטׄ[אל תליתי]
לה כוכבא[ל רביעי לה . . . אל חמ]ישי לה רעמא[ל שתיתי לה]
דניאל שביׄ[עי לה זיקיאל תמי]נׄיׄ לׄה ברקאל תשיעׄ[י לה]
עסאל עסירי [לה חרמני חדעסר]א לה מטראל תריעס[ר לה]
ענׄאל תלתת עסר [לה ש]תׄואׄלׄ [אר]בעת עסר[a] לה שמשי[אל חמשת]
עסר לה שהריאל [ש]תׄת עסר לה תׄמׄיאל שבעתׄ [עסר לה]
טוריאל תמנׄית עס[ר] לה ימׄי[א]לׄ תשעת[b] לה [יהדיאל עסרין לה]
8 אלין אנון רבני רב[נ]י[c] עס[ר]תׄאׄ 7 1 אׄנׄ[ון ור]בׄניה[ן כלהן נסבו להן]
נשין מן כל די בחרו ו[שריו למנעל עליהן ולאסתאבה בהן]
ולאלפה אנין חׄרשה ו[כשפה ומקטע שרשין ולאחויה להן עסבין]
2 והויה בטנן מנהן ויל[דה גברין רמין כתלתת אלפין אמה די]
הוו מתילדין על ארעהׄ [כילדותהן ומתרבין כרביותהן 3 ודי הוו אכלין]
עׄמל כל בני אנשׄא ולא י[כילו אנשא לאספקה להן 4 והוו גבריא]
קׄשרין לקטלה לאנשא וׄ[למכל אנון 5 ושריו למחטא ול . . . . מן]
קׄובל כל כׄנׄף וׄ[חיו]ת ארע[ה ורחשיה די רחשין על ארעה ובמיה]
ונׄנׄי ימה[c]
[וב]שׄמׄיהׄ וׄלמׄכל בשר[הן אלין לאלין והוו שתין דמה 6 אדין]
[קבלת ארעה על ר]שׄי[עין על כל מה בה מתעבד *vacat*]
[8 1 עסאל אלף לאנשא] לׄ[מעבד]
[ ]

[a] ʿAin written above Aleph (אסר). [b] ⟨עסר⟩. [c] Double sign of insertion.

[6 4And they answered], all of them, and said to him: 'Let us [all] swear [an oath and all bind one another that we shall not] any of us turn aside from this counsel [until we do this deed.' 5Then] they all [swore] together and bound [one another] by imprecations. [6And they were all of these two hundred who came down] in the days of Jared on [the summit of Mount] Hermon; [and they called the mount Hermon] because they swore and bound [one another] by imprecations upon it. 7And these are [the names of their leaders]: Šemîḥazah who [was their chief; 'Ar'tᵃqo]ph, the second to him; Ramṭ'el, [third] to him; Kôkab'el, [fourth to him; -'el], fifth to him; Ra'm'el, [sixth to him]; Danî'el, seventh [to him; Zêqî'el], eighth to him; Baraq'el, ninth [to him]; 'Asa'el, tenth [to him; Ḥermonî], eleventh to him; Maṭar'el, twelfth [to him]; 'Anan'el, thirteenth [to him]; Ś^{a}taw'el, fourteenth to him; Šamšî'el, fifteenth to him; Śahrî'el, sixteenth to him; Tummî'el, seventeenth [to him]; Ṭûrî'el, eighteenth to him; Yomî'el, nineteenth to him; [Y^{e}haddî'el, twentieth to him]. 8These are the chiefs of the chiefs of tens. 7 1Those (two hundred) and their leaders [all took for themselves] wives from all that they chose; and [they began to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them] and (they began) to teach them sorcery and [spell-binding, and the cutting the roots; and they showed them herbs]. 2And they became pregnant by them and bare [giants three thousand cubits high who] were born (and multiplied) on the earth [according to the kind of their childhood, and growing up according to the kind of their adolescence, 3and they were devouring] the labour of all the sons of men and [men] were unable [to supply them. 4But the giants] conspired to slay men, and [to devour them. 5And they began to sin and to . . .] against all birds and beasts of the earth, [and reptiles which creep upon the earth and (creatures) in the waters], and in the heaven, and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh [of one another, and they were drinking blood. 6Then the earth made the accusation against] the wicked, [concerning everything which was done upon it.

8 1'Asa'el taught men] to [make . . .]

Texts to be compared: En^{b} 1 ii (En. 5: 9–6: 4 and 6: 7–8: 1), En^{c} 1 ii (En. 6: 7), C, S (En. 6: 1–7: 2 and 8: 1), Syriac (En. 6: 1–7), E.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 6: 4). [וענו] ואמרו S, E$^{g, m}$; ואמרו om. C, E, Syriac.

L. 2. נתוב כלנה En^{a}, and probably En^{b}: 'all of us' *om. alii.* Only C, and E in part, retain the phrase *ποιήσομεν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο* equivalent to that of En^{b}, and probably of En^{a}, but in C it is preceded by the gloss *τελέσωμεν αὐτὴν καί* which is a classicizing stylistic variant of it; Syncellus improves it to *ἀποτελέσωμεν αὐτήν* and omits the original phrase.

Ll. 3–5 (En. 6: 6). This verse is omitted in C by homoeoteleuton.

Ll. 3/4. [די נחתו] ביומי ירד: *οἱ καταβάντες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰαρεδ* S, ***wawaradu wĕsta 'ardis*** (*sic*) E. The intended word-play is Hebrew ירדו בימי ירד; cf. Jub. 4: 15: '*Jared*; for in his days the angels of the Lord *descended* on the earth.' This etymology was known to Origen, who refers precisely to the book of Enoch, i.e. to this passage En. 6: 6, in his commentary on St. John, vi § 217 (ed. C. Blanc, *Sources chrétiennes*, 157 (1970), 294 and 296, lines 2–9; E. Preuschen, *GCS* 10 (1903), 151, 11–17; *PG* 14, 273), apropos of John 1: 18: *Ἰορδάνης μὲν ἑρμηνεύεται «κατάβασις αὐτῶν». Τούτῳ δέ, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, γειτνιᾷ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ' Ἰαρέδ, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ἑρμηνεύεται «καταβαίνων», ἐπειδήπερ γεγένηται τῷ Μαλελεήλ, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἑνὼχ γέγραπται, εἴ τῳ* (*sic*) *φίλον παραδέχεσθαι ὡς ἅγιον τὸ βιβλίον, ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καταβάσεως ἐπὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἥντινα κατάβασιν αἰνίσσεσθαί τινες ὑπειλή φασιν τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν κάθοδον ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα*. In the last phrase there is a reference to the doctrine of Philo, *De gigantibus* 6–16; cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, V 55. Both etymologies of Jared and Jordan passed on to the Onomastica; see below, pp. 214–15.

Ll. 4/5. St. Hilary (d. 366) makes reference to this passage in his Commentary to Psalm 132: 3 (ed. A. Zingerle, *CSEL* 22 (1891), 689, 9–13; *PL* 9, 748–9): 'Hermon autem mons est in Phoenice cuius interpretatio anathema est. Fertur autem id de quo etiam nescio cuius liber exstat, quod angeli concupiscentes filias hominum, cum de caelo descenderent, in hunc montem maxime excelsum convenerint.' Even more explicit, in its reference to our passage of En. 6: 6 is St. Jerome, also on Ps. 132: 3 ('sicut ros Ermon . . .') (ed. G. Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, iii. 2 (1897), 249, 28–250, 3. 17–18; *PL* 26, 1293): 'Legimus quendam librum apocryphum, eo tempore quo descendebant filii Dei ad filias hominum, descendisse illos in montem Ermon, et ibi inisse pactum quomodo venirent ad filias hominum, et sibi eas sociarent . . . Ermon in lingua nostra interpretatur *ἀνάθημα* (*sic*), hoc est condemnatio.' This etymology also passed on to the Onomastica; see below, p. 215. On the other hand, these references are not sufficient evidence of the existence of a Latin version of the book of Enoch; cf. above, pp. 78–81.

Ll. 5–12 (En. 6: 7). The names of the angels and their order are rather corrupt and confused in the versions S, C, E (where the list of 6: 7 is taken up in 69: 2); cf. two tables compiled by Charles, i, pp. 227–8, and ii, pp. 16–17 (he has reconstructed only seven names correctly). But Enª, Enᵇ, and Enᶜ now provide correct readings, with one exception (the name of the fifth angel), of all these names, some of which reappear in 8: 1 and 3 (see the commentary and the Table to Enª 1 iv).

Table of angels, chiefs of decadarchoi

	4QEnª, ᵇ, ᶜ	S	C	E (*b*)
1.	שמיחזה	1 *Σεμιαζας*	(1) *Σεμιαζα* (*a*)	(1) Śami'azâz, Sĕmyāzā (6: 7)
	Šemîḥazah			1. Sĕmyâzâ (69: 2)
	'My Name has seen' (*c*)			
2.	[ארע]תקף Enᵇ 8: 3	2 *Ἀταρκουφ*	(2+3) *Ἀραθακ, Κιμβρα*	(2) 'Arâkiba
	'Ar'taqoph	(ex *Αρατακουφ*)	(ex *Αραθακκιφα*) (*d*)	2. 'Artaqifâ
	'The earth is power'			

	4QEn$^{a, b, c}$	S	C	E
3.	רמט̊[אל] *Ramṭ'el* (*e*) 'Burning heat of God'	(3) *Ἀρακιηλ* (ex *'Ραμιηλ*) (*f*)	(3+4) *Σαμμανη* lege *'Ραμμανη* (ex *'Ραμμαηλ*)	(3) Râme'el 3. 'Armen
4.	כוכבאל *Kôkab'el* 'Star of God' (*g*)	(4) *Χωχαβιηλ*	(9) *Χωχαριηλ* (ex *Χωχαβιηλ*)	(4) Kokabi'el 4. Kokab'el
5.	[ ]	(5) *'Ὀραμμαμη*	(14) *Ταμιηλ*	(5) Ṭâmi'el 5. Ṭaru'el
6.	רעמאל *Ra'm'el* 'Thunder of God'	(6) *'Ραμιηλ*	(18) *'Ραμιηλ*	(6) Râmi'el 6. Rumyâl
7.	דניאל *Danî'el* 'Judge of God' (*i*)	⟨ ⟩ (*h*)	(5) *Δανειηλ*	(7) Dân'el 7. Dân'el
8.	זיקיאל En^{c} זיקאל En^{a} 8:3 *Zêq(î)'el* 'Lightning-flash of God' (*j*)	(8) *Ζακιηλ*	(10) *'Ἐζεκιηλ*	(8) 'Ezeqe'el 8. Neqe'el
9.	ברקאל Baraq'el 'Lightning of God' (*k*)	(9) *Βαλκιηλ* (ex *Βαρακιηλ*)	(15) *Βαρακιηλ*	(9) Bârâq'el 9. Barâq'el
10.	עשאל En^{c} עסאל En^{a} *'Aśa'el* 'God has made' (*l*)	10 *Ἀζαλζηλ* (ex *Ασαηλ*) (*h*)	(19) *Ἀσεαλ* (ex *Ασαηλ*)	(10) 'Asa'el 10. 'Azâz'el (cf. 21.)
11.	חרמני *Ḥermonî* adj. 'of Hermon'	11 *Φαρμαρος* (ex *Αρμανω*) (*m*)	(6) *Ἀρεαρως* (ex *Ἀρε⟨μ⟩ανω*)	(11) 'Armeros 11. 'Armânos
12.	מטראל *Maṭar'el* 'Rain of God'	12 *Ἀμαριηλ* (ex *Μα⟨τ⟩αριηλ*)	(11) *Βατριηλ* (ex *Ματριηλ*)	(12) Baṭâr'el 12. Baṭaryâl
13.	ענאל *'Anan'el* 'Cloud of God'	13 *Ἀναγημας* (ex *Ἀναινηλ*, ex *Ἀνανιηλ*)	*Ἀνανθνα* (ex *Ανανειηλ*)	(13) 'Anân'el 14. 'Anân'el
14.	סתואל *Ś^{a}taw'el* 'Winter of God'	14 *Θαυσαηλ* (ex *Σαθαυηλ*)	(20) *'Ρακειηλ* (ex *Σατευηλ*)	(14) Zaqi'el 15. Ṭur'el (cf. 19.)

4QEn a, b, c	S	C	E
15. שמשיאל *Šamšî'el* 'Sun of God'	15 *Σαμιηλ* (ex *Σαμ⟨ψ⟩ιηλ*)	(7) *Σεμιηλ* (ex *Σεμ⟨ψ⟩ιηλ*)	(15) Samsape'el 16. Simsipi'el
16. שהריאל *Śahrî'el* 'Moon of God'	16 *Σαρινας* (ex *Σαριηλ*)	(12) *Σαθιηλ* (ex *Σαθρηλ*, ex *Σαειρηλ*, ex *Σαεριηλ*)	(16) Sâtrĕ'el 17. Yĕsar'el
17. תמיאל *Tummî'el* 'Perfection of God'	17 *Εὐμιηλ* (ex *Θυμιηλ*)	(17) *Θωνιηλ* (ex *Θωμιηλ*)	(17) ⟨ ⟩ 18. Tumâ'el
18. טוריאל *Ṭûrî'el* 'Mountain of God'	18 *Τυριηλ*	(21) *Τουριηλ*	(18) Ṭur'el 19. Ṭur'el (cf. 15.)
19. ימיאל Enª [י]מאל Enᵇ *Yom(î)'el* 'Day of God' (*n*)	19 *'Ιουμιηλ*	(8) *'Ιωμειηλ*	(19) Yomyâ'el 20. Rum'el
20. יהדיאל *Yᵉhaddî'el* 'God will guide' (*o*)	20 *Σαριηλ* (ex *'Ιαριηλ*)	(13) *Ἀτριηλ* (ex *Αἰριηλ*, ex *'Ιαριηλ*)	(20) 'Arâzyâl 21. 'Azâz'el (cf. 10.) 13. Basasā'el

Notes to the Table

In Enª, ᵇ, ᶜ the numbers in which the angels are ordered are expressed by ordinal numbers, followed by לה 'to him', that is, e.g., 'Kôkab'el, fourth to, after, Šemîḥazah', כוכבאל רביעי לה; in S the figures are written out as letters; C and E (En. 6: 7) give the list without numbers; En. 69: 2 numbers the angels by ordinal numbers.

(*a*) The three proper names which follow *Σεμιαζα* in C have been wrongly divided by the copyist of the Cairo papyrus; *Ἀραθακ*, *Κιμβρα*, *Σαμμανη*, should be corrected to *Ἀραθακκιμβας*, *'Ραμμανη*, with the result that the list of twenty-one names is reduced to one of twenty. As Lods has brilliantly demonstrated (pp. 106–7), the names of the angels in the Greek archetype of C were arranged in four columns, starting from the third name; instead of reading and copying them from left to right and line by line, the scribe of C read and copied them from top to bottom and column by column:

1 *Σεμιαζα οὗτος ἦν ἄρχων αὐτῶν*
2 (2+3) *Ἀραθακκιμβας* ⟨*ὁ δεύτερος αὐτοῦ*⟩

3 (3+4)	4 (9)	5 (14)	6 (18)
7 (5)	8 (10)	9 (15)	10 (19)
11 (6)	12 (11)	13 (16)	14 (20)
15 (7)	16 (12)	17 (17)	18 (21)
19 (8)	20 (13)		

(*b*) In this column each proper name has two forms: that of En. 6: 7 and below it that of 69: 2; I have selected the readings which are closest to Greek and Aramaic forms. The two Ethiopic lists derive from a Greek archetype of C, but the author of the Book of Parables had to hand a Greek manuscript of the book of Enoch which was less corrupt than C.

(*c*) This name turns up in the Jewish and Manichaean Book of Giants, and in the Mishnaic medieval summary of it, as well; see below, pp. 315, 299, and 322.

(*d*) This transcription corresponds to ארעתקיפה, 'the earth is powerful', while that in S reflects ארעתקוף (equivalent to ארעתקף of the Aramaic original, except for the defective spelling). Instead of assuming the existence of two Greek versions deriving from two different Aramaic manuscripts, I prefer the hypothesis that a scribe, Jewish or Christian, but conversant with Aramaic, reworked the transcriptions in terms of his linguistic knowledge and of his own angelological ideas.

(*e*) The reading רמט[אל] in Enª is certain, although the Ṭeth is a little damaged; the transcriptions presuppose, however, the reading רמעאל in the Aramaic manuscript used by the author of the Greek version. I suggest that it is the pan-semitic root *rmḏ* (in Arabic, 'to burn, to set fire to, to roast on stones heated on the fire'), that is in question, which has given us the Syriac *rᵉmûʿâ* and *rûmʿânâ dᵉnûrâ*, 'ignis sub cinere reconditus', the Mishnaic and the Judaeo-Aramaic רמץ, 'heisse Asche legen', רמץ and רמצא, 'glühende Asche'. On the oscillation of the consonants, *ṣ*, ʿ, *ṭ* in Palmyrene (e.g. *'rṣw, rṭ'*, ʾ, *rʿwn* all deriving from *rḏw* 'to love') see Milik, *Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale*, i, pp. 48–9. The proper name *Ramḏ'el*/*Ramʿʾel* refers without doubt to the volcanic activities of the earth's crust: 'Burning (stones and ashes) of God.'

(*f*) The initial Alpha of this name perhaps first belonged at the end of the preceding name; a superfluous final Alpha often occurs in the transcriptions of Semitic words which end in a consonant.

(*g*) For this name see pp. 20 and 159.

(*h*) In an archetype of the Syncellus list the seventh name had been omitted; consequently a marginal correction of the fifteenth name, Σαμιήλ, was squeezed in there, viz. Σαμψιχ (read Σαμψι⟨η⟩λ or else Σαμψι+insertion mark). A similar process is found again at the tenth name in Syncellus: Ἀζαλ had been corrected in the margin by 'insertion mark+ηλ', and a scribe rewrote this emendation into the text in the form Ἀζαλζήλ.

(*i*) For this name see above, p. 29.

(*j*) This name was written defectively in the Aramaic manuscript of the Greek translator as זקיאל, whence the S form. The orthography of C, Ἐζεκιήλ, is a transformation of the name Ζακιήλ, made under the influence of the name of the prophet, rather than evidence of a second Greek version based on a manuscript which may have had here the form זיקיאל; cf. above, note *d*. The meaning of the word זיקא is not quite clear. In En. 14: 8 = Enᶜ 1 vi 20 זיקין appears together with ברקין, exactly as in the names of two angels, the 8th and the 9th. Therefore both words are probably more or less synonymous, and זיקא could mean 'the flash of lightning', judging by Syriac *zîqâ*, 'fulgor' and *zîqᵉtâ*, 'fulmen'. But Akkadian *zîqu* and Judaeo-Aramaic זיקא designate quite different meteorological or astronomical elements.

Finally, the Greek translator of Enoch renders זיקין of 14: 8 by *διαδρομαὶ τῶν ἀστέρων* which can hardly be correct.

(*k*) For this name see pp. 92, 300, and 311.

(*l*) The proper name עשאל is not necessarily Hebrew. On the verb *'aśah* in Phoenician and Aramaic anthroponymy, see Milik, *Biblica*, 48 (1967), 612, e.g. *Asaadados* at Dura Europos; Welles, *Yale Classical Studies*, xiv (1955), 154 n. 33 and Ingholt's discussion, ibid., pp. 204–5. On this name, written *Ἀζαήλ* in En. 8: 1; 9: 6; 10: 4, 8; 13: 1, see pp. 28–30, 34, 92, 131.

(*m*) The first letter of *Φαρμαρός* in Syncellus comes here from En. 8: 3: *Φαρμαρὸς ἐδίδαξε φαρμακείας*, where it was taken over from the last noun. The transcriptions of the 11th name presuppose the form חרמנו, the spelling of the Aramaic archetype of the Greek version, or else the reading of the original Aramaic חרמני, due to the Greek translator.

(*n*) In spite of the transcriptions which impose the translation 'Day of God', I wonder if the Aramaic ימאל does not mean 'Sea of God', an excellent parallel to the preceding 'Mountain of God'.

(*o*) The verb is *hadâ*, 'to be a guide' in Pa'el, a verb known in Syriac, in Arabic, and already in Safaitic (*hdy*). The choice of יהדיאל as the name of the last angel in the list comes from the image of God as a shepherd who guides his flock, walking behind it. The versions derive their transcriptions from the initial spelling (or from the reading) יהריאל. Note that the words רמעא/רמט (3rd name), תמם (17th), הדי (20th), and likewise סתו (14th; cf. שתוא ii 3), שהר (16th), and perhaps עשה (10th), belong to the more recent vocabulary of Aramaic, of Arabic origin. Arab penetration, both ethnic and linguistic, was greater in Mesopotamia and in Northern Syria than it was further south, in Palestine.

L. 13 (En. 6: 8). The original phrase, that found in Enᵇ (added above the line) and that in Enª (uncorrected), אלין אנון רבני עשרתא, is essentially the same as that in C, apart from the addition of the pronoun: *οὗτοί εἰσιν ἀρχὲ {αὐτῶν} οἱ δέκα*. Note, however, that the Greek translator did not see in this the construct state, but two separate names: רבני, which he took to be an emphatic plural state of the eastern Aramaic type (frequent in Palmyrene which is a western Aramaic dialect), and עשרתא which he thought was a cardinal number used personally (cf. the note to Enᵇ 1 iii 9); these forms of nouns of number, as also an analogous construction, recur in Palmyrene, e.g. *ywm 'rb't* 'the fourth day (of month)', *CIS* ii 3987; *lgywn' dy 'rb't* 'the fourth legion', *CIS* ii 3962 = *Inv.* x 17. I find it difficult to understand the interlinear addition of a second רבני in Enª. Did the copyist want to say that the twenty angels were 'leaders of leaders', because the 200 angels were in turn the chiefs of tens of other demons?

Ll. 13–15 (En. 7: 1). At the beginning of this passage the Aramaic text has the wording 'Those (the 200 angels) and their leaders', which has been adapted in Greek by the phrase 'These (the 20 angels) and all the others' (S; also E, which omits 'these'). C omits this phrase by a kind of homoeoarcton with 6: 8.

Ll. 13–14. The phrase [נסבו להן]נשין מן כל די בחרו corresponds word for word to ויקחו להם נשים מכל אשר בחרו in Gen. 6: 2; see above, p. 32.

L. 14. The phrase מן כל די בחרו has been paraphrased in C by *ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐξελέξαντο ἑαυτοῖς γυνέκας* (± = E; om. by S).

L. 15. The infinitive ולאלפה, dependent on ושריו, is replaced by a finite form in C and E; also in S which, however, transfers this phrase to the end of verse 2.—חרשה ו[כשפה] in Enª, לחרשתא ולכשפתא in Enᵇ, are translated by the Greek *φαρμακείας καὶ ἐπαοιδάς* (*εἰπαοιδάς* C).—Does *ῥιζοτομία* 'cutting the roots, gathering the medical plants' translate מקטע (מלקט or) שרשין?

Ll. 16–17 (En. 7: 2). In the first part of this verse the Aramaic text is the same as that of C and E; the second part has been omitted in the common archetype of C and E, perhaps by homoeoarcton: ⟨*οἵτινες* . . .⟩ *οἵτινες* = די . . . די. S adds in the first part the information about the three categories of giants, borrowed from Jub. 7: 22, and it shortens the second part: *καὶ ἦσαν* ⟨. . .⟩ *αὐξανόμενοι κατὰ τὴν μεγαλειότητα αὐτῶν*. The exact formulation of this verse in the original remains uncertain, because the placing of a small fragment in Enᵇ 1 ii 21 is open to question. Anyhow [די] הוו מתילדין על ארעה of Enª 1 iii 16/17 seems to have been completed by [כי]לדות[הן] of Enᵇ 1 ii 21, a phrase which gives an excellent parallel colon to [ומתרבין כרביותהן], preserved, but slightly mistranslated in S. The meaning is that the giants in their childhood and their youth had voracious appetites according to their stature.

Ll. 17–18 (En. 7: 3). The phrase עמל כל בני אנשא is shortened in C, *τοὺς κόπους τῶν ἀνπων*, and paraphrased in E, 'all the fruit of the labour of men'.

Ll. 18–19 (En. 7: 4). *Οἱ γίγαντες ἐτόλμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεσθίοσαν τοὺς ἀνπους* in C (± = E) abridges the original text 'and the giants began to plot to massacre the men and to devour them'.

Ll. 19–21 (En. 7: 5). Line 19 seems too short in Enª: should one add a synonym for 'to sin'? The reference to reptiles and fish is more developed in the Aramaic text than in the versions.

Ll. 21–2 (En. 7: 6). C and E omit the second hemistich, a part of which remains in Enᵇ.

L. 23 (En. 8: 1). See the Table below, in the commentary to Enª 1 iv 1–5 (En. 8: 3).

4QEnª 1 iv—En. 8: 3–9: 3, 6–8 (Pl. IV)

margin

[8 3] שמי[f] חזה אלף חבר[ו ומקטע שרשין חרמני אלף חרש למשרא]
[כ]שפו וחרטמו ותוש[ין ברקאל אלף נחשי ברקין כוכבאל אלף]
[נ]חשי כוכבין זיקא[ל[a] אלף נחשי זיקין ארעתקף אלף נחשי ארע]
[שמ]שיאל אלף נחשי שמ[ש שהריאל אלף נחשי][j] שה[ר וכלהן שריו]
[לגלי]ה רזין לנשיהן [4] ולקבל[g] מבד ק[צת אנשא] מן ארעא וק[לה]
סלק ק[דם שמיה [9 1] אדין] אדיק מיכאל [ושריאל ו]רפאל וגברי[אל]
מן קדש[י שמיה על ארעא וחז]ו דם סגי שפ[יך על ארע]א וכל [ארעא]
אתמלית ר[שעה ו]חמסה[h] די [את]חטי עליה [2] [ושמעין ארבעתה עללו]
ואמרו קדמ[יהן ד]קלה וז[עק]תה[i] בח[רבות בני ארעא סלקין עד]

10 תרעי שמי]ה [3]ואמרו לקדי]שי ש]מיה כען לכן אנתן קדישי שמיה [

די קבלן [נפשת בני אנשא] וא̊[מרן [

12–18] [

] על ארע]א̊ᵏ ו̊[כל שקרה על[

20 [ישבתה ואודע רזי עלמה די בשמיה די ל]הן יעׄב[דון ידעי]

[בני אנשה [7]ושמי חזה די לה שלטנה יהבת למ]לך לכל ח[ברוהי]

[[8]ואזלו לבנת אנשי ארעא ושכבו עמהן בנקבן] ל̊[א]ס̊[תאבה]

23–7] [

ᵃ Qoph written above Kaph (זיכא[ל]).

8 [3]Šemî-ḥazah taught spell-binding [and cutting of roots. Ḥermonî taught the loosing of spells,] magic, sorcery, and skill. [Baraq'el taught the signs of thunders. Kôkab'el taught] the signs of the stars. Zêq'el [taught the signs of lightning-flashes. Arʿtaqoph taught the signs of the earth]. Šamšî'el taught the signs of the sun. [Śahrî'el taught the signs of the] moon. [And they all began to reveal] secrets to their wives. [4]And because part [of mankind] was perishing from the earth, their cry was going up to [heaven. 9 [1]Thereupon] Micha'el [and Śari'el and] Rapha'el and Gabri'el looked down from the sanctuary [of heaven upon the earth, and saw] much blood spilled [on the earth] and the whole [earth] was filled with wickedness and violence, so that sin was brought upon it. [[2]And the four (archangels) hearing (it) went in] and said to themselves that the voice and cry, [as the sons of earth perish, reach up to] the gates of heaven. [[3]And they said to the] holy ones of heaven: ['Now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men] are making their suit and saying: [. . .

[6] . . . on] the earth, and [all deceit on the dry land. And he made known the eternal mysteries which (were kept) in heaven, so that the experts among the sons of man] should practise them. [[7]And (Thou seest what hath done) Šemî-ḥazah to whom Thou hast given authority to] be king over all [his] companions. [[8] And they have gone to the daughters of men of the earth, and slept with them,] having defiled themselves [by females . . .]

The placing of a small fragment, *i*, at line 9 is uncertain.

Texts for comparison: Enᵇ 1 iii (En. 8: 2–9: 3), 1Q **19** 1 and 2 (En. 8: 4–9: 3), C, S, S' (En. 8: 4–9: 3), E.

Ll. 1–5 (En. 8: 3). Here is the list of angel-teachers of En. 8: 1 and 3, to be compared with the list of twenty angels given above in the commentary to Enª 1 iii 5–12 (En. 6: 7); I number the names of the teachers by roman numerals, which are followed by the numbers by which these angels are ordered in the preceding list:

	4QEnᵇ	4QEnª	S	C	E
I (10)	עשאל אלף [לאנשא ל]מעבד חרבן די פרזל . .	[עסאל אלף לאנשא] ל[מעבד . . .]	*Ἀζαὴλ ὁ δέκατος τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐδίδαξε ποιεῖν μαχαίρας . . .*	*ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς ἀνπους Ἀζαηλ . . .*	'Azâz'el taught men to make swords . . .
II (1)	[שמיחזה אלף חברו . . . .]	שמי חזה אלף חבר[ו . . .]	*Σεμιαζᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπαοιδάς* [MS. *ειναι οργας*] . . .	*Σεμιαζας ἐδίδαξεν ἐπα[ο]ιδάς . . .*	'Imizrâs taught the enchanters . . .
III (11)	[חרמני א]לף חרש למ[שרא כשפו . . .]	[חרמני אלף חרש למשרא כ]שפו . . .	*ὁ δὲ ἑνδέκατος Φαρμαρὸς ἐδίδαξε φαρμακείας . . .*	*Ἀρμαρως ἐπαοιδῶν λυτήρι(ον) . . .*	'Armânos the loosing of spells
IV (9)	[ברקאל אלף נחשי ברקין]	[idem]	*ὁ ἔνατος ἐδίδαξεν ἀστροσκοπίαν*	*Βαρακιηλ ἀστρολογίας*	Barâq'el the astrologues
V (4)	[כוכבאל א]לף נחשי כוכב[ין]	[כוכבאל אלף נ]חשי כוכבין	*ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ἐδίδαξεν ἀστρολογίαν* (*a*)	*Χωχ⟨αβ⟩ιηλ τὰ σημειωτικά*	Kokabi'el the signs
VI (8)	[זיקיאל אלף נחשי זיקין]	זיקא[ל אלף נחשי זיקין]	*ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος ἐδίδαξεν ἀεροσκοπίαν . . .*	*Σαθ[ι]ηλ* (*b*) *ἀ{στ}εροσκοπείαν . . .*	Ṭami'el taught the observation of the stars
VII	[ ]	⟨ ⟩	⟨ ⟩	⟨ ⟩	⟨ ⟩
VIII (2)	[ארע]תקף אלף נחשי ארע	[idem]	*ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς* (*c*)	⟨ ⟩	⟨ ⟩
IX (15)	[שמשיאל אלף נחשי שמש]	[שמ]שיאל אלף נחשי שמ[ש]	*ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἡλίου* (*d*)	⟨ ⟩	⟨ ⟩
X (16)	[שהריאל אלף נחשי שהר]	[שהריאל אלף נחשי] שה[ר]	*ὁ δὲ εἰκοστὸς ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης* (*e*)	*Σεριη[λ] σεληναγωγίας* (MS. *σεληνοναγιας*)	'Asdrĕ'el taught the courses of the moon

Notes to the Table

(*a*) Cf. Syriac: *kwkb'yl* (*nwkb'yl* MS.) *ryš' hw dd'* (*dr'* MS.) *'lp lbnynš' 'sṭrwnwmy'* etc.; this is the only angel-teacher mentioned in this Syriac quotation. See also p. 20.

(*b*) Corrupt form of *Zakiēl*?

(*c*) According to the original text the 'signs of the earth' are not taught by the third, but by the second angel. In order to account for this confusion, and also that of the 9th and 10th teachers, mistakes which are peculiar to S, I propose the following hypothesis. A Greek copyist, who was conversant with Aramaic, worked the list of angel-teachers, drawing from the list of 6: 7, which already had the transcriptional form now to be seen in Syncellus. The transcription of the name of the second angel, *Atarkouph*, meant nothing to this learned scribe, and he looked for the name which contained a transcription of (ארע(א '(the) earth', because he was dealing with the angel who teaches the signs of the earth. He found such a transcription in the name of the third angel, *Ἀρα*(*κιηλ*).

(*d*) Not the 'seventh', but the fifteenth angel. The confusion can be explained in the same way as that of the 8th angel-teacher; see preceding note.

(*e*) Not the 'twentieth', but the sixteenth angel; see the two preceding notes.

L. 1 of Enᵃ 1 iv. The term *ἐπαοιδάς* in C (and in E; S corrupt) here translates the Aramaic חברו; immediately afterwards, line 2 (and cf. En. 7: 1; note to Enᵃ 1 iii 15), the same term renders כשפו and חרטמו. The Greek translator could hardly have understood the nuances of the magical Jewish expressions very well.

Ll. 1/2. The corresponding passage in C and E is much abridged. The text of S is relatively close to that of the original: *{ὁ δὲ ἑνδέκατος Φ}αρμαρὸς ἐδίδαξε φαρμακείαν* (plural S) *⟨εἰς⟩ λυτήριον ἐπαοιδῶν* (this phrase is moved in S to the end after *σοφίας*: *καὶ ἐπαοιδῶν λυτήρια*; *Ἀρμαρὼς ἐπαοιδῶν λυτήριον* C and E) *⟨καὶ⟩ ἐπαοιδὰς ⟨καὶ⟩ σοφίας*. The first two angel-teachers of En. 8: 3 taught their wives the magic arts, just as the angel in En. 8: 1 instructed men in technical knowledge.

Ll. 2–4. Names of the teachers in astrological, meteorological, and cosmographical sciences. The scheme of it is uniform: (1) theophoric proper name, (2) phrase 'taught the signs of' (*σημεῖα*; Aramaic נחשי, 'fortunes, fates', doubtless horoscopes and auguries taken from the positions of the stars and from natural phenomena), (3) first component term of the theophoric name, taken up just as it is or put into the absolute plural.

Ll. 4–5. Only S among the versions has kept this phrase, adding to it *καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν*; it is followed by the résumé of 7: 3–5.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 8: 4). Word for word 'and as a result of the death of one part of the men, the voice rose up towards heaven', which corresponds quite well to *τῶν οὖν* (*τουνουν* MS.) *ἀ[ν]πων ἀπολλυμένων ἡ βο[ῆ] εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνέβη* in C. S paraphrases this clause and follows it with En. 9: 2–3, anticipated here (S′ only the anticipated phrases).

Ll. 6–8 (En. 9: 1). S and S′ are closer to the original than C, which omits any reference to the injustice perpetrated on earth (phrase retained in E).

L. 6. S and S′ replace אדין אדיק = *τότε παρέκυψαν* (cf. *τότε παρ[α]κύψαντες* in C) by *καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ τέσσαρες {μεγαλόι ἀρχάγγελοι}* (the phrase with which verse 2 probably begins) . . . *παρέκυψαν*.—The name of the second archangel is written שריאל in Enᵇ 1 iii 7; see the note ad loc.

Ll. 7–8. The phrase in S, S′, E, *καὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀνομίαν* (*ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν* S′) *γενομένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς* ('on the earth' E), abridges the Aramaic phrase.

Lines 8–10 (En. 9: 2) remain uncertain. I reconstruct the beginning of this passage in accordance with S and S′, where this beginning is moved to the beginning of verse 1. For the expression ארבעתה, 'the four (archangels)', = *οἱ τέσσαρες* in S and S′, cf. [אר]בעתא in Enᵉ4 i 13 (En. 89: 1); alternatively ארבעתהן, cf. שבעתון (to be understood as שבעתהון), 'the seven of them, the seven (angels)' in the Aramaic Testament of Levi, Cairo Geniza manuscript, Bodl. *a*, line 9 (see P. Grelot, *Revue biblique*, 1956, pp. 398–9).—Then I restore the predicate עללו in line with *εἰσελθόντες* in S and S′, verse 2.—The correspondence קדמ̊[יהן?] of Enᵃ and *πρὸς ἀλλήλους* of S and S′ is not clear to me.—The remainder of verse 2 is omitted in S, but it is preserved in part in C, and even better in E, where the expression 'the devastated earth (cries)', *'erâqâ* (*ṣarḥat*) *mĕdĕr*, seems to be a shortened form of the phrase 'on account

of the destruction of the sons of the earth': see Enᵇ 1 iii 10. The common archetype of C and E was along approximately the following lines: *ἡ φωνὴ καὶ ἡ βοὴ ἐπὶ ⟨τὴν ἀπολείαν τῶν υἱῶν⟩ τῆς γῆς ⟨ἀναβαίνοντες⟩ μέχρι πυλῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*

Ll. 10–11 (En. 9: 3). After the inspection of the earth and the consultation among themselves the four archangels speak to 'the holy ones', and finally the two archangels speak to God himself (v. 4). The beginning of v. 3 is preserved in E only, apart from the introduction: 'and they said (or else 'let us then say'; cf. 'say to them' in Eᵘ) to the holy ones of heaven'; cf. 1Q 19 2 1–2 (*DJD* i, p. 152).

L. 11. C and E seem fairly close to the original text: *⟨ὅτι⟩ ἐντυγχάνουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀνπων λεγόντων* (*καὶ λέγοντα* S and S′); S and S′ paraphrase.

Ll. 19–21 (En. 9: 6). The first part of the verse seems better preserved in S than in C E, especially in the conservation of the poetical parallelism: . . . *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, . . . *ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς*. On the other hand, the second part of the verse was worked over in S, so it is closer to the original in C E (except perhaps *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* of S instead of *ἄνθρωποι* of C E).

L. 20. Our small fragment explains an evident mistranslation by C, which was followed by E (cf. Charles, i, p. 22 n. 15 and p. 23 n. 4). The meaning of the Aramaic text is 'and ('Aśa'el) made known the eternal mysteries which (were kept) in heaven, so that the (most) learned of the sons of men could put them to execution'. It is an allusion to the crafts and sciences taught by 'Aśa'el and executed by artisans, described in En. 8: 1 (see Enᵇ 1 ii 26–9). The Aramaic phrase [די ל]הן יעב[דון ידעי בני אנשה], which is a subordinate final clause, had been taken by the Greek translator for a relative one; then the interpreter misread the participle ידעי, 'those who know, experts, artisans', for the perfect ידעו, hence his translation *ἐπιτεδεύουσιν ἔγνωσαν ἄνποι.*

Ll. 21–2 (En. 9: 7). At the beginning understand 'and (what) Šemî-ḥazah (made)'. Cf. verse 6 beg.

L. 21. [למ]לך לכל ח[ברוהי] = *ἄρχειν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἅμα ὄντων* of C (*yĕkwanen 'ĕlla mĕslehu ḥĕbura* E). A similar paraphrase of 'all his companions' in En. 10: 11 = Enᵇ 1 iv 9: לשמ[יחז]א ולכ[ול חברו]הי, *Σεμιαζᾳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ*. The same Aramaic expression occurs in 4QEnGiantsᵃ 5 5 (below, p. 176).

L. 22. [בנקב[ן?]] = *ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις* of S and *mĕsla 'ĕllĕku 'anĕsĕt* of E; in C omitted by hmt: *αὐταῖς ⟨ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις⟩*. The particle 'and' is put after this expression in E (and C), but before it in S; probably the original phrase was asyndetical, translating the infinitive of the Aramaic text, and *καὶ* was subsequently inserted.

4QEnᵃ 1 v—En. 10: 3–4 (Pl. V)

[ ]°[ ]

[ ]

] ³אלף ק[שׁ̊ט̊]ה מה יעבד ובן למך לנפשה לחיין] לנצ[לה [

[ולמפלט] עד̊ [עלמה ו]מ̊נה[תתנצב נצבה ותתקים כל דרי על[מ̊]י[ה *vacat*

[4 ולרפאל אמ]ר א[זל נא רפאל ואסר לעסאל ידין ורגלין ורמא]יתה ל[חשוכה]

]

[. . . 10 3Instruct] the righteous (man) [what he is to do, and the son of Lamech (how)] to preserve [his soul unto life], [and to escape] for[ever. And from him [will be planted a plant and it will be established (for) all the generations] of worlds'.

[4 And to Raphael (the Lord)] said: 'Do go, [Raphael, and bind 'Asa'el hand and foot and cast] him into [the darkness . . .]

Only the identification of fragment *l* is relatively certain.

Texts to be compared: C, S, E.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 10: 3). The text of S is certainly the best, C and E giving a drastic abridgement of it.

L. 3. Note the defective spelling of קשטה, normal in this manuscript; 'the righteous' is a traditional epithet of Noah: Gen. 6: 9; 7: 1; Sir. 44: 17; etc.—I transfer *καὶ* before *τὸν υἱὸν Λάμεχ*.—The infinitives לנצלה and [למפלט] depend on [אלף].

L. 5 (En. 10: 4). I follow S again, C and E having omitted *πορεύου Ῥαφαὴλ καὶ* before *δῆσον*; cf. Charles, i, p. 24 notes 25 and 39.

4QEnᵃ 1 vi—En. 10: 21–11: 1 and 12: 4–6 (Pl. V)

[ ]°°[ ]

[ ]°°°[ ]ל[ ]

[21 וכל בני אנשה י]תקשטון ו[להוון כלהן מסגדין וכל אמתה]

[תהוא מברכה לי]ות[ת]רמי[22 ותדכא כל ארעא מן כל סאב ומן כל]

[טמה ועוד לא אש]גר אנה [עליהן מן רגז ומן מכתש עד כל דרי]

[עלמיה *vacat?* 11 1 ובאדי]ן א[פתח]

[ ]

[ ]°°[ ]

[אנתן חרבנה רבה א]חרבת[ן] לא[רעא 5 ולא להוא לכן שלם ולא]

[תהוא סליחה 6 ודי עלי]הן חדי[ן אנון על בניהן לקטלנה די]

[חביביהן יחזון ועל א]בד[נה די בניהן יאננין]

[ ]

[. . . [21]And all the sons of men] shall become righteous, and [all of them shall be offering adoration, and every nation shall be praising me] and shall prostrate itself. [[22]And the whole earth shall be cleansed from all defilement and from all impurity. And] I will [never again] send [upon them any wrath nor castigation for all generations of worlds.

11 [1]And] then I will [open . . .[12] [4]. . .] 'Ye have wrought [great devastation] on the earth; [[5]and ye shall have no peace nor have forgiveness (of sin).' [6]And concerning] those in whom they delight [themselves, concerning their children, the murder of their beloved ones shall they see, and over] the destruction [of their sons shall they lament . . .]

The identification of both fragments remains somewhat uncertain.

Texts to be compared: C and E.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 10: 21). The first clause, *wayĕkunu kwĕllu wĕluda sabĕ'ĕ ṣâduqâna* in E, is omitted by homoeoarcton, ⟨*καὶ ἔσονται . . .*⟩ *καὶ ἔσονται* in C. This omission produced a certain disturbance in the following phrases. Originally there was a double distich, with parallel clauses, the first concerning all righteous men, and the second every (converted) nation. As for the verbal forms, the Aramaic had probably a cross-parallelism, finite form: participle//participle: finite form.

L. 3. יתקשטון, *si vera lectio*, had a declarative nuance: all men shall be declared, proclaimed righteous.

Ll. 3/4. The text of C, *οἱ λαοὶ καὶ εὐλογοῦντες πάντες ἐμοὶ καὶ προσκοινοῦντες*, has to be corrected to *καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοὶ εὐλ. ἐμοὶ καὶ πρ.* Anyhow, judging by ות[ת]רמי of line 4, the original subject of the sentence was in the singular.

Ll. 4–6 (En. 10: 22). Here again an original double distich, with partially parallel clauses, was disturbed by the transfer of {*καὶ*} *ὀργῆς καὶ μάστιγος*, which certainly belongs to the following sentence with the predicate *πέμψω* and originally followed it. I suggest that the translation of the Aramaic partitive phrases מן רגז ומן מכתש, meaning 'anything of (my) wrath and anything of (my) castigation', by Greek partitive genitives caused the attraction of these nouns to the genitives in the preceding sentence: *ἀπὸ παντὸς μιάμματος καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας*.

L. 5. The verb אשגר = *πέμψω*, has here the primary meaning of its Paʿel and Aphel tenses, 'descendere fecit'.—The equivalence מכתש = *μάστιξ* is certain in a passage of Tobith: [ע]ל̊ [כ]ל מכתשיכי of 4QTobaramᵃ 2 iii 4 = *ἐπὶ πάσαις ταῖς μάστιξίν σου* of Tob. 13: 16.

Ll. 15–16 (En. 12: 4–5). This section is in direct speech depending on *καὶ εἰπὲ* at the beginning of verse 4: Enoch is meant to address the Watchers. In verse 6 the archangel takes up his indirect discourse. For the 'great Watcher and holy one' of 12: 3 see Enᶜ 1 v 19–20.

Ll. 15/16 (En. 12: 5). I retranslate the strong adverb *οὔτε* by the repetition of the verb ולא להוא.

Ll. 16–17 (En. 12: 6). Note that the first בניהן and חביביהן are synonyms, whilst the second בניהן refers to the sons of 'the beloved ones'. The same distinction between the children and grandchildren of the Watchers, i.e. between Giants and Nephilim, occurs in Enᶜ 1 vi 15–16 (En. 14: 6).

SECOND COPY (4QEn^{b}, Pls. VI–IX)

Skin light brown, reddish or blackened in places, fairly thick and stiff; surface granular and often shiny, slightly damaged or else flaking in places; back black and flaking.

Ink watery and at times faded. Guide-lines barely visible or missing; space between lines 1 cm on average.

The original scroll is now reduced to several small fragments of parchment, belonging to the first four and the sixth columns of the manuscript. Each column contained twenty-eight lines of the text (col. ii: twenty-nine lines). The beginning is missing, except for one letter. There was either one column of very long lines of writing or one column and a half as in En^{a}. Reconstructed height of the written surface, 26·5 cm; upper margin 1(?) cm, lower margin 2 cm (1 ii); height of the scroll approximately 30 cm; other codicological details in the table below:

Leaf	Col.	Letters per line	Width of col.	Sections of text	Text preserved	Sigla of fragments	Fragments on plates
1	i	..	..	En. 1: 1–5: 9	..	4QEn^{b} 1 i 8	En^{b} 1 *c*
	ii	43	9·5 cm	5: 9–8: 1	En. 5: 9–6: 4; 6: 7–8: 1	ii 1–8, 15–29	*a–o*
	iii	49	11	8: 2–10: 5	8: 2–9: 4	iii 1–16	*p–w*
	iv	52	13	10: 5–22	10: 8–12	iv 5–12	*x–e′*
2	[v			10: 22–14: 2			]
	vi	43	9·5	14: 2–	14: 4–6	vi 5–10	*f′–i′*

The writing of En^{b} is rather archaic, probably dating from the early Hasmonaean period; cf. Cross, p. 137, fig. 1, line 7 (175–125 B.C.), and p. 138, fig. 2, line 1 (175–150 B.C.) and line 2 (125–100 B.C.). The Nun has here the medial form and a final form, whilst the Kaph and the Pe have only one form, viz. medial; this palaeographical characteristic recurs in the semi-cursive alphabets of Qumrân: Cross, p. 149, fig. 4, line 1 (150–100 B.C.) and line 2 (100–50 B.C.). Our manuscript doubtless goes back to the first half of the second century, or perhaps more exactly to the middle of the century.

The orthography of En^{b} is 'classical' and relatively 'full'. The article is marked by Aleph: מלכא ii 7; כספא and מכונא ii 27; כוחלא ii 28; דריא iii 15; עיריא iv 6; לחרשתא ii 19; מקדשתא iii 16; final Aleph also in the proper name of an angel, שמיחזא iv 9, as against שמיחזה in iii 1 and in En^{a}. Aleph marks the final *-e*: למחיא iv 7. The final *-a* of the infinitives is marked by

He: לגליה iii 5. Full spellings: כולהון iii 5 (but לכל iii 15, supralinear addition); כוחלא ii 28, etc. The consonant (') is omitted in יבדון iv 10; retained in final position, כורסא iii 15; omitted or kept, according to its position, in the forms of מרא 'Lord': מריא iv 5 and מרנא iii 14, מרא iii 14. A superfluous final Aleph occurs in הווא iii 1 and ii 21 (add.). Pronouns: הוא iii 14; אלין ii 17; אנון fr. 2; חברוהי iv 9; בניהון iv 10; מרנא 'our Lord' iii 14; relative pronoun always די, even before nouns: די פרזל ii 26; די מן עלמא iii 15. The names of masculine ordinal numbers from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' bear a curious form of the type שבעת עשרי, ii 15–17; contrast the normal type שתת עסר in En[a] 1 iii 9–12 (except חד עסרא, ibid. iii 9). Verb: Pe'al imperative, אזל iv 5; Pa'el perfect, שריו ii 18 and iii 5; Aphel imperative, אודע iv 8 (reading uncertain); reflexive forms: אתמללו ii 4; אתחברו iv 9. On the termination *-a* of the third person plural feminine of the perfect, הויא ii 2, see the introduction to En[a].

Some rare terms occur in lines 26–8 of column ii.

The copy of 4QEn[b] seems rather careless, unless it is a question of a defective archetype the omissions and other errors of which had been corrected by the same scribe, who may have used a better manuscript for his corrections, a manuscript similar to 4QEn[a], it would appear; see the note to En[b] 1 ii 25. Like En[a], our scroll would have contained only the first book of the Enochic Pentateuch, En. 1–36.

In general the identification of the several small fragments of En[b], and therefore the restoration of the text, remain highly problematical. The tiny pieces, fragments 2 to 5, have not been placed.

4QEn[b] 1 i (Pl. VI)

[ ] 1–7
ל֯[c]]
[ ] 9–28

4QEn[b] 1 ii—En. 5:9–6:4 and 6:7–8:1 (Pls. VI, VII)

[כו]ל֯[a][י]ו֯מ֯י [חייהון *vacat*]
6 1 והויא כ֯ד֯[י שגיאו בני אנשא ביומיא אלין אתילדה להון בנת]
שפירן ו֯[טבן 2 וחזוא להן עיריא בני שמיא ואתחמדו עליהן]
ואתמ֯[ללו חד לחד נזל ונבחר לנא נשין מן בנת אנשא ונולד לנא]

5 [בנין [3] ואמר להון שמיחזא די הוה רשהון דחל אנה די לא תצבון למעבד]

[עובדא דן ואהוא אנה בלחדי חיב חטא רב [4] וענו] ואמר[b][ו לה כולהון]

נמא[c] [מומא כלנא ונחרם כלנא חד לחד בה די לא נתוב כולנא מן מ]לכא ד[ן עד די]

נעבד [עובדא דן [5]]

9–14 [ ]

15 [עננאל תלתת עשרי לה שתואל ארבעת עשר]י לה[e] [שמשיאל חמ]שת

16 [עשרי לה שהריאל שתת עשרי לה ת]מיאל[d] שב[ע]ת עשר[י

16a לה {וי]מאלו} [ט]וריא[ל]

17 [תמנית עשרי לה ימאל תשעת עשר]י לה יהדי[אל ע]שרין

17a [לה] [8] אלין[g] [אנו]ן רבני עש[רתא]

[7 1 אנון ורבניהון כולהון נסבו להון] נשין מן כו[ל די בחרו] ושריו

[למעל עליהן ולאסתאבה בהן ולאלפה אנין לחר]שתא ולכש[פתא ולמקטע שרשיא]

20 [ולאחויה להן עשביא [2] והויא בטנן מנהון וילדה גברין רמין כתלתה]

21 [אלפין אמה די הווא מתילדין על ארעא כי]לדות[h][הון ומתרבין

21a כרביותהון [3] ו]אכלין [די ה]ווא[i]

[עמל כול בני אנשא ולא יכילו אנשא לאספ]קה [להון [4] והווא גבריא]

[קשרין לקטלה לאנשא ולמכל אנון [5] ושריו למחטא מן קובל כול]

24 [כנף וחיות ארעא ור]חשי[j][א די רחשין על אנפי ארעא ובמיא]

25a [ולמכל בשרהון אלין לאלין והווא] שתין דמ[א]

25b [6אדין קבלת ארעא על רשיעין על כול] מא

25 [ובשמיא ונוני ימא] בה מתעבד[k] *vacat*

26 8 עְשְׂאֵ[ל] א[ל]ף [לאנשא ל]מְעבד חרבן די פרזל ושרְ[ינין ד]יְ[l]
נחְ[ש ואחזיא] [o]

27a [מא י]עְבדון ד[הבא למ]עבדה [n] ועל למעבדה

27 [m] להוְןְ מא יתְ[חפר והיך]מְכְונא {ו}כספא לצמידין[ולתצבין] לְ[נשיא]

28 [לנשיא אחזיא הו]א על כוחלא ועל צדידְ[א ועל כול אבני יקר]

29 [ועל צבעין *va[cat*

margin

[5 9 . . .] all the days [of your life]. 6 1And it came to pass when [the children of men multiplied in those days, there were born to them daughters], beautiful and [fair. 2And the Watchers, sons of heaven, saw them and desired them]; and they said, [one to another: 'Let us go and choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men and beget for ourselves children.' 3But Šemîḥazâ who was their chief said to them: 'I fear that you will not wish to do this deed; and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin.' 4And they all answered] and said [to him]: 'Let us [all] swear [an oath, and all bind one another by it, that we shall not any of us turn aside from] this counsel, [until] we do [this deed 5 . . .
7 . . .; 'Anan'el, thirteenth to him; Śᵃtaw'el, fourteen]th to him; [Šamšî'el], fifteenth [to him; Śahrî'el, sixteenth to him]; Tummî'el seventeenth [to him]; Ṭûrî'el, [eighteenth to him; Yom'el, nineteen]th to him; Yᵉhaddî'el, twentieth [to him]. 8These are the chiefs of tens.

[7 1Those (two hundred) and their leaders all took for themselves] wives from all [that they chose]; and they began [to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them and (they began) to teach them] sorcery and spell-binding [and the cutting of roots; and to show them plants. 2And they became pregnant by them and bore giants, three thousand cubits high, who were born (and multiplied) on the earth according to the kind of their] childhood, [and growing up according to the kind of their adolescence, 3and] they were devouring [the labour of all the children of men and men were unable] to supply [them. 4But the giants conspired to slay men and to devour them. 5And they began to sin against all birds and beasts of the earth], and reptiles [which creep upon the face of the earth, and (creatures) in the waters and in the heaven, and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh of another; and they were] drinking blood. [6Then the earth made the accusation against the wicked concerning everything] which was done upon it.
8 1'Aśa'el taught [men to] make swords of iron and breastplates of brass, [and he showed] them (metals) which are dug out, [and how] they should

work gold to fashion it apt (for uses), and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets, [and for (other) adornments] of [women. And] he [showed to women] concerning antimony, and concerning eye-shadow, [and concerning all precious stones, and concerning dye-stuffs].

The identification and the placing of the small fragments *h* and *i* (lines 21–2), *l*, *m*, and *o* (lines 26–7) remain very uncertain.

Texts for comparison: Enᵃ 1 iii (En. 6: 4–8: 1), Enᶜ 1 ii (En. 6: 7), C, S (En. 6: 1–8: 1), Syriac extract (En. 6: 1–7), E.

Ll. 2–3 (En. 6: 1). The form of הויא is that of the third person plural feminine of the perfect (see the introduction to Enᵃ, and here, line 20), which anticipates the feminine plural predicate of the main clause, [אתילדה]; alternatively, it could be the singular feminine of the Pe'al participle in a neutral durative meaning: 'and it (was) happening'. However, one could expect here the 3rd person singular masculine form, והוה or והוא, just as in Hebrew (ויהי Gen. 6: 1); also Syriac (*whw' dkd sgyw*, etc.) and C and S (καὶ ἐγένετο) in this verse.—[ביומיא אלן] with C, Syriac, E; om. S. It is not clear whether the original had the pronoun להון (אתילדה) with S and E (cf. *'tyldyn lbnynš'* in Syriac), or not; om. C.

L. 3. [שפירן ו[טבן] = ὡραῖαι καὶ καλαί in C (and E); καὶ καλαί om. S (and Syriac). I restore טבן from טבת in Gen. 6: 2; the two terms are synonymous, exactly as in Aramaic inscriptions: *dkyr . . . bṭb wbšnpyr*; cf. καλὸς καὶ ἄγαθος in Greek.

Ll. 3–5 (En. 6: 2). Restore עיריא with S and Syriac; for terms denoting 'angels' in the book of Enoch see the commentary to Enᵃ 1 i 3. The beginning of this verse, which I restore in accordance with C and E, is abridged and glossed in S and Syriac: καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν αὐτὰς οἱ ἐγρήγοροι καὶ ἀπεπλανήθησαν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν (Syriac omits the last two words).

L. 4. Restore מן בנת אנשא with S and Syriac (cf. בנות האדם Gen. 6: 2 and 4); ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνπων C, 'from the children of men' E.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 6: 3). I restore this verse to correspond with C, but the other witnesses are almost identical.

Ll. 6–8 (En. 6: 4) = Enᵃ 1 iii 1–2; see the commentary to Enᵃ.

Ll. 8–14 (En. 6: 5–7). This long lacuna corresponds to Enᵃ 1 iii 2–9, q.v.

Ll. 15–26 (En. 6: 7–8: 1) = Enᵃ 1 iii 10–23; see the commentary to Enᵃ.

L. 17 (En. 6: 8). Text omitted by homoeoarcton, added above the line.

L. 19 (En. 7: 1). To the absolute state of the term חרשה in Enᵃ 1 iii 15 there corresponds here the emphatic state of the same term and of its synonym, the two being preceded by ל of the direct object: [לחר[שתא ולכש[פתא]. However, lines 19–21 contain per line an average number of letters which is slightly too high in comparison with that of Enᵃ 1 iii 14–17.

L. 25 (En. 7: 5–6). Long omission by homoeoteleuton ⟨מא . . . ⟩ ימא, rewritten in two short lines above the main line.

Ll. 26–8 (En. 8: 1). This verse has been considerably reworked in the versions. It was copied absent-mindedly by the scribe of Enᵇ, hence three omissions made good by himself between lines 26 and 27.

L. 26. [למעבד חרבן די פרזל ושר[ינין], 'to manufacture swords of iron and breastplates . . .'. The term חרבן, feminine plural absolute, certainly means 'swords' and not 'knives';

ποιεῖν μαχαίρας καὶ θώρακας S, plus a gloss *καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος πολεμικόν*. In C, after *μαχέρας ποιεῖν*, there are added two other terms, *καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἀσπεῖδας*, and after *θώρακας* one reads *διδάγματα ἀγγέλων* which was, in a Greek manuscript, the title of the passage En. 8: 1–3, inserted in the text through carelessness. E has 'swords and knives and shields and breastplates', *'asyĕfĕt wamaṭâbĕḫĕt wawaltâ wadĕrĕʿa 'ĕngĕdĕʿâ*, more or less equivalent to C. The versions omit any mention of the metal from which the swords are made, די פרזל. But compare a reference to our text which is found in the Book of Adam and Eve: 'Genun . . . took iron and with it made weapons of war' (quoted by Charles, ii, p. xcv). The law of parallelism demands that the mention of 'iron' should be followed by a reference to 'copper', just as in line 27 one reads of 'gold' and of 'silver'. Actually, the minute fragment *o* contains a part of נחש, 'copper'. A reference to this whole passage is found in the Clementine Homilies, viii 12–18 (quoted by Charles, ii, p. lxxxviii): . . . *ἐκ μετάλλων ἄνθη, χρυσόν, χαλκόν, ἄργυρον, σίδηρον . . . ἔτι δὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων χύσιν*.

Ll. 26–7. [ואחזיא] להון מא ית[חפר], word for word 'and he showed them what is dug out', was translated in C faithfully, where the sense is concerned, by *καὶ ὑπέδιξεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέταλλα* (*μεγάλα* MS.); S has only *καὶ τὰ μέταλλα* and adds *τῆς γῆς*. The Ethiopic translator did not know the meaning of this noun and took it for *τὰ μετ' ἀλλά* 'those after other (things)', rendering it approximately by *za'ĕmdĕḫrehomu* 'what is after them'; another copyist added in the margin a transcription of *τὰ μέταλλα*, which, corrupted, was later inserted at the end of verse 8: 1: *{wa}tawlâṭa 'âlam*. For this expression cf. Tertullian: 'Metallorum opera nudaverunt' in *De cultu fem.* i 2 (above, p. 78).

The author of our book of Enoch apparently did not know any noun denominating 'metals' and expressed it by a relative clause 'that which is dug out (of the earth)'. Similarly in Syriac passive forms of *ḥfr* are used for 'extracting metals', and the passive noun *metḥafʿrânâ* means 'metals'. Note moreover that in line 27 of Enb מא is used in a relative indefinite function, just as in the next clause (line 27a) and before, in line 25b. On this syntactical feature of the interrogative forms in later Aramaic dialects, see Dalman, *Grammatik*, p. 118 § 18, 3 end.

Ll. 27 and 27a (first interlinear addition). In the proposition [והיך מא י]עבדון ד[הבא למ]עבדה מכונא the scribe made an omission by homoeoarcton, ⟨מא . . . ⟩מכונא, immediately corrected by himself above the line. S alone preserves this phrase, but completely rearranged: *καὶ τὸ χρύσιον πῶς ἐργάσωνται καὶ ποιήσωσιν αὐτὰ κόσμια ταῖς γυναιξί*. The original Greek wording was rather: *καὶ πῶς ἐργάσωνται τὸ χρύσιον καὶ ποιήσωσιν* (see below) *αὐτὸ κόσμιον*. The last word, an adjective in the neuter, translates fairly exactly the Aramaic מכונא, Puʿal participle of כון, 'be straight, apt, prepared, well arranged'. It qualifies 'gold' as apt for various uses, especially as a medium of commercial exchanges. Syncellus (or his predecessors, Anianus and Panodorus), however, applies this word in the plural, to all metals; thus he anticipates here the expression *κόσμους* (so C) *ταῖς γυναιξί* which refers to the 'silver', barely mentioned in S: *καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον* ⟨. . .⟩.

In the text of C the original Greek expression *πῶς ἐργάσωνται* was transformed into *καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτῶν* (sc. of metals), or rather, as I suspect, it is an abridgement of a longer phrase, *πῶς ἐργάσωνται τὸ χρύσιον εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ*, the last words translating למעבדה which occurs shortly afterwards for a second time; hence a long omission by homoeoteleuton in C, and in E as well: *τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτῶν* ⟨. . . *τὸν ἄργυρον εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ*⟩.

The Aramaic phrase וכספא לצמידין was corrected by the copyist to ועל כספא

למעבדה לצ׳, which was probably translated in Greek more or less as follows: *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄργυρον εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ ψέλια*. C, after {*καὶ*} *ψέλια*, continues with *καὶ κόσμους*, to which should be added *ταῖς γυναιξί* as in *κόσμια ταῖς γυναιξί* of S (see above). I retranslate *κόσμους* (the plural is unusual) by the plural of תצבית, which normally corresponds to *κόσμος* in many Palmyrene bilingual inscriptions; it is also used in Syriac for women's finery and jewels.

L. 28. After *καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον* ⟨. . .⟩, S reads *ἔδειξε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ στίλβειν καὶ τὸ καλλωπίζειν*. C omits the predicate, as it had used it shortly before, *καὶ ὑπέδιξεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μεγάλα* (*sic*), where S on the other hand had omitted it. Considering, however, that the whole line is about women's cosmetics and adornments, we should read *αὐταῖς* in S, or rather suppose a haplographed repetition of *ταῖς γυναιξί*. The word *τὸ στίλβειν* is a corruption of *τὴν στίβειν*, preserved in C (*στείβεις*, undeclinable), and denotes 'the black of antimony' used as an eye-liner and a mascara for eyelashes: כוחלא in Enᵇ and known in all Semitic languages (*takwĕḥĕlota* in E). Tertullian, *De cultu fem.* i 2, talks of the 'bracelets' of gold (*sic*), and the 'antimony': 'et circulos ex auro quibus brachia artantur, et illum ipsum nigrum pulverem quo oculorum exordia producuntur'. On the other hand, צדידא (also in Syriac) = *καλλιβλέφαρον* (C; transcribed by Tertullian together with the translation of *τὰ βαφικά*, *tincturas*; see above, p. 78) refers to the eye-shadow, the eyelid make-up in violet, blue, green, etc.

The end of this line probably contained ועל כול אבני יקר = *καὶ παντοίους λίθους ἐγλεκτοὺς* of C, followed immediately after, or in the next line, by ועל צבעין = *καὶ τὰ βαφικά* in C. On 'Aza'el in charge of צבעין, according to a late Jewish Midrash, see below, pp. 326 and 328.

After *τὰ βαφικά* comes a long addition in S, a sort of chronicler's reflection, and a corrupted translation of *τὰ μέταλλα* in E (see above).

4QEnᵇ 1 iii—En. 8:2–9:4 (Pls. VII, VIII)

[[2]והוה רשעא רבא והוו]א[p]פחׄ[זין וטעין בכול אורחתהון [3]שמיחז]הׄ א[r]ל[ף
חברו]

[ומקטא שרשין חרמני א]לׄף חרש למ[שרא כשפו וחרטמו ותושין ברקאל
]אלף[נחשי]

[ברקין כוכבאל א]לף נחשי כוכבׄ[ין זיקיאל אלף נחשי זיקין. . .אל אלף]

[נחשי . . . . . ארע]תׄקף אלף נחש[י][q] ארעׄ[שמשיאל אלף נחשי שמש
שהריאל]

[אלף נחשי שהר] וכולהון שריוׄ לגליה [רזין לנשיהון [4]ולקובל מבד]

[קצת אנשא מן אר]עׄא וקלא [סלק קודם ש]מׄ[s]יׄא[*vacat*]

[[9 1]אדין אדיק] מׄיכאל ושריא[ל ורפאל וג]בׄריׄ[אל מן קודשי שמיא על
ארעא]

[וחזוא דם שגיא שפי]ך [ע]ל ארעא [וכול ארעא אתמלאת רשעא וחמסא
די אתחטא]
[עליהא [2] ושמעין ארבעתא עללו ואמרו קודמיהון די קלא וזעקתא]
[בחרב]ות אר[עא סלק]ין עד תר[ע]י שמיא [3] ואמרו לקדישי שמיא כען לכן
אנתן]
[קדישי שמ]יא [די קב]לן נפש[ת בני אנשא ואמרן אעלו דינא לקובל
עליון]
[ואבדננא מן קודם יקר רבותא ומן קודם מרא כול מריא ברבותא *vacat*]
[[4] ועללין ר]פאל ומיכ[אל עיריא וקדישיא רברביא אמרו קודם מרא
עלמא די]
[אנתה הוא] מרנא רבא [הו]א מרא עלמא [אנתה מרא מריא ואלה
אלהיא ומלך עלמיא]
[וכורס]א יקרך {ל}דר דריא די מן עלמ[א ושמך קדישא ורבא ובריכא
עד כול עלמיא]
[ו...תך מק]דשתא ו...תא עד כו[ל עלמיא [5]]
[ ]

[[8] [2]And there was much wickedness] and men were acting wickedly [and erring in all their ways.] [3]Šemîḥazah taught [spell-binding and cutting of roots. Ḥermonî] taught the loosing of spells, [magic, sorcery and skills. Baraq'el] taught [the signs of thunders. Kôkab'el] taught the signs of the stars. [Zêqî'el taught the signs of lightning-flashes. -'el taught the signs of .... Ar'[t[a]qoph taught the signs of the earth. [Šamšî'el taught the signs of the sun. Śahrî'el taught the signs of the moon]. And they all began to reveal [secrets to their wives. [4]And because part of mankind was perishing from] the earth, the cry [was going up to] heaven.

[[9] [1]Thereupon] Micha'el and Śari'el [and Rapha'el and] Gabri'el [looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth, and saw much blood] spilled on the earth; [and the whole earth was filled with wickedness and violence so that sin was brought upon it. [2]And four (archangels) hearing (it) went in and said to themselves that the voice and cry], as the sons [of earth]

perish, reach up to the gates [of heaven. 3And they said to the holy ones of heaven: 'Now to you, the holy ones of] heaven, the souls [of men] are making their suit [and saying: Bring our case before the Most High, and our destruction before the majestic Glory, before the Lord of all Lords in majesty.'

4And] Rapha'el and Micha'el, [great Watchers and holy ones, went in and said before the Lord of the world that Thou art] our great Lord; (Thou) art Lord of the world; [Thou art Lord of Lords and God of Gods and King of worlds]. Thy glorious throne is for every generation of generations which are from eternity, [and Thy Name is holy, and great and blessed to all eternity, and Thy . . . is] sacred and . . . to all [eternity . . .]

The identification and the placing of the small fragments *r* (lines 1–2), *s* (lines 6–7), *t*, *u*, and *v* (lines 10–11) are uncertain.

Texts for comparison: Enᵃ 1 iv (En. 8: 3–9: 3), C, S, S′ (En. 8: 4–9: 4), E.

L. 1 (En. 8: 2). This verse appears to be well preserved in C, apart from {*καὶ ἐφανίσθησαν*}.

Ll. 1–11 (En. 8: 3–9: 3) = Enᵃ 1 iv 1–11; see the commentary to Enᵃ loc. cit.

L. 7 (En. 9: 1). שריא[ל]: this is the only place in 4QEn where the name of the second archangel is preserved; it occurs three times in Enoch: here, in 10: 1 and in 20: 6. In 9: 1 the Greek witnesses, C, S, S′, have *Οὐριήλ*; E hesitates between *'Ur'el* (MSS. t¹u), and *Sur'el* (MSS gmq), whilst the manuscripts of the group *β*, and t², duplicate this name in *Suryân wa' Uryân* (or *Suryâl wa' Uryâl*).

In 10: 1, for the name of the messenger of God to Noah, S has *Οὐριήλ* again, but C reads *'Ιστραηλ*. In E only the MS. t, with its *'asrĕ'el{yer}*, preserves a form relatively close to **'Ισραήλ* of the Greek archetype of E. Other manuscripts, and the MS. t with its ending, have very strange forms in which one detects, however, a sort of *lectio conflata* of *Israêl*, *Suriêl*, and *Uriêl*, written as one or as two names: *'Asurye 'Ulyer* m, *'Asarya Lĕyer* g, *'Asareye Lalyer* q, *'Arsĕyalâlĕyur* most of the MSS. *β*.—Only once the Greek of C and C′ preserves a faithful transcription of שריאל, in the list of archangels, En. 20: 6: *Σαριηλ, ὁ εἷς τῶν* (*το* C′) *ἁγίων* (*αγιον* C′) *ἀγγέλων ὁ ἐπὶ* (*επει* C′) *τῶν πνευμάτων* (*πνατων* C′) *οἵτινές* (*οιτεινες* C′) *ἐπὶ* (*επει* C′) *τῷ πνεύματι* (*πνατι* C′) *ἁμαρτάνουσιν* C (xxixʳ 21–4) and C′ (xiʳ 11–13). This description, which is not at all clear and has perhaps been recast in a Christian sense, must refer to that kind of sinner who imitates the modes of life of the men and of the fallen angels who were living before the Flood. E has a slightly different text: '*Sarâqâ'el* (*a*–q), *Saraqâ'el* (*β*), one of the holy angels, who is (set) over the spirits of mankind who sin (in) spirits'.

According to the same list *'Urî'el*, 'Light of God', is also in charge of the world and of Tartarus: *Οὐριηλ, ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου*, En. 20: 2 (xxixʳ 14–15; cf. xiʳ 1–4); in E *'Ur'el* (also in *CSCO* 235/*Aeth* 43, p. 78, 23: quotation of 19: 3–20: 2) except *'Urâ'el* in gq. Tartarus is the prison of the stars and of the angels, En. 18–19 and 21, of which Ouriel is Guardian: *Οὐριηλ ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὃς* (*ὁ* C′) *μετ' ἐμοῦ ἦν* (*ων* C′) *καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο αὐτῶν* (*αυτων ηγ.* C′) 21: 5 (C and C′). He also acts as Enoch's guide, 18: 14;

19: 1; 21: 5 and 9. He appears again in a similar place, in the accursed valley close to Jerusalem, 27: 2. In the phrase of 20: 2, after *ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου*, one must of necessity add *τῶν φωστήρων*, following the expression *τὸν κόσμον τῶν φωστήρων* in 20: 4; see En[d] 1 xi 5–6, note. In the passage of En. 33: 3–4 Ouriel appears as a teacher of astronomy, the role which he will retain throughout the Astronomical Book of Enoch: 72: 1; 74: 2; 75: 3–4; 78: 10; 80: 1; 82: 7–8.

The original name of the second archangel as given here in l. 7 appears twice (a second time restored) in another Qumrân manuscript. In the description of a war formation called 'towers' one reads: ועל כול מגני המגדלות 15 יכתובר על הראישון מיכ̊[א]ל [ע]ל̊ [השני גבריאל על השלישי] שריאל על הרביעי רפאל 16 מיכאל וגבריאל לי̊[מין שריאל ורפאל לשמאול], 1QM ix 14–16. This Herodian orthography proves definitely the reading *Śarî'el*, 'Prince of God'; the reading of 4QEn[b], belonging to an older manuscript, is open to doubt: defective spelling of *Šûrî'el*, 'Wall of God', being alternatively possible. The distribution of the four archangels between the four parts of the world in the Manual of War (1QM) is not quite explicit: Michael is certainly on the south ('right') side of the 'tower', and Gabriel probably on the east side, Śarî'el on the north ('left'), and Raphael on the west. Exactly the same scheme is to be found in medieval cabbalistic treatises, which describe the placing of the archangels on the four sides of the God's throne: Michael on the south, Uriel (this name appearing in the Jewish speculation under Christian influence) on the north, Gabriel on the east, and Raphael on the west side of the throne. A slightly different arrangement is still to be seen (I have seen it) on a tower built about A.D. 412 in the Byzantine city of 'Umm 'el-Gimâl in Northern Jordan. The name *Οὐριηλ* is engraved on the north side of the castle, and *Γαβριηλ* on the east side; but *Μιχαηλ* is on the west, and *Ῥαφαηλ* on the south. (See E. Littmann, D. Magie, Jr., and D. R. Stuart, *PAES* iii A 3 (1913), 143–5, nos. 245–8.) For a similar placing of images of the archangels in four corners of the dome in later churches (especially in Cappadocia) and in Christian tombs see the paper by P. Perdrizet quoted above, p. 22. In a recently discovered church at Selçikler Köyü in Turkey (ancient Sebaste of Phrygia), dating from the tenth century, the architrave of the iconostasis has Christ in the middle, with Mary on his right hand and John the Baptist on his left, and on either side *Μιχαηλ* and *Οὐρηηλ* on the right of Mary, *Γαβρηηλ* and *Ῥαφαηλ* on the left of St. John; see the preliminary report of N. Fıratlı, *Cahiers arch.* xix (1969), p. 159, figs. 16 and 17, and p. 163. The hierarchical order is: Michael and Gabriel nearer to the Saviour, Ouriel and Raphael in the right and left outside places. Exactly the same sequence occurs in an early Christian writing called *Epistle of the Apostles*, known in fragmentary Coptic and Latin texts, or *Testament of our Lord in Galilee* (in the complete Ethiopic version): 'Now the chief captain of the angels (is) Michael, and Gabriel and Ouriel and Raphael followed me (sc. Christ) unto the fifth firmament.' (M. R. James, *The Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 489 § 13.) The same order appears in one witness of the *Gospel of Bartholomew* (James, p. 175 (iv 28)).

The substitution of Ouriêl for Sariêl, in the original list of the four archangels, which occurs in the Greek text of En. 9: 1, is due to the function of Ouriel as the Guardian of Tartarus (En. 20: 2); this role of his is strongly emphasized by the early Christian apocalyptic writers; see, e.g., the *Apocalypse of Peter* (James, pp. 512–13) and *The Sibylline Oracles*, ii, 215 (quoted above, p. 92).

Another theological influence caused the replacement of Sariêl by Is(t)raêl in En. 10: 1.

Noah as a remote ancestor of the Chosen People is warned and instructed by an angel bearing the name of the eponymous ancestor of the sons of Israêl. According to the *Prayer of Joseph* quoted frequently by Origen, Ἰσραηλ is the first archangel; Jacob, man and angel, fights with Οὐριηλ, who is eighth after Israêl; cf. A.-M. Denis, *Pseudepigrapha V.T. Graece*, iii. 2 (1970), 61; James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the O.T.*, 1936, pp. 21–31. To the several attestations of this passage I add an implicit reference in Origen, *Hom. in Num.* xi 4 (ed. W. A. Baehrens, *GCS* 30, 1921, p. 83, 19–20; cf. p. 85, 2–4): 'Nomen enim Istrahel pervenit usque ad angelicos ordines.'

In conclusion, we may affirm that as early as the Persian period (the probable date of En. 6–19; above, pp. 28–31) Israelites believed in the existence of four archangels whose names and order were: *Mîka'el* ('Who is as God?'), *Śarî'el* ('Prince of God'), *Rafa'el* ('(Chief of) Repha'im of God'), *Gabrî'el* ('Strength of God'); En. 9: 1 = 4QEnᵇ 1 iii 7. In our Qumrân manuscript, two of them, Raphael and Michael, appear in line 13 (a mention lost in Greek and E, at the beginning of En. 9: 4). In an ascending, and different, sequence they appear in En. 10: Sariel, Raphael, Gabriel, Michael; in this order they are also known in the Christian writings.

In the list of the seven archangels (which dates from the third century B.C.; above, pp. 25–8) they come in the following order: Raphael (in the second place), Michael (fourth), Sariel (fifth), and Gabriel (seventh).

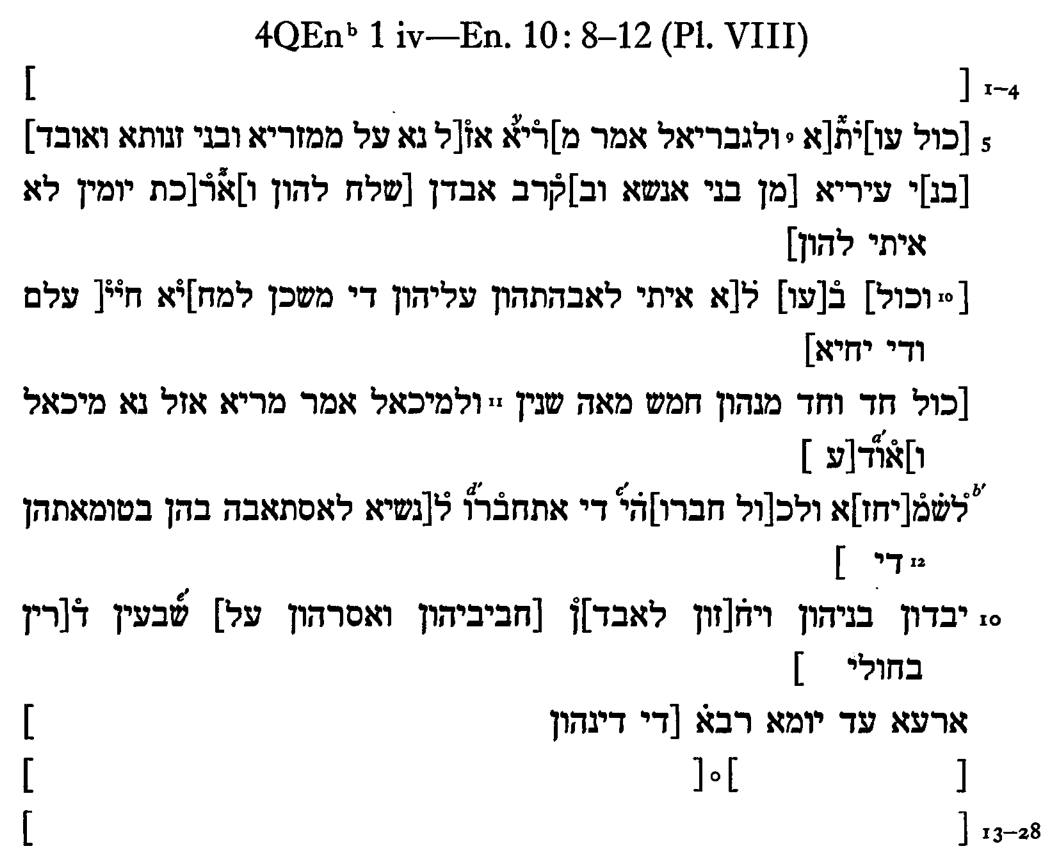
Ll. 11–12 (end of En. 9: 3). I restore this stichos, which is made up of two parallel phrases, the second of which is overloaded, in line with S (En. 9: 3; same passage in S′, but under En. 8: 4): *Εἰσαγάγετε τὴν κρίσιν ἡμῶν πρὸς τον Ὕψιστον, καὶ τὴν ἀπωλείαν ἡμῶν ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγαλωσύνης* (*μεγάλης* S′), *ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῶν κυρίων πάντων τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ* (the exact meaning of the last expression escapes me); C, as also E and S′ (under En. 9: 3), retain only the first hemistich.

Ll. 13–16 (En. 9: 4). The introductory phrase to the prayer (line 13) has been best preserved in S′: *καὶ προσέλθοντες οἱ τέσσαρες ἀρχάγγελοι εἶπον τῷ κυρίῳ*; E adds 'of the kings', whilst S adds *τῶν αἰώνων*, the term which is found in the Aramaic original (l. 14), but in the singular: 'Lord of the world'. In fact we are not dealing here with all four archangels, but only with the two messengers, Raphael and Michael, who enter into the divine throne-room (cf. En. 14: 15–25). The reading [ר]פאל is absolutely certain; the letters Pe and Aleph, which have now disappeared, can be read on old photographs, e.g. PAM 42. 231.—I restore the name of 'archangels' as 'great Watchers and holy ones' according to Enᶜ 1 v 19–20 (En. 12: 3).

Ll. 13/14. The passage די . . . מרא עלמא has been omitted, in the Aramaic archetype of the versions, by hmt. The epithet for God, 'Lord of the world', occurs in exactly the same form, *mr' 'lm'*, in the Palmyrene inscriptions, *CIS* ii 3912 (A.D. 134) and 3986 (A.D. 114); see Lidzbarski, *Eph.* i, p. 258; *mry 'lm'* in a Nabataean inscription of Hegra, *CIS* ii 271 (cf. *RES* 1175).

Ll. 14–15. The order and the number of the epithets for God, as also the praise of the Name, probably had the form which is found in C (and E): *Σὺ εἶ κ̅ς̅ τῶν κυρίων καὶ ὁ θ̅ς̅ τῶν θεῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων* ('of kings' E, S, S′;+a fourth epithet S and S′) *καὶ* (with S and S′; om. C) *ὁ θρόνος τῆς δόξης σου εἰς πάσας* (Enᵇ, supralinear addition) *τὰς γενεὰς* (Enᵇ = *εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γενεὰν τῶν γενεῶν*) *τοῦ αἰῶνος* (Enᵇ = *τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος*), *καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μέγα* (*κ.μ.* om. S and S′) *καὶ εὐλογητὸν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας*.

L. 16. This is a phrase parallel to the preceding one, which has been omitted in the versions by the error of homoeoteleuton; I have not succeeded in deciphering and restoring it in its entirety.



4QEn[b] 1 iv—En. 10: 8–12 (Pl. VIII)

[ ]

[כול עו]ית[א [9]ולגבריאל אמר מ]ריא אז[ל נא על ממזריא ובני זנותא ואובד]

[בנ]י עיריא [מן בני אנשא וב]קרב אבדן [שלח להון וא]ר[כת יומין לא איתי להון]

[[10]וכול] ב[עו] ל[א איתי לאבהתהון עליהון די משכן למח]יא חיי[עלם ודי יחיא]

[כול חד וחד מנהון חמש מאה שנין [11]ולמיכאל אמר מריא אזל נא מיכאל ו]אוד[ע]

לשמ[יחז]א ולכ[ול חברו]הי די אתחברו ל[נשיא לאסתאבה בהן בטומאתהן [12]די]

יבדון בניהון ויח[זון לאבד]ן [חביביהון ואסרהון על] שבעין ד[רין בחולי]

ארעא עד יומא רבא [די דינהון]

[ ]∘[ ]

[ ]

[[10] [8] . . . all] sins. [[9]And to Gabriel] the Lord [said]: ‘Go [to the bastards and the children of fornication, and destroy] the children of the Watchers [from among men, and send them] into a war of destruction; and length [of days they will not have. [10]And] no request [from their fathers on their behalf shall be granted that they should expect] to live [an eternal] life [or that each of them should live for five hundred years.’ [11]And to Michael the Lord said: ‘Go Michael, and] make known to Šemîḥazâ and to all his companions who associated with [women to defile themselves with them in their uncleanness, [12]that] their sons shall perish, and they shall see the destruction [of their beloved ones; and bind them unto] seventy generations [in valleys] of the earth unto the great day [of their judgement . . .]

The identification and the placing of the little fragments which make up this column, *x* to *e′*, remain somewhat uncertain, except for the identification of fragments *y*, *b′*, and *e′*.

Texts for comparison: C, S, E.

L. 5 (En. 10: 8). Restore עויתא or חטיתא, the two words corresponding well to τὰς ἁμαρτίας in C and E.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 10: 9). The beginning of this verse is equivalent to C: καὶ τῷ (των MS.) Γαβριὴλ εἶπεν ὁ κ̅ς̅; S om. 'the Lord'. In the expression ἐπεὶ τοὺς μαζηρεους in C (replaced by ἐπὶ τοὺς γίγαντας in S), the noun μα⟨μ⟩ζηρεοι faithfully transcribes the Aramaic ממזריא (*mamzêrayâ*), 'bastards'. The following expression, ἐπεὶ τοὺς κειβδήλους in C (and S), is simply an explanatory Greek gloss (κίβδηλος 'altered, falsified, false, illegitimate') which was already to be found in the Greek manuscript translated into Ethiopic. But in E the word κιβδήλους was not understood, either here ('the outcasts') or in En. 10: 15 where the phrase τὰ π̅ν̅α̅τ̅α̅ τῶν κιβδήλων in C has been rendered by 'all the voluptuous souls'. The verb καὶ ἀπόλεσον can be retranslated by ואובד or by ואכרת; for this second verb (Hebrew verb?) see Enᶜ 1 v 3 (En. 10: 16: ἀπόλεσον).

L. 6. Restore מן בני אנשא with S, as against C and E which omit 'sons'.—The phrase [וב]קרב אבדן [שלח להון] is that of C, except for the metathesis of two parts of the clause: πέμψον αὐτοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπωλίας; S (. . . ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ) and E paraphrase this passage.—The restoration [וא]ר[כת] = καὶ μακρότης seems to me better than ארכות or אריכות; cf. ארכה, feminine singular absolute, in the Targum to Gen. 6: 3.

Ll. 7–8 (En. 10: 10). Restore עליהון, 'in their favour', in line with E (and C in which, however, there is a superfluous 'and': {καὶ} περὶ αὐτῶν); S om. I translate ἐλπίζουσιν by the Pa'el participle, plural masculine, of the verb שכי.

Ll. 8–9 (En. 10: 11). The beginning of this verse should probably be restored in line with the wording in E and in an analogous expression at the beginning of verse 9.—[אזל נא מיכאל] = πορεύου Μιχαήλ of S. The imperative ואודע = καὶ δήλωσον in C and E. Whatever the reading (alternatively ויודע), identification, and placing of this tiny fragment may be, the reading δήλωσον should be retained rather than the emendations δέσμωσον or δέσμευσον proposed by Radermacher and Charles; 'to make known', i.e. the destruction of their children, verse 12 (see note to line 9). It is true that the disagreement between the dative (Σεμιαζᾳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς σὺν αὐτῷ) and the accusative (ταῖς γυνεξὶν μειγέντας) remains unexplained, but such syntactical inaccuracies frequently occur in the inscriptions and texts of the Graeco-Roman epoch. 'To Šemîḥazâ and to all his companions' (cf. E), as in 4QEnGiantsᵃ 8 5–6: לשמיחזה ולכול ח[ברוהי . . .] ידיע להוא לכון ד[י] ל[א . . .]; below, p. 315.

Ll. 9–11 (En. 10: 12).

L. 9. I restore only די, depending on ואודע of the preceding line; the expression καὶ ὅταν of C, S, E (but only *soba* = ὅταν in E$^{\beta}$) should be corrected to {καὶ} ὅτι ἄν.

L. 10. Restore (or דר) [ואסרהון על] שבעין דרין according to καὶ δῆσον αὐτοὺς (plus ἐπὶ S and E) ἑβδομήκοντα γενεάς in C.—The Greek εἰς τὰς νάπας, 'in the valleys', in C and S ('under the hills' in E is inaccurate) probably translates the Aramaic בחולי or בחולת, feminine plural construct of חלה, 'valley, vale', which is found in Enᵈ 1 xii 5 (En. 26: 3: φάραγγαν C); emphatic form חלתא in 1QGenAp xxii 4.

L. 11. The versions have not retained the adjective 'great' in the expression 'until the great day of their judgement', עד יומא רבא [די דינהון]; μέχρι ἡμέρας κρίσεως αὐτῶν C, S (and E).

I find a reference to this verse, and precisely to the reading 'the great day of judgement', in verse 6 of the Epistle of Jude: *ἀγγέλους . . . εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν* (cf. 2 Peter 2: 4 and 9). The author of the Epistle of Jude seems, however, to have summarized with this short phrase the two accounts in the book of Enoch, the first of the punishment of 'Aśa'el, carried out by Raphael (En. 10: 4–8), and the second of the punishment of Šemîḥazah and his companions, entrusted by God to Michael (En. 10: 11–13). I point out in passing that *Ἀζαήλ* in C and in S is certainly 'Aśa'el, the tenth angel (see the commentary to En[a]), and not 'Azaz'el as is generally assumed; the passage in En. 10: 8 *ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς διδασκαλίας Ἀζαήλ* refers undoubtedly to En. 8: 1. Now, it is in connection with 'Aśa'el that mention is made of 'darkness' (*σκότος* En. 10: 4 and 5, synonymous with *ζόφος* in Jude) and likewise of the 'great day of judgement', En. 10: 6. This is the reading in E; in C the genitive has to be changed into the dative: *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ* (*τῆς μεγάλης* MS.) *τῆς κρείσεως*; *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως* S.

An unusual variant of verse 6 of Jude, without doubt original, may be read in the *Speculum* (manuscript of the eighth/ninth century): 'angelos . . . in iudicium magni dei (read 'diei', as in the other witnesses of the Old Latin version) vinculis eos sanctorum angelorum sub tenebras servavit'; see *Vetus Latina . . . der Erzabtei Beuron*, vol. 26/1, fasc. 6, 1967, pp. 417–19. The expression 'holy angels' recalls the reading *ὑπὸ ζόφον ἀγρίων* (read *ἀγίων*) *ἀγγέλων τετήρηκεν* of Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, iii/44, 4, in his quotation of Jude 5–6 (O. Stählin, *GCS* 12 (1905), 262; C. Mondésert, Ch. Matray, and H.-I. Marrou, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 158 (1970), 96). I see here a reference to the archangels as executors of the punishments ordered by God.

For a second reference to the book of Enoch, at verse 13 of the Epistle of Jude, see the commentary to En[e] 2 i 1–3 (En. 88: 3) and to En[f] 1 (En. 86: 1–3). For the direct quotation of En. 1: 9 in Jude 14–15, see the commentary to En[c] 1 i 15–17.

[4QEn[b] 1 v is missing]

4QEn[b] 1 vi—En. 14: 4–6 (Pl. IX)

1–4 [ ] די בעותכון]

5 [לא תתעבד עליכון לכול יומי עלמא ודי]ן $^{f'}$ל֯ה֯[וא בחליקו ובגזירו]

[עליכון [5] די עוד מן כען לשמיא לא תת]ו֯בון ו[לא תסקון על כול]

[עלמין ובאסירי ארעא די]ן $^{g'}$ג֯ז[יר למאסרכו]ן֯ [עד כול יומי עלמא]

[[6] ודי קדמיהון תחזון] די לאבד֯[נא להוון כול חביביכון וכול]

$^{h'}$ $^{i'}$

[ב]נ֯יהון [וב]ק֯נ֯י֯נ֯[יא די חביביכון ודי בניהון לא תתהנון]

10a [יפ]לון

10 [לכון ו]ק֯[דמיכו]ן֯ על֯[חרב אבדן [7]]

11–28 [ ]

[. . .[14] [4]. . . that your petition will not be executed for you for all the days of eternity, and] judgement will be [by decision and decree against you, [5]that from now on to heaven you] will not return and [not ascend throughout all ages, and among the prisoners of the earth] a judgement has been decreed, [to bind] you [until all the days of eternity; [6]and that first you will see] that for destruction [are all your beloved ones and all] their sons, [and the] possessions [of your beloved ones and of their sons you will not enjoy for yourselves; and] before you they will fall upon [the sword of destruction [7]. . .]

The identification of the fragments, except perhaps that of *g'*, remains somewhat uncertain. Texts for comparison: En^{c} 1 vi 13–17 (see notes ad loc.), C, and E.

Ll. 6–7 (En. 14: 5). In this verse and in the following one the Aramaic seems to use more emphatic expressions than those in C.

L. 6. *Μηκέτι . . . ἀναβῆται* (read -τε) in C corresponds to [עוד . . . לא תת]ובון ו[לא תסקון], where the verb תוב has rather a modal function: 'any more . . . never again'.

Ll. 8–10 (En. 14: 6). L. 8. *Περὶ τούτων* seems to translate the temporal conjunction קדמיהון (cf. קדמיה Dan. 7: 7) or קדמת אלין (cf. קדמת זנה in 'Empire Aramaic', קדמת יומיא אלן in 1QGenAp xxi 23); well understood in E: *wa'ĕmqĕdma zĕntu.*—This first clause is abridged in C and E. According to En^{c} 1 vi 16 the mention of 'your beloved ones' was followed by the mention of 'their sons', otherwise Giants and Nephilim: all this is telescoped and inverted by C in *τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν τῶν ἀγαπητῶν*; I assume furthermore the omission of 'all' before both nouns. The phrase which precedes these genitives, *εἴδητε τὴν ἀπόλιαν*, weakens the more emphatic expression: 'you shall see that for the destruction are (destined)'. The particle *ὅτι* which should follow *ἴδητε* was for some reason transferred to the next clause, *καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται* . . . , where it should not be, according to En^{c} 1 vi 16.

L. 10. נפל על חרב, as in 1 Sam. 31: 4.

THIRD COPY (4QEn^{c}, Pls. IX–XV)

The description which follows applies also to the first copy of the Book of Giants, 4QEnGiants^{a} (see below, pp. 310–17), both En^{c} and EnGiants^{a} belonging to the same manuscript.

Skin of a colour which varies from deep cream to very dark brown, thick and stiff in places; surface smooth or finely granular, damaged or flaking in parts; back fairly wrinkled. Several fragments have shrunk.

Guide-lines moderately broad, not very deep.

Calligraphy from the calamus of a professional and skilful scribe (not, however, without variations in the shape and size of letters), dating from the early Herodian period or the last third of the first century B.C. The writing is characterized by a tendency to use the 'broken' form of the letters, a feature which recalls the North Syrian Aramaic alphabets, notably Palmyrene.

The arrangement of the text in the columns of the scroll is very free, with an abundance of *vacat* and lines left blank, which testify to a well-established system of interpunction. This is turn reflects, moreover, a prosperous economic situation in which the price of parchment did not in any way restrict the practices of copyists, precisely the situation in the Herodian period, but also that of the Hasmonaean.

The space corresponding to the length of two or three letters, which fulfilled the function of our full stop, is used rather infrequently: 1 xiii 24, 2 5, 5 ii 22. Elsewhere small blank spaces are sometimes caused by a fault in the skin or by scraping of the letters: 5 ii 23 and 26. A blank of four to six letters separates the items of a list (1 ii 24–9) or starts off a new part of a paragraph: 1 vi 2, xii 25, 5 ii 21. Such a *vacat* becomes more important, sixteen to eighteen letters long, if the transition from one part of a paragraph to the other is made from one line of the column to the other: 1 vi 7 and 9. A blank space of the same length may be left in the middle of the line, but only after a single final word of the section of the preceding paragraph: 5 ii 29. A half-line left blank indicates a new paragraph: 1 v 6–7 and 1 xiii 29. For the whole line is left blank if the preceding paragraph completely fills the line (see En[d] 1 xii 4). At 5 i 24 the last line of the paragraph does not stretch as far as the intercolumnar margin, and the following line, 25, is left blank none the less. This extra-long blank space indicates that we are passing from the text to the Appendix; see p. 208. The same system of interpunction recurs in other Herodian manuscripts, particularly in the Manual of War, 1QM, and previously, but less regularly, in Hasmonaean manuscripts, such as 1QS and 1QIs[a].

The last word in the line is often detached from the foregoing text and aligned in the right-hand line of the intercolumnar margin: 1 v 5 and 8, xii 24, 25, 27, 28, 29; 5 i 23. This practice seems to be of epigraphic origin; compare the Greek, Latin, Palmyrene, Samaritan, etc., inscriptions, where the last word, or else the last letter, is often aligned in this way; see Milik, *RB* lxv (1958), 70 n. 1, and *Recherches*, 79–80. An alternative system, which consisted of filling in the blanks at the end of lines with any kind of sign (+, ×, o, etc.), is likewise well attested in the Qumrân manuscripts and in inscriptions, for example from Palmyra.

The copy of the text of En[c] was made most carefully; the scribe very seldom made errors, and these he himself at once corrected. Letter omitted and added above the line of writing: תר͏ͭין 1 i 25, בדͨבין 5 ii 30; letter crossed out and corrected: ארבע{ו͏ͭאו} 1 i 24; scraping out of a word: 5 ii 26.

The orthography is characterized by a fairly abundant use of *matres lectionis*, particularly of Aleph. However, as this occurs rather irregularly it must represent a not completely successful attempt by the copyist of our manuscript, or one of his predecessors, to reproduce the extra-full orthography found, for instance, in 1QIs[a] and 1QS.

Marking of the medial vowels *i/e* and *u/o* by Yod and Waw: קדישוהי 1 i 15; עובדי 16, לכון 18, כולהון 28; חשבוניהון xiii 24; לדריהון 4 6; ביניהון 4 2, etc. Compare the defective writing, e.g. תשבחה 1 i 29; תחנניהון vi 3, כתליהון 25; כרסא viii 27, and inconsistencies such as לקלפי 1 xii 28 against קליפיא 29 and בקושט v 7 against בקשוט 5 ii 22 and 30. In the last case we are no doubt dealing with a phonetic fact, namely the pronunciation of a monosyllabic word while articulating two shevas, *q*^{u}*š*^{u}*ṭ*, exactly as in Phoenician–Punic.

Notation of the medial vowels *e* and *a* in the rising diphthongs *ua*, *ia*, etc., by an Aleph is fairly frequent: [רבו]את 1 i 15; אחזיאת xi 27 (but אחזית xiii 27). For שגאהון in 4 5 one may hesitate between a historical interpretation (etymological Aleph retained; see below) and an orthographical explanation; compare פותאהון and באתין in 5Q **15** ii 7 and 6 (*DJD* iii, p. 184). Well known from the orthography of 1QIs[a] and 1QS is the use of Aleph to mark the final vowel or, more exactly, to indicate that the final vowel should be pronounced: חזווא 1 i 18; הווא 4 1; שריוא 4 3 (but שריו 4 7, שניו 5 ii 18), ביא (absolute state of בית) 1 vi 23; ליא 'to me' 12 (but לי 20). By the process of 'hyper-correction' *אתבוננוא of the archetype has been corrected to אתבוננא in 1 i 20, and *תנינוא to תנינא in 4 3.

The definite article is normally marked by Aleph, in the singular and in the plural, in the masculine and in the feminine. A notable exception, באישתה ורשעה in 5 ii 28 (followed by חמסא, ארעא), testifies nevertheless to the fact that the archetype of En[c] was made from a manuscript using this type of orthography, at the very least in the first part of the book of Enoch; see the introductions to En[a] and En[b]. The feminine singular absolute of nouns, the 3rd person singular masculine perfect of verbs of the third weak root, the derived infinitives, etc., are marked by He: כויה ושלקה 1 i 26, תשבחה 29; עולה and ברכה v 3 and 7; לבגעה ולאעקה 4 9; הוה 4 2, אתה 5; but the verb הוא 4 10, Pa'el infinitive לבגלא 9. The final *a* of the adverbial particles is marked by Aleph: ברא 1 i 24; להלא xii 27; נא 5 ii 29; on the other hand, כולה, 'the whole, complete', 1 v 7.

The marking of the final *ê* by Aleph is normal: להוא 5 ii 25 and 27; תצבא 3 3; יכלא 5 ii 28 (on the other hand, יאתה 25); מתחזא 1 i 21; דמא xii 28; לעלא vi 21.

The etymological Aleph is retained in ראש 4 3; כרסא 1 viii 27; יאבדון v 2; for שגאהון see above. It disappears (or passes into *y*) in קרית 5 ii 27 (and probably קרי 23); שגית 3 2; מלין 1 xii 28. The etymological Śin is marked by Śin: שיבתכון 1 v 6; בשמא xii 24; עשר ii 27–8; עשאל and שהריאל 26 and 28; שגית and שגאהון 3 2 and 4 5, with one exception: סתואל 1 ii 27. This last case reflects, once again, the orthography of En[a]. An epenthetic Nun occurs in מנדע at 1 vi 12, but not in the Aphel of *ʿll*: אעלוני 21.

Personal pronouns: אנה 1 vi 10 and 19; הוא xii 28; היא 5 i 27; אנחנא 4 2; אנתון 1 vi 18; note הואה 5 ii 30, a 'heavy' pronoun of the Samaritan type, well known now from several Qumrân manuscripts, Hasmonaean and Herodian. Pronominal suffixes: י׳ *passim* (written יא׳ 1 vi 12), כה׳ 2 4–6 (likewise a 'heavy' suffix), ה׳ masculine with the singular of the noun 1 ii 25, ה׳ feminine with the singular v 8, הי׳ masculine with the plural: קודמוהי 4 6, כון׳ 1 i 18, etc., הון׳ 19, etc. Demonstrative pronoun: דן 1 vi 28, normally placed after its noun; placed before: דן נפשא viii 30; דן used independently, vi 28. The relative pronoun is די before verbs as well as the conjunction and in composite conjunctions: די כול 1 i 19 and 22 (compare דכל in En[a] 1 ii 3), בדי 5 ii 26, כדי 1 xii 29, כלקובל די 1 vi 13 and 17; a single exception for the composite conjunctions might be [ע]ד̊ דתרתין 1 i 25, but the reading of the first word and the presence of the verb in this phrase remain open to doubt. Before nouns we find the form ד, thus דרגוז in 1 vi 5 and דתרתין ודתלת in the passage just quoted.

To the particles already mentioned add ל of the direct object before nouns in the definite state (*passim*), the composite preposition כל in כלקובל (quoted above) and in כלצפון 1 xii 30; בדכן 5 ii 27; עוד 1 vi 14; אף xii 26; באדין xiii 4; כען 2 5 and 3 1; ארו 1 v 19.

In the imperfect of הוה are found normal forms and one short form: תהוון 5 i 22, להון 1 v 5. Peʿal participle יכלין 3 2. Imperative not reduced אזל 5 ii 29. A reduction of the two identical consonants in the Paʿel participle מדקין 1 xii 29; cf. מדקק in En[c] 1 xxvi 16. The causative is 'Aphel: אכרת 1 v 3, אדבקת vi 23, אשכח 4 5, אובלוני ואעלוני i vi 21, אחויוני ואחזיוני 5 ii 26; infinitive: אוכחה 1 vi 5, לאדמה 29; participle: מוכח 8. Inner passive of the causative, 'Ophal: אחזי(א)ת 1 xi 27 and xiii 27. Reflexive forms: מתחזא 1 i 21, תתנצב v 7, אתהפך 4 10; [מת[סמין and [לאת[סמיה 4 5 and 3 (without permutation of the dental consonants!); מתחננין 1 vi 18.

For comments on syntax and style see the commentary, *passim*.

As the number of manuscript fragments of 4Q Enoch belonging to the first part of the book of Enoch (the Book of Watchers) is fairly large, each

fragment can be assigned to a column of the original scroll and approximately to the lines it occupied within the column. This is scarcely possible, in the present state of our knowledge of the Aramaic Enoch, for the fourth and fifth parts of the Ethiopic version (the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch). Here is the codicological table for the scroll of 4Q En^{c}:

Leaf	Col.	Letters per line	Width of col.	Sections of text	Text preserved	Sigla of fragments	Fragments on plates
1	i	47	9·5 cm	En. 1: 1–5: 1	En. 1: 9–5: 1	4QEn^{c} 1 i 15–30	4QEn^{c} 1 *a, b, c*
	ii	54	11	5: 1–7: 1	6: 7	ii 26–9	*c, d*
	[iii–iv]			[7: 1–10: 13]			
2	v	54	11	10: 13–13: 6	10: 13–19; 12: 3	v 1–9, 19	*e, f, g, i*
	vi	65	13	13: 6–14: 18	13: 6–14: 16	vi 1–29	*g, h, i, j*
	vii	66	13	14: 18–15: 12	14: 18–20; 15: 11(?)	vii 1–2, 28	*k, l, m*
	viii	55	11	16: 1–18: 12	18: 8–12	viii 29–30	*m*
3	[ix–xi]			[18: 12–25: 7]			
4	xii	53	11	25: 7–32: 1	30: 1–32: 1	xii 23–30	*n*
	xiii	52		32: 1–36: 4	35: 1–36: 4	xiii 23–30	*n*
	[xiv]			[36: 4+ *vacat?*]			
					..	..	..
					4QEnGiants^{a}	2 and 3: see 4QEnGiants^{a} 49 and 10	
					..	..	..
		55	11		89: 31–7	4 1–11	4*a*
		55	11	103: 15–106: 4	104: 13–106: 2	5 i 20–9	5 *a, b*
		55	11	106: 4–107: 2 [107: 3+ *vacat*]	106: 13–107: 2	ii 17–30	*b, c–i*

Each column of En^{c} comprised thirty lines of the text. Top margin 1·7 cm; bottom margin 2·4 cm; intercolumnar margin 1·2 cm. Height of written columns 20 cm; height of the scroll 24 cm. Length of the fourteen columns of the first part of the work 175 cm, plus a fly-leaf left blank at the beginning of the scroll. If the original text of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch did not much exceed the length of the text translated into Greek and into Ethiopic, the approximate length of the scroll of 4QEn^{c} was probably $4\frac{1}{2}$ m.

Remember, however, that En[c] belongs to the same manuscript as 4QEn-Giants[a]. The Book of Giants, quite certainly in my opinion, came immediately after the Book of Watchers, our fragments En[c] 1 i–xiii; see below, introduction to 4QEnGiants[a].

Moreover, it is not certain that the Greek version, even less the Ethiopic one, has preserved a faithful translation of the Aramaic text. The second dream of Enoch, namely the zoomorphic history of the world, told in chapters 85–90, was slightly expanded in E; see the commentary to En[c] 4.

Next, certain pointers in 4QEn[g] and in the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus (CM) allow us to conclude that the commencement of the Epistle of Enoch was longer in the original than in the versions; see the introduction to En[g]. Finally, either the Apocalypse of Weeks (see En[g]) or the last chapters of the work (see our fragments 5 i and ii) appear relatively well preserved in the early versions, except for the addition of chapter 108, which is missing from CM and was certainly missing from our En[c].

Various pieces of information given above, particularly in the paragraph on the orthography, and below, in the notes to the text of the fragments, justify a fairly definite conclusion that the copy of 4QEn[c] was made from an old manuscript, doubtless belonging to the last quarter of the second century B.C. (date of 1QIs[a] and 1QS). Thus in that period an Enochic corpus was already in existence, consisting of four works: the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch (see above, Introduction, ch. I). In the process of compilation the Book of Watchers was slightly altered and rewritten. This is why the versions of this part are closer to the text of En[c] than to that of En[a] and En[b].

Furthermore, it is certain that the third part of the Ethiopic Enoch, the Astronomical Book, circulated in Aramaic quite separately from the tetralogy and in a much more developed form. The incorporation of a résumé of this work in the Enochic Pentateuch must already have taken place in the Christian era, probably at the same time as the inclusion of the Christian Book of Parables. This latter certainly did not exist in the Semitic languages, Aramaic or Hebrew, nor even in a Judaeo-Greek form.

I conclude that about the year 100 B.C. there existed an Enochic Pentateuch in two volumes, the first containing the Astronomical Book, and the second consisting of four other pseudepigraphical works. The compiler of this Pentateuch was quite conscious of its analogy with the Mosaic Pentateuch. The book of Deuteronomy, a sort of Testament of Moses (imitated in some degree by the author of the Epistle of Enoch), ends with a historical section

describing the death of the Lawgiver and mentioning his inspired successor, Joshua (Deut. 34: 9). In the same manner the compiler of the Enochic Pentateuch, perhaps an erudite scribe of the Qumrân scriptorium living about the year 100 B.C., added chapters 106–7, which resume the beginning of the Book of Noah, the pseudepigraphical sequel to Enoch's antediluvian wisdom.

If we now collate these conclusions with the literary–critical research carried out over the last one and a half centuries, we shall observe, without surprise, that the exegetes of the Ethiopic Enoch, Charles included, were at fault in their tendency to cut up, to vivisect, one might say, the book of Enoch into independent pieces of writing composed at widely different periods. Nevertheless, certain general observations are more or less confirmed by the facts we have established from the study of the Qumrân texts. Thus as early as 1845 Krieger correctly demonstrated that the Book of Parables (En. 37–71) forms a separate piece of work dating from a more recent period than the rest of the Apocrypha. In 1852 Lücke dated En. 1–36 and 72–108 between the years 166–160 B.C., changing this immediately, under the influence of Ewald, to the years 135–105. Dillmann, who also dated En. 1–36 and 72–105 to the period of John Hyrcanus, proved that chapter 108 is the most recent of all the additions to the primitive work of Enoch, but saw it as 'imbued with Essene doctrines'.

4QEn^c 1 i—En. 1:9–5:1 (Pl. IX)

[ ]
[9 כדי יאתה עם רבו]את[a] קדישו[הי למעבד דין על כולה ויובד כול רשיעין]
[ויוכח לכול ב]שרא על עׄובדׄ[י רשעהון כולהון די עבדו ומללו לארשעה]
[ועל כול מלין] רׄברבן וקשין [די מללו עלוהי חטין רשיעין 2 1 אתבוננא]
בכול עׄוׄ[בד וחז]וא לכון לעובד ש[מיא ולמנירתא די לא משניין ארחתהון]
במסורת [נה]וׄריהון די כולה[ון ד]נׄ[חין וערבין כול חד וחד מנהון בסרכה]
2 חזוא לכון ל[א]רׄעא ואתבוננא בעובד[ה מן קדמיא לאחרנא די מנדעם]
[לא] ל[אשניה ו]כׄול מתחזא ל[כ]וׄןׄ 3 [חזוא לכון לדגלי קיטא ואתבוננא]
[בדגלי שתו]אׄ די כוׄ[ל ארעא תתמלא מין ועניא מטרא שפכין]
[וטלא ינחת עליה 3 חזוא לכול אילניא כולהון די מתחזין לכון די]
[מיבישין ומנפלין כול עלי]הׄון[b] בׄרא מן ארבע{ואׄו} [עשר אילנין] די[c]

[עליהון מתקימין ע]ד֯ דתר̇ת̇ין ודתלת שנין [יעברן [4] חזוא לכון]
[לדגלי קיטא די שמש]א֯ ב֯הון כויה ושלקה֯ [ואנתון טלל ומסתרין, בע]י֯ן
[מן קדמיה על אנפי אר]ע֯א֯ כ֯ו֯י֯ת֯א ולמדרך ע֯[ל עפרא ועל כפיא מן חמת]א
[לא תשכחון [5 1] חזוא ודעו] בכול אילניא כולהון י֯ת֯נ֯[יצון עליהון וב]ה֯ון
[ירוקין וכול פריהון] ל֯[ה]ד֯ר תשבחה הל[לו ואתבוננוא בכול עובדי]א֯
[אלן ואשכילו די אלהא חי]א֯ די לכול עלם [דעלמין חי הוא עבד כול]

margin

[[1] [9]When He comes with] the myriads of His holy ones, [to execute judgement against all; and He will destroy all the wicked, and will convict all] flesh, with regard to [all their] works [of wickedness which they have committed in deed and in word, and with regard to all] the proud and hard [words which wicked sinners have spoken against Him. [2] [1]Consider] all (His) work, and observe ye the work(s) of the heavens, [and the luminaries which do not change their courses] in the stations of their lights, that all arise [and set, each one of them in its order]. [2]Observe ye the earth, and consider its works [from the first one to the last one, that nothing at all] changes, and everything is visible to you. [[3]Observe ye the signs of summer, and consider the signs of] winter, that the whole [earth is filled with water, and clouds pour down rain, and dew comes down upon it. [3]Observe all the trees that are seen by you that they wither and shed all] their foliage, except fourteen [trees] whose [foliage remains] until two or three years [pass. [4]Observe ye the signs of summer] whereby the sun burns and glows; [and ye] seek [shade and shelter before it on] the burning earth; [and ye are not able] to tread on [the ground or the rocks on account of] the heat. [[5] [1]Observe and enjoy] all trees; on all of them blossoms [their foliage, and] it [is green on them, and all their fruit (is brought forth)] in glorious pride. Praise ye [and consider all these] works; [and understand that the] living [God,] who [lives] for ever [and ever, created all . . .]

Texts for comparison: Jude 14–15 (En. 1: 9), En[a] 1 ii (En. 2: 1–5: 1), C, E.

Ll. 15–17 (En. 1: 9). E abbreviates the original; it appears, moreover, to have been altered to conform with the recognized text of Jude 14–15. The text of C, although glossed in two places, is relatively close to the Aramaic. The closest to the original is the text of the quotation in the Epistle of Jude, preserved by pseudo-Cyprian, an African writer later than A.D. 258, *Ad Novatianum* 16 (ed. W. Hartel, 1871, *Cyprian* iii, 67: Commentary on Matt. 10: 28); see the edition of *Vetus Latina*, Beuron, 26/1: W. Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 6th fascicle, 1967,

pp. 426–8. I agree with Thiele that the text of ps.-Cyprian is a form, more archaic than those of the other witnesses to the Epistle of Jude, of the quotation itself, and not a direct borrowing from the text of the book of Enoch.

L. 15. 'And behold!' in E takes up ἰδού in Jude; ὅτει in C is probably a slight corruption of ὅτε = כדי.—Future [יאתה] = ἔρχεται C = *yĕmaṣĕʿĕ* Eᵉ and in Ethiopic text of Jude 14 (quoted in *CSCO* 221/*Aeth.* 41, 1962, p. 66, 13 and 123, 18–19) = *veniet* of Jude 14 in pseudo-Vigilius, *Contra Varimadum Arianum*, *PL* 62, 363.—[עם רבו]את קדישו[הי] is equivalent to ἐν μυριάσιν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ of several Greek minuscules in Jude 14 (αὐτοῦ *om.* ℵ alii syᵖʰ). Cf. ἐν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων μυριάσιν in Pap. 72; M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX*, 1959, p. 23 (not of the third century, but of the first half of the fourth century; E. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques*, 1961, pp. 22 and 196; V. Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer XX: Apologie de Philéas, évêque de Thmouis*, 1964, pp. 10–11). Ps.-Cyprian omits ἁγίων: 'ecce venit cum multis millibus nuntiorum suorum.' E is relatively close to the original in this passage: 'he comes with myriads of holy ones' (omitting αὐτοῦ, which is retained in Jude 14: *baʾaʾĕʾlafihu qĕdusân* = ἐν ἁγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ). C glosses: ἔρχεται σὺν τοῖς (*sic*) μυριάσιν {αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς} ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ. This phrase in En. 1: 9 was borrowed from Deut. 33: 2: ואתה־ם רבבת קדש; on the epenthetic *-m* and the collective *qodeš* 'the holy ones', Milik, *Biblica*, 38 (1957), 253 and note 2, and ibid. 48 (1967), 573. The change of ὅτε to ἰδού, and of the present ἔρχεται to the past tense ἦλθεν, also the additions κύριος and ἀγγέλων, are peculiar to the quotation from Jude 14, the explanatory modifications in comparison with the original text of En. 1: 9.

L. 16. After 'et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum (read 'impiis eorum', corresponding to περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν and to 'de omnibus operibus impietatis eorum' in pseudo-Vigilius, loc. cit.) quae fecerunt impie', pseudo-Cyprian adds 'et de re (?) locuti sunt', a reading which is very likely to be original, because it corresponds to a phrase in C (where it is transposed to follow λόγων in the following hemistich): καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν. Perhaps the original meant to say 'all the works of their ungodliness which they have committed by deed and by word', to be retranslated probably: עובדי רשעהון כולהון די עבדו ומללו לארשעה.

L. 17. The quotation from Jude is closer to the original than the text of C and E: καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν (+λόγων, ℵ C 1611 *alii*, sy) ὧν ἐλάλησεν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς: 'et de omnibus verbis impiis quae de deo (read 'eo') locuti sunt peccatores', ps.-Cyprian. Note that the expression σκληροὶ λόγοι (also in C: καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων) abridges the original phrase, where two synonymous adjectives are used: [מלין] רברבן וקשין. For the first see Dan 7: 8, 11, 20, for the second Tob 13: 12 (16) in which the corresponding words in Aramaic to οἱ ἐροῦσιν λόγον σκληρόν of ℵ and to 'qui dixerint verbum durum' in the Old Latin are [די ימ]ללון מלא] קשא, 4QTobaramᵃ 2 ii 15; both adjectives are used in רברבן וקשין, Enᵃ 1 ii 13 (En. 5: 4).

Ll. 17–19 (En. 2: 1). In lines 17–18 the text of C and E, and even indeed the Aramaic archetype of the Greek version, omits by homoeoteleuton <לעובד⟩וחזו לכון לעובד⟨ אתבוננו בכול עובד שמיא.

L. 18. I translate οἱ φωστῆρες by מנירתא, related to the Aphel אניר, 'to shine', generally used in the manuscripts of the Astronomical Book; cf. the Hebrew terms מאור (pl. מאורות) and מנורה.

L. 19. The phrase במסורת נהוריהון 'in their . . . of lights' is omitted in C and E. The meaning of this word, unknown in the later Aramaic dialects, can be established thanks to two other scraps of evidence, one Aramaic and the other Hebrew. In a fragment of the Astronomical Book (provisional siglum 4QEnastr[b] 28 2) the expression [וכש]לטנהון לכל מסרתהון corresponds to 'and according to their power {and} in their stations' in En. 82: 10 end (below, p. 295). The translation of מסורה by 'station', or more accurately 'relative position of a star in relation to others', is corroborated by the context of 1QS x 2–5, which I quote *in extenso* with some corrections borrowed from the manuscripts of 4QS:

בהופיע 3 מאורות מזבול קודש עם האספם למעון כבוד במבוא מועדים לימי חודש יחד תקופתם עם
4 מסרותם זה לזה בהתחדשם יום גדול לקודש קודשים ואות למפתח חסדי עולם לראשי 5 מועדים
בכול קץ נהיה,

'When the lights shine forth from the Holy Dwelling-Place, and when also they retire (lit. are gathered) to the Place of Glory, when the constellations (of the Zodiac) make (their) entrance on the days of the new moon, and their circuit at their positions, every new moon succeeding one after another; it is a Great Day for the Holy of Holies, and a sign for the unlocking of everlasting mercies corresponding to the beginning of (the apparition of the Zodiac) constellations, to last for all time to come.'

The description of the movement of the heavenly bodies by the expressions תקופתם עם מסרותם זה לזה is certainly analogous with the passage we are considering, where the 'courses' of the stars correspond to 'their circuit', תקופתם (תקופותיהמה, 'their circuits', 4QS), that is, the apparent movement of the stars on the celestial sphere, from East to West (line 19), according to the law of diurnal motion, following their parallels during a sidereal day. The second term מסרותם, thanks to the explicit phrase זה לזה, 'one in relation to the other', denotes with precision the permanent relative position of the stars.

From this interpretation of תקופה and of מס(ו)רה in 1QS x 3–4 there follows an important semantic definition for the term מועדים, which cannot by any means be translated by 'festivals', because it is parallel to מאורות and describes the stars, not even the phases of the moon. The only stars which were associated with the 'days of the month', ימי חודש, and which were thought to follow after one another every month, starting from the first of each month, בהתחדשם, are those of the Zodiac, one circular section of the sky divided into twelve constellations, each one of which corresponds to one month of the year according to the position occupied by the sun in the sky. An Aramaic work from Cave 4 of Qumrân contains the traditional list of the names of the signs of the Zodiac, divided according to the months (the Ram, דכרא, in the month of Nisan, etc.) and to their distribution within each month. The term מועדים in 1QS x 3 should therefore be translated as 'constellations of the Zodiac'. I find the same term in the fragment of 4QEnastr[b] quoted above, line 1 = En 82: 9: [. . ל]מעדיהון לחדשיהון לדגליהון, translated in Ethiopic by 'in their festivals and in their months' (add: 'according to their signs'). The same term will also be used to retranslate 'their festivals' of C in En 2: 1; see En[a] 1 ii 1 [ובמעדיהן].

The relation of our term מסורת to המסורות in 1QM iii 3 and to מסורותם in iii 13 is not clear. According to the context it is a *nomen officii*, no doubt 'army officers'. A term, with a primarily astronomical meaning, 'station, position, specific rank', is thus applied in 1QM to officials. Parallel examples of a semantic evolution like this are not hard to find, for example in

the Hebrew עמד and in its nominal derivatives, but especially in the Assyrian *mazzaltu* (< *mazzaztu*) and *mazzâz*, which stands for 'Stellung, Posten, Standort, Dienststelle, Dienstschicht, Funktionsperiode, Kampfstellung' and also for the positions of the stars, of the planets, of the moon. In Syriac the plural of the first of these denotes precisely the Zodiac, whilst the singular Hebrew מזל has retained mainly the astrological meaning 'fate, good fortune'.

At the end of line 19 the phrase ⟨בסרכהן . . .⟩ בסרכה is omitted by homoeoteleuton; see the note to En[a] ii 1.

Ll. 20–30 (En. 2: 2–5: 1) = En[a] 1 ii 1–11; see the commentary to En[a].

L. 20. ואתבוננא is an 'over-corrected' form. The archetype of En[c] had ואתבוננוא (cf. חזוא in E[c], same line). The copyist of our manuscript 'corrected' this spelling to 'נא' instead of 'נו'.

Ll. 21–3 (En. 2: 3). I add לכון after חזוא, drawing on חזוא לכון in line 20 of En[c] = חזו in En[a] (En. 2: 2). If my addition [שתו]א די כו[ל], line 22, is correct, the text of En[c] differs from that of En[a] (q.v.) and, moreover, is closer to the text of the Aramaic manuscript used by the Greek translator of the Book of Enoch, of which there remains only one witness—and paraphrased at that—namely the Ethiopic version. But the details of what I have restored in this verse, both here and in En[a], remain very uncertain and hypothetical.

Ll. 23–5 (En. 3). At the beginning of this verse the text of En[c] was probably equivalent to that of the Aramaic archetype of the Greek version, represented here only by E, and differing somewhat from the text of En[a], which omits, after אילניא, the phrase די מתחזין לכון די (cf. 'how they appear' in E); I add לכון according to En. 2: 2: En[c], line 21; En[a], line 2.

4QEn[c] 1 ii—En. 6: 7 (Pl. X)

[ ]

7 [ו]אלן[c] שמהת [רבניהו]ן ש[מיחזה די הוה ראשהון ארעתקף תנין לה *vacat* רמעאל]

תליתי לה כוכבאל רביעי לה [. . . אל חמישי לה *vacat* רעמאל שתיתי לה]

[ד]נ[אל] ש[ביעי לה] זיקיאל תמיני [לה ברקאל תשי]עי[d] לה *vacat* עשא[ל עשירי לה]

וחרמני [חד] עשר לה מטר[אל תרי עשר לה *vacat*]עננאל תלתת עשר לה *vacat* סתוא[ל]

ארבעת [עשר לה] *vacat* שמשי[אל חמשת עשר לה *vacat*]שהריאל שתת עש[ר] ל[ה]

ת[מיאל שבעת עשר לה *vacat* טוריאל תמנית עשר לה *vacat* ימא]ל [תשעת עשר לה]

[יהדיאל עשרין לה *vacat* 8 אלין אנון [

[6 7And] these are the names of their leaders. Š[emîḥazah, who was their chief; Ar'ṭ^{a}qoph, the second to him; Ram''el], third to him; Kôkab'el, fourth to him; [-'el, fifth to him; Ra'm'el, sixth to him]; Danî'el, seventh to him; Zêqî'el, eighth [to him; Baraq'el], ninth to him; 'Aśa'el, [tenth to him]; and Ḥermonî, eleventh to him; Maṭar'el, [twelfth to him]; 'Anan'el, thirteenth to him; S^{a}taw'el, fourteenth [to him]; Šamšî'el, [fifteenth to him]; Śahrî'el, sixteenth to him; T[ummî'el, seventeenth to him; Ṭûrî'el, eighteenth to him; Yom'e]l, [nineteenth to him; Yehaddî'el, twentieth to him. 8These are . . .]

For this passage, which contains the list of twenty fallen angels, chiefs of tens, see the commentary to En^{a} 1 iii 5–12.

L. 24, end. The name of the third angel was perhaps written here with 'Ain רמעאל (En^{a} רמטאל), the writing implied by the Greek texts; see note *e* to the Table of angels in the commentary to En^{a}.

[4QEn^{c} 1 iii and iv are missing]

4QEn^{c} 1 v—En. 10: 13–19 and 12: 3 (Pl. XI)

[ולע]יׄקא[e] ול[חבוש עגן ע]למא[f] 14 וכול די חרׄ[יר ויעדי מן כען עמהון
יתאסרון עד מסף]
[דרה]וׄןׄ ובקׄץׄ [דינא די]אׄדין יאבדון לכו[ל דריא 15 אכרת כול רוחת
ממזריא ובני]
[עיריא בדי ארשיעו אנשא] 16 ואׄכרת עולה מן [אנפי ארעא וכול עובד
באישותא]
[יעדא ותתחזא נ]צבת קושטא ותהוׄ[א ברכה ועובדי קושטא לעולם בחדוה
יתנצבו]ןׄ[g]
[17 וכען כול קש]יטין יפלטון ולהון [חיין עד די יולידון אל]פׄיׄן וכול יומׄי
[ילדותכון ו]שיבתכון בשלם יתׄ[מליון *vacat*]
[18 באדין תתעבד כל ארעא]בׄקושט וׄכׄולה תתנצׄ[ב אילנין ותתמלא] בׄרכה
19 וכול אילנין
[דארעא די יבעון יתנצבון בה ולהון מנצבין בה גפין וכול גפנא די]
תׄתׄנצׄב בה

[יעבדון אגני(?) חמרא אלף וכול זרעא די יזדרע בה יעבד לכול חדה
וחדה סאה א]לֿף

10–18 [סאין [

[12 3ואנה חנוך הוית קאם ומברך למרא רבותא למלך עלמיא ו]ארו עֿ[י]רֿא

20–30 [וקדישא רבא [

[10 13. . . and unto] torture and to everlasting [confinement in prison]. 14And everyone who is condemned, [will be lost from now on; with them they will be bound until annihilation of] their [generation]; and at the time [of judgement] which I (God) shall judge, they will perish for all [generations. 15Destroy all the spirits of the bastards and the sons of the Watchers, because they made men to act wickedly]. 16And destroy iniquity from [the face of the earth, and let every deed of wickedness disappear; and let] the plant of righteousness [appear]; and it shall become [a blessing, and deeds of righteousness shall be plant]ed [forever with joy. 17And now all] the righteous shall escape and they shall be [alive until they beget] thousands; and all the days [of your youth and] of your old age shall be completed in peace.

[18Then all the earth shall be tilled] in righteousness, and it shall all be planted [with trees and be filled] with blessing. 19And all the trees [of the earth which they desire shall be planted in it; and they shall plant gardens in it and every garden which] will be planted in it [shall produce a thousand jars of wine, and of every seed which will be sown in it every single seah shall produce] a thousand [seahs . . .

12 3And I Enoch began to bless the Lord of Majesty and King of the ages, and] behold, the [great holy] Watcher [called me . . .]

Texts for comparison: S (En. 10: 13–14), C, E.

L. 1 (En. 10: 13 end). ולחבוש עגן: restoration *exempli gratia* of *καὶ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συγκλίσεως αἰῶνος* in C (and in S); for עגן see Ene 1 xxii 1 (En. 22: 4).

Ll. 1–2 (En. 10: 14). L. 1. וכול די in Enc is equivalent to *καὶ ὃς ἄν* in S; C and E, less good, *καὶ ὅταν*. The form חריר is Pe'il of חרר, 'to take proceedings'. A nominal derivative of this verb, חרר, often recurs in Aramaic deeds and contracts; see *DJD* ii, p. 138, note to Mur **26** 5. The primary meaning of חרר, however, is 'to burn, to be ablaze', which explains the mistranslation in C and E, *κατακαυσθῇ*. However, the accurate translation in S, *κατακριθῇ*, can only be a felicitous emendation made by a learned copyist, *contextus gratia*. The remainder of verse 14 is better preserved in S than in C, which adds *ὁμοῦ* (om. S and E) and omits *αὐτῶν* after *γενεᾶς* ('generations of generations' E). The reading [דרה]ון at the beginning of line 2 is preferable to [דרי]א or to [עלמי]א. After this word comes the second hemistich of the verse, omitted

in the Greek, by homoeoteleuton probably: ⟨דריא . . .⟩ דרהון. With the expression ובקץ עד יום די יתדינן ועד זמן יום קצא די דינא רבא די מנהון compare דינא די אדין יתעבד in En[e] 1 xxii 2–3 (En. 22: 4). די אדין, 'that (I God) I shall judge', for it is God himself who is speaking here to the archangel Michael (En. 10: 11; cf. En[b] 1 iv 8). On the 'great judgement' see further the note to En[b] 1 iv 11. The author of the Book of Enoch makes a distinction here, as elsewhere, between a temporary judgement and a temporary incarceration which threaten the wicked angels and wicked men on the one hand and, on the other hand, the final judgement with eternal confinement.

Ll. 2–3 (En. 10: 15). On ממזריא = οἱ κίβδηλοι see the note to En[b] 1 iv 5–6.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 10: 16). L. 3. מן אנפי ארעא with E: ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς C.

L. 4. קושטא: between Waw and Šin a gap, owing to a defect in the skin, rather than to the scraping of a letter. This term is translated by two synonymous words in C and E: נצבת קושטא = τὸ φυτὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. Then in C an omission by homoeoarcton: נצבת ⟨קושטא . . ⟩קושטא לעלם; E is fairly close to the original.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 10: 17). L. 5. Read and restore [אל]פ̊ין in line with χιλιάδας in C, rather than [אלף ב]נ̊ין in line with E.

L. 6. In En[c] the transition from the 3rd person plural, used in the first hemistich, to the 2nd person plural in the second hemistich, is abrupt and unexpected, but not without parallel in the poetic texts of the Semites. C and E carry over the 3rd person into the second hemistich also. The reading καὶ τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν in C (and in E) has already been explained correctly by Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 241, 260) as a mistranslation of שְׂבתהון (שֵׂבָתם in Hebrew), 'their old age'. However, the full writing of our manuscript, שיבתכון, does not give rise to any confusion of the two words. The Aramaic archetype of the Greek version must have had the defective form שבתכון (or שבתהון) or else the translator misread שיבתכון as שובתכון which he understood as 'your sabbath'; cf. the forms שובא and שובתא '(the) sabbath' in Judaeo-Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Syriac. Forms of this kind point to the transition from *-a-* to *-o-* or *-u-* when close to labials, a phonetic phenomenon which was widespread in the Near East, as testified by Semitic and Greek inscriptions; see Milik, *Recherches*, pp. 41, 83, 197, 329, etc.

L. 7 (En. 10: 18). E seems here to be closer to the original than C which replaces 'it (sc. the earth) in its entirety (כולה)' by ἐν αὐτῇ, and the plural of אילנין by the singular δένδρον.

Ll. 7–9 (En. 10: 19). The beginning of the verse, lines 7–8, is slightly abridged in E. In the clause of C, καὶ πάντα τὰ δένδρα τῆς γῆς ἀγαλλιάσονται φυτευθήσεται, the first predicate is certainly wrong ('the trees of joy' in E is only an approximate adaptation of it). I see in this a mistranslation of די יבעון: 'and all the trees of the earth which they (that is, the just) will desire will be planted there'. The translator might have taken this form of בעה as a defective form of יבועון, 'they will utter shouts of joy'; cf. ἀγαλλίασαι in Tob. 13: 13 (17) which translates the Aramaic בועי, 4QTobaram[a] 2 iii 2.

L. 8. The Greek words ἀμπέλους and ἡ ἄμπελος in C cannot be retranslated by כרמין and כרמא, since the predicate of the second clause is in the feminine: תתנצב (active in C: φυτεύσωσιν; the passive in E was probably introduced by the Ethiopic translator). Secondly, these 'vineyards' yield not only wine but also other produce. The Aramaic original doubtless

had גנין and גנתא 'plot of cultivated land, garden'; I add כול in front of גנתא to take account of the plural ποιήσουσιν.

L. 9. προχοῦς (οἴνου), 'vessel from which one draws in order to pour the wine into the cups'; E inexact, 'a surfeit of wine'. One would hesitate to choose a precise Aramaic term from amongst several which denote large vessels for wine, such as אגנא or דנא. On the shapes of these vessels in the Graeco-Roman period see H. Ingholt and others, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, 1955, *passim*, and the Index by H. Seyrig, ibid., p. 199 ('Matériel des banquets et distributions': cratère, amphore, cruches, baril, etc.).

Ll. 9/10. The passage concerning seeds (essentially חנטין, 'wheat') is better preserved in E than in C: καὶ ⟨παντὸς⟩ τοῦ σπόρου ⟨τοῦ σπαρέντος ἐν αὐτῇ⟩ καθ' ἕκαστον μέτρον ⟨ποιήσει χιλιάδα μέτρων, καὶ ἕκαστον μέτρον⟩ ἐλέας ποιήσει ἀνὰ βάτους δέκα. Thus C abridges the beginning and makes an omission by homoeoarcton. The term μέτρον often translates the Hebrew סאה in the Septuagint. A seah of wheat (approximately 15 litres) produces 1,000 seahs, but a seah of olives yields only 10 baths, equivalent to 30 seahs, of oil; on this metrological system see Milik, *DJD* iii, pp. 37–41.

L. 19 (En. 12: 3). The Greek καὶ ἑστὼς ἤμην Αἰνωχ εὐλογῶν translates word for word the Aramaic הוית קאם ומברך, the meaning of which is 'I began to bless'. This syntactical inchoative use is known in Biblical Aramaic (קמו . . . ושריו Esd. 5: 2), in Judaeo-Aramaic (קאים reduced to קא and ק), and, once, in Palmyrene: *qm wbn' wqrb* 'he began to make (sacred) buildings and gifts', *Inv.* ii 1 5 (in the Greek counterpart of this bilingual, there is a different formulation: ἀρέσαντα . . . κτίσμασιν καὶ ἀναθήμασιν); in any case this is not 'a rather doubtful meaning' of *qm*, as J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique*, p. 74, states. Spell קאם, and not קים, according to Ene 2 i 19.

According to Enc it is a single Watcher, עירא, who speaks to Enoch, and not 'the Watchers' as in C and E. Drawing on οἱ ἐγρήγοροι τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μεγάλου in C, restore עירא [וקדישא רבא], 'the great holy Watcher', hence an archangel, rather than עירא [דקדישא רבא], 'the Watcher of the Great Holy One'. On עירין וקדישין see the note to Ena 1 i 3. This archangel remains anonymous, exactly as 'one of the holy ones' who raised Enoch up near the divine throne is anonymous, En. 14: 25 (C; om. E). On the four archangels who guide Enoch on his journeys, see the notes to End 1 xi 5–6 (En. 23: 4), Ene 1 xxii 5–7 (En. 22: 6), Ene 1 xxvii 19 (En. 33: 3).

According to the Greek and Ethiopic texts of En. 13: 1 the transition from the archangel's commandments to the execution of his orders by Enoch is too abrupt. Instead of ὁ δὲ Ἐνωχ τῷ Ἀζαηλ εἶπεν· πορεύου in C ('then Enoch withdrawing said to Azazel' in E) I suggest ὦ Ἐνωχ, πορεύου καὶ εἰπὲ τῷ Ἀζαηλ; cf. Αἰνωχ . . . πορεύου καὶ εἰπὲ τοῖς ἐγρηγόροις in En. 12: 3–4, and Αἰνωχ . . . πορεύθητι καὶ εἰπὲ τοῖς πέμψασίν σε in 15: 1–2. On *Azael/Azazel*, to be read *'Aśa'el* (name of the 10th angel), see pp. 28–30, 34, 92, 131, 156, 177.

4QEnc 1 vi—En. 13: 6—14: 16 (Pls. XII, XIII)

עם̊ [כול תחנ]ניהון על כול נ̊[פשת]הון לכול חד וחד [מן עובדיהון ועל כול

די מתחנין די תהוא להון]

[סליחה ואורכ]ו *vacat* 7 וה[וית אז]ל [ויתב על מי דן די בארע דן די לימין חרמונ]ין[j] די למ[ערבהון]
[וספר דכרון] תחניה[ון הוית קרא עד די דמכת 8 והא חלמין עלי נחתו וחזיון עלי נפל]ו עד ד[י נטלת]
לשכני עיני לתרעי ה[יכל שמיא]
וחזית חזיון דרגוז או[כחה ואתה קל ואמר מלל לבני שמיא לאוכחותהון 9 וכדי אתעירת נגדת]
עליהון וכולהון כנישין כחדה ויתבין וא[בלין באבל מיא די בינת לבנן ושניר מתכסין אנפין]
vacat 10 ומללת קודמיהון כול [חזיון די חזית בחלמיא ושרית למללה]
במלי קושטא וחזיה ומוכח לעירי שמ[יא]
vacat 14 1 ספר מלי קושט[א ואוכחות עיריא די אנון מן עלמא כלקובל די פקד]
[קדישא רב]א בחלמא די אנה [חלמת ובחזיתא דא 2 חזית אנה בחלמי די כען אמר בלשן בשרא בנשמת פומי]
[ד]י[h] יה[ב] רבא לבני [אנשא] למל[לה בהון ולאתבוננה בלבב 3 היך די חלק וברא אלהא לבני אנשא למבינות]
[מל]י מנדע ליא חלק ועבד וברא לא[וכחה לעיריא לבני שמיא 4 אנה כתבת לבעותכון אנתון עיריא]
ובחזיה לי [את]חזית כלקובל די בעו[תכון לא תתעבד עליכון לכול יומי עלמא ודין להוא בחליקוא]
ובגזירוא [עלי]כון 5 די עוד מן כ[ען לשמיא לא תתובון ולא תסקון על כול עלמין ובאסירי ארעא דין]
[גזיר למאסר]כון עד כול יומי ע[למא 6 ודי קודמיהון תחזון די לאבדנא להוון כול חביביכון וכול]
[i]בניהון ובק[ניאניא] די חביביכ[ון ודי בניהון לא תתהנון לכון וקודמיכון יפלון על חרב]
אבדן 7 כלקובל די ב[עותכ]ון על[יהון לא תתעבד לכון היך די לא תתעבד על נפשתכון ותהוון]

אנתון בעין ומתחנ[ין ולא תהוון ממללין כול מלה]

מן כתבא די אנה כתבת [[8]וליא על חזיה כדן אתחזא הא ענגין בחזיתא הוו קראין לי ושחקין(?)]

לי זעקין וזיקין וב[רקין לי מבהלין ומ . . . ין לי ורוחיא בחזיתי אפרחוני ונטלוני]

לעלא ואובלוני ואע[לו]ני ב[שמיא [9]ועלת בהון עד די אדבקת לשורי בניאן מתבנא אבני ברד]

[ולשנ]י נור סחרין סחור סח[ור להון ושריו למדחלותני ול . . . . ני [10]ועלת אנה בלשני נורא אלן]

[עד ד]י אדבקת לביא ר[ב מתבנא באבני ברד וכותלי ביתא דן הוו כלוחת אבנין וכולהון הוו]

[די תלג ומבנא ד]י תלג אש[ן [11]וטלליא כזיקין וכברקין ובינתהון כרובין די נור ושמיהון די מין]

[[12]ונור דלק סחר ל]כול כתליהו[ן סחור סחור להון ותרעין די נור דלק [13]ועלת בביתא דן די הוא חמם]

[כנורא וקריר כ]תלגא וכול [תענוג חיין לא איתי בה והא דחלה לי חפיתני ורעדה לי אחדתני]

[[14]והוית מזדעזע ורע]ד ונפלת [על אנפי ואחזיאת בחזיתי [15]וארו חזית תרע אוחרן די פתיח]

[לקודמי וביא אוחרן די] מן דן רב וכולה [מתבנא בלשני נור [16]וכולה פריש לחדה בהדר וביקר]

[וברבו כלקובל די לא א]כל לאדמה לכו[ן על הדרה ועל]רבותה [17]ואשתה הות די נור]

[ועליתה הות די ברקין וזיקין וטללה די נור דלק [18]ואחזיאת וחזית בה כרסא רם ומחזיה]

[[13] [6]. . .] with [all] their requests concerning all their souls, with regard to every one [of their deeds individually and concerning all they were requesting, that theirs might be forgiveness and leng]th (of life). [7]And I went

on [sitting by the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, which is to the south of]
Ḥermonîn, on their west side; [and I read the book of the account] of their
requests [until I fell asleep. 8And behold, dreams came down upon me, and
visions] fell upon me until [I lifted up] my eyelids to the gates of the palace
[of Heaven . . .]; and I saw a vision of the wrath of chastisement, [and a
voice came and said: 'Speak to the sons of heaven to reprimand them.' 9And
when I awoke I went] unto them and they were all assembled together and
sitting and weeping [in Abel-Mayyâ, which is between Lebanon and Śenir,
with their faces covered]. 10And I spoke before them all [the visions which
I had seen in dreams, and I began to speak] in words of truth and vision and
reprimand to the heavenly Watchers [. . .].

14 1The book of the words of truth [and reprimand of the Watchers who
were from eternity, according to what] the Great [Holy One commanded]
in the dream which I [dreamt. And in this vision 2I saw in my dream what
I now say with tongue of flesh, with the breath of my mouth], which the
Great One has given to the sons [of men], to speak [with them and to under-
stand in (their) heart. 3As God has decreed and created the sons of men to
understand] words of knowledge, so He has decreed and made and created
me to reprimand [the Watchers, the sons of heaven. 4I wrote down the
petition of you, Watchers], and in a vision it appeared to me that your
petition [will not be executed for you for all the days of eternity; and judge-
ment will be by decision] and decree against you,5 that from now on [to
heaven you will not return and not ascend throughout all ages, and among
the prisoners of the earth], a judgement [has been decreed], to bind you until
all the days of eternity; 6[and that first you will see that for destruction are
all your beloved ones and all] their sons, and the possessions of your beloved
ones [and of their sons you will not enjoy for yourselves; and before you
they will fall upon the sword] of destruction, 7because your petition con-
cerning them [will not be executed for you, just as it will not be executed
for yourselves; and] ye will be petitioning and requesting [. . . and you will
not be speaking any word] from the writing which I have written. 8[And to
me in the vision it thus appeared. Behold, clouds in the vision were calling
me, and cloud-mists] to me were shouting, and lightning-flashes and thun-
ders [were hastening me up and . . . me, and winds in the vision made me
to fly, and took me] upwards and brought me up and made me enter into
[heaven. 9And I entered it until I drew near to the walls of a building built
with hail-stones] and tongues of fire were surrounding them all around,
[and they began to fill me with fear and to . . . me. 10And I entered among

those tongues of fire, until] I drew near to a great house [built with hail-stones; and the walls of this house were like stone slabs, and all of them were (made) of snow, and the] floor [was built] of snow. [11][And the ceiling was like lightning-flashes and like thunders; and among them fiery cherubim, and their heaven was of water. [12]And a burning fire surrounded] all their walls [all around them, and the gates were of burning fire. [13]And I entered into that house which was hot like fire, and cold as] snow; and [there was] no [pleasure of life in it; and behold, fear covered me and trembling seized me. [14]And I was shaken and] trembling and I fell [on my face; and it was shown to me in my vision. [15]And behold I saw another door which opened before me, and another house which] was greater than this, and all of it [was built with tongues of fire. [16]And all of it far surpassed (the other) in splendour and glory and majesty that] I am unable to describe to you [its splendour and majesty. [17]And its floor was of fire and its upper part was of thunders and lightning-flashes, and its ceiling was of burning fire. [18]And it was shown to me and I saw in it a lofty throne, and its appearance]

The placing of the fragment at lines 2–3 is open to doubt.

Texts for comparison: Enᵇ 1 vi (En. 14: 4–6), C and E.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 13: 6). L. 1. The expression עם כול תחנניהון is abridged in E[m, q, etc.], 'and of their entreaty', and in C, *καὶ τὰς δεήσις*.—לכול חד וחד מן עובדיהון: Enᶜ and E; om. C.

L. 2. *μακρότης* should be understood in the sense of 'length of days' (cf. ארך ימיך in Deut. 30: 20, translated by . . . אורכות in Targum) and not in the sense of 'patience', ארך אפים in Biblical Hebrew.

Ll. 2–3 (En. 13: 7). L. 2. The restoration וה[וית אז]ל seems preferable to וה[א אז]ל[ת] = *καὶ πορευθίς*, both because of the limited space and for syntactical reasons: the exclamation הא comes as a rule before nouns; see Enᶠ 1, 2, and 4 = En. 86: 2 and 3, and Enᵉ 2 i 17 = En. 89: 3. The verb אזל is used here in its modal function, והוית אזל ויתב, 'and I continued to be seated'. If this is correct, the unspecified place of meeting between Enoch and the Watchers, En. 13: 3, is indeed the same place as here, namely 'the waters of Dan'. For this place-name, as also for אבל מיא in our line 6, written *Εβελσατα* in C (read *Εβελσαΐα*: Mem has been read as Samekh by the Greek translator, a mistake easily made in writing of the type 1QS and 1QIsᵃ), see Milik, *RB* lxv (1958), 403–5.

Ll. 3–5 (En. 13: 8). A long phrase, line 3 end and all of line 4, has been omitted in C and E.

L. 4. שכני עיני 'eyelids' scarcely attested in Judaeo-Aramaic. An example occurs in the free Aramaic of the Fragment Targum, Deut. 32: 10. See M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1967, p. 388.—'At the door of the heavenly palace'; this restoration is drawn from the description of the ascension of Levi who enters directly into heaven from the summit of a mountain; see *RB*, loc. cit.

L. 5. או[כחה] omitted in C and E.

L. 6. Note the word-play אבלין באבל מיא; on the place-name *ʾAbel-Mayyâ* see the note to lines 2–3.

Ll. 7 and 9. On the *vacat* at the beginning of the lines see the introduction, p. 179.

Ll. 7–8 (En. 13: 10). L. 7. In En^{c} there is probably an omission by homoeoarcton: ומללת קודמיהון ⟨כולהון והחוית להון⟩ כול; C om. ומללת and כולהון; E om. כולהון והחוית להון (but E$^{e, q}$ add a second 'I told' after 'that I had seen').

L. 8. וחזיה om. in C and E.

Ll. 9–10 (En. 14: 1). בחלמא די אנה [חלמת ו], line 10, omitted in C and E.

Ll. 10–11 (En. 14: 2). C has *νοησῃ*, hence *νοῆσαι* and not *νοήσει* as in Charles.

Ll. 11–12 (En. 14: 3). In C a long omission by homoeoteleuton: *ὃς* (read *ὡς* with E) *ἔκτεισε καὶ ἔδωκεν ⟨ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νοῆσαι τοὺς λόγους τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ ἐμὲ ἔκτισεν καὶ ἔδωκεν⟩ ἐλέγξασθαι* (*εκλεξασθαι* MS.) *ἐγρηγόρους τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; E had kept quite close to the original text. The sequence *ἔκτισεν καὶ ἔδωκεν* (in second place) inverts the original order: חלק ועבד וברא (ועבד: explanatory gloss to the Hebrew ברא?); for this stylistic feature of early translators see the note to En^{a} 1 ii 9. Here, however, this permutation might well have been imposed by the meaning of the phrase (God creates first, then gives), which had been wrongly translated, since חלק is not the Hebrew 'to divide out, to give', but the Aramaic 'to decree, to destine, to predestine'; see below, note to line 14.

Ll. 13–16. See notes to En^{b} 1 vi 5–10.

Ll. 12–14 (En. 14: 4). L. 12. *τῶν ἀγγέλων* of C (E om.) appears to be original; it must be preceded by אנתון, the independent pronoun being necessary in the transition from the suffixed pronoun to the noun to which it refers; thus, with the proper names, לי אנה פ׳ and לך אנתה פ׳, frequently in the Aramaic documents of the desert of Judaea.

L. 13. In C correct, according to En^{c}, *ἐν τῇ ὁράσι μου* to *ἐν ὁράσει μοι.—Τοῦτο ἐδίχθη καὶ οὔτε* in C should be corrected according to En^{c} (and according to E; see Charles, i, p. 37 notes 2 and 3) to *ἐδείχθη κατὰ τοῦτο ὅτι οὔτε*.

Ll. 13/14. After *οὔτε . . . παρεδέχθη* ('will not be to you', E, corresponding probably to לא תתעבד עליכון, 'will not be effected in our favour'), a long omission by homoeoteleuton in C: *ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ⟨εἰς πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἐτελειώθη* (?) *ἐφ' ὑμᾶς⟩ ἵνα μηκέτι*: cf. Charles, i, p. 37 note 4. 'Is accomplished' in E corresponds to a prepositional phrase with two synonyms in En^{c}. Dittography of 'and that it (sc. the prayer) will not be to you' in E.

L. 14. גזירוא: noun of action of the form *q^{e}tîlû(t)* in the absolute state (for the Aleph cf. ביא, absolute state of בית, at line 23), a derivative of the verb גזר 'to decide, to decree', unknown elsewhere. With our phrase, which unites the references to דין and to בגזירו עליכין, compare Tob. 6: 13 according to 4QTobaram^{b} 1 x 2: ועליך דין קשטא גזר למ[סבה לך], which the early versions translate by the simplified expressions: *δεδικαίωταί σοι* ℵ, *καὶ σοι δικαίωμα* minuscules 106, 107, etc. ('3rd recension'). Now, this phrase is repeated, and preceded by a parallel and synonymous phrase, in the same column of 4QTob^{b}, line 18 (Tob. 6: 17): [וא]ל תדחל [די ל]ך היא חליקא ולך [דינא גזר למסבה]; the versions omit the first hemistich, and the second is kept only in the third recension: *σοί ἐστι τὸ δικαίωμα λαβεῖν αὐτήν*. Thus we find here the passive participle singular feminine of the verb חלק, the verb previously seen at line 12. On the other hand, the parallelism between חליקא

and דינא גזר allows us to restore at the end of our line 13 the expression בחליקוא, the noun of action which is also attested in Syriac.

Ll. 14–15 (En. 14: 5). L. 14. מן כ[ען] with E; C om. The crux of this verse, *ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τῆς γῆς*, is unfortunately lost in the lacuna. I would willingly accept the emendation of *δεσμοῖς* to *δεσμίοις* suggested by Charles, thus אסירי ארעא. The 'prisoners' in so far as the description of the inhabitants of the underworld is known in Babylonian and also in Palmyrene where the 'leader of the prisoners', *rb 'syry* = *Ραβασειρη*, is a god of the underworld; *CIS* ii 3913, i 11 (Greek) and i 10 (Palm.); see my note on 1Q **20** 1 i 4 (*DJD* i, p. 86).—*'Ερρέθη* in C no doubt translates an expression analogous to that of lines 13–14 and 4QTobaram[b] 1 x 2 and 18, whence our דין גזיר.

Ll. 15–17 (En. 14: 6). L. 15. *πρό* with E; *περί* C.

Ll. 15/16. En[c] makes a distinction between 'your well-beloved (children)' and 'their children', while C and E render it *τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν τῶν ἀγαπητῶν* in the first place, and shorten this phrase, in the second place, to the simple *αὐτῶν*. The second hemistich, 'and the possessions of your loved ones [and of their children you will not enjoy]', is much shortened in C (and E): *καὶ {ὅτι} οὐκ ἔστε ὑμῖν ὄνησις αὐτῶν*.

L. 17. אבדן om. in C and E.

Ll. 17–19 (En. 14: 7). L. 17. *καί* in C and E is a most inadequate rendering of כלקובל די in En[c]. The phrase parallel to . . . בעותכון עליהון was more developed in the original than in C (*οὐδὲ περὶ ὑμῶν*) and in E ('nor for you and yourselves').

L. 18. בעין was misread by the Greek translator as בכין, *κλαίοντες*.—After ומתח(נ)נין = *δεόμενοι*, an omission in C and E.

Ll. 19–21 (En. 14: 8). L. 20. The verb *κατεσπούδαζον* corresponds without doubt to the Pa'el of בהל. In the Testament of Naphtali in Hebrew, from Cave 4 of Qumrân, the name of Bilha is explained in the following way: כי כאשר נולדה [הנה פתאו]ם מתבהלת לינוק ותואמר מה מתבהלת היאה בתי 4QTestNapht 1 ii 4–5; cf. Test xii Patr in Greek, T. Napht i 12: *λέγων· Καινόσπουδός μου ἡ θυγάτηρ· εὐθὺς γὰρ τεχθεῖσα ἔσπευδε θηλάζειν*. Cf. also אתבהלת in 1QGenAp ii 3.

L. 21. The double predicate ואובלוני ואעלוני is translated by a single verb in C: *καὶ εἰσήνενκάν μαι*: E om.

Ll. 21–2 (En. 14: 9). L. 21. *τίχους*, though in the genitive singular, should be understood in the collective plural meaning on account of *κύκλῳ αὐτῶν*.

L. 22. The infinitive *ἐκφοβεῖν* was doubtless paired with a synonym in the original.

Ll. 22–4 (En. 14: 10). L. 23. The conjunction [עד ד]י is rendered by *καί* in C and E.

Ll. 23/4. In line 23 I restore כלוחת אבנין = *ὡς λιθόπλακες* in C; E approximately: 'like mosaic'. This composite noun, 'slabs of stone' (more accurately, the 'facing' of the walls in marble flagstones) is a *hapax legomenon*, not recorded by Liddell and Scott; obviously equivalent to *λίθων πλάκες, πλάκες λιθίναι*. Instead of לוחת אבנין one might choose a term denoting the paving, the facing, e.g. רציפות, known in Syriac, and the participle of which occurs in the Aramaic description of the New Jerusalem: וכל שוקיא וקריתא רציפין באבן חור 5Q **15** 1 i 6 (*DJD* iii, p. 189). On the Greek terminology for the facing of marble, etc., among other terms, *πλάκωσις*, see L. Robert, *Revue de philologie*, 1958, p. 46 note 2; *Hellenica*, xi–xii, pp. 29 and 52; *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes*, 1st fasc., 1964, pp. 49–52. The comparison of

ice with marble flagstones is quite natural; cf. *ὥσπερ μαρμάρου πλάκας* in Julian, *Misopogon*, ed. C. Hertlein, 1875, p. 439, 5.

L. 24. For אשן see En[d] 1 xi 6.

Ll. 24–30. My restorations are based on the text of C, except at line 27 (En. 14: 14), where I add על אנפי, drawing on E; C om. Line 29 (vv. 16/17) was longer in the original. At the beginning of v. 18 (line 30) I supply the expression from line 27 (vv. 14–15), which is problematical there too.

4QEn[c] 1 vii—En. 14: 18–20 and (?) 15: 11 (Pl. XIII)

margin

[כזכוכי וגלגלוהי כגלגל שמשא מנירא וגדנפוהי כ]רׄוׄבׄיׄ[k][ן [19] ומן תחות כרסיא

נפקין] [l]שׁׄבלין דׄ[י]

[נור ולא יכלת למחזה [20] רבותא רבתא יתבת על כרסיא דן ולבושה נהיר

מן שמשא וחור מן ת]לגא רבׄ[א]

3–27] [

] [11] ורוח]ת[m]

29–30 גבריא] [

[was like crystal-glass, and its wheels were like the disc of the shining sun, and its sides] were cherubim. [19][And from beneath the throne came forth] streams of [fire, and I could not look. [20]Great Majesty sat upon this throne, and His raiment was brighter than the sun and whiter than] much snow [. . .
[15 11]. . . and the spiri]ts of [giants? . . .]

The placing of fragment *k* is uncertain.

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 1 (En. 14: 18). The image of the throne of God, the appearance of which is like ice (*ὥσυ* (*sic*) *κρυστάλλινον*; perhaps read *ὡς ὕ⟨δωρ⟩ κρυστ.* 'like frozen, icy water' or even *ὡς ὕ⟨αλος⟩ κρ.* 'like glass in rock-crystal') certainly influenced the image in Rev. 4: 6: *καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ*. The author of Revelation is no doubt thinking of the pavement in front of the throne, a pavement in transparent ice like that in the antechamber of the throne-room in En. 14: 10 (our line 24 of column vi). A number of other elements common to the Book of Revelation and to En. make it clear that the Christian writer had first-hand knowledge of the Book of Enoch, probably the Greek translation of it; cf. En. 22: 12 and Rev. 6: 9–10; En. 86: 1 and Rev. 9: 1 and 11 and 8: 10; En. 91: 16 and Rev. 21: 1. For a similar influence of the description of the New Jerusalem on the Book of Revelation, see *DJD* iii, p. 186. With the description of the wheels of the throne cf. that found in Dan. 7: 9; *καὶ τρόχος*

ὡς ἡλίου λάμποντος should be corrected and restored as follows: *καὶ οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς τρόχος ἡλίου λάμποντος*; for the 'disc of the sun' cf. גלגל השמש in CD 10, 15. The term *opos* is without doubt *ὅρος* in its semantic use 'boundary stone, stele'; we are dealing with two sides of the throne, carved as sphinxes = *χερουβίν*. The retranslation וגדנפוהי is very hypothetical. A Greek copyist, who changed the plural of *τροχοί* and of *ὅροι* into the singular, was probably thinking of the back of the throne, almost circular or at the very least curved, and understanding *opos* as *ὅρος* in the sense 'a part of the extremities', hence the high and low parts of the throne.

L. 2 (En. 14: 20). תלגא רבא = *πάσης χιόνος* in C.

4QEnᶜ 1 viii—En. 18: 8–12 (Pl. XIII)

[ ] 1–26

m כרסא א[יתי בספיר 9 ונור דלק חזית ולהלא מן טוריא אלן 10 אתר לעבר ארעא רבתא]

ותמן אשת̊[יצו שמיא 11 באדין אחזיאת נקר רב בינת עמודי נורא די שמיא וחזית]

בה עמוד̊[י נורא נחתין לארע ולא איתי להון משחה לעמיקהון ולרומהון 12 ולהלא]

מן דן נ[קרא [

[18 8. . . the top of] the throne was [of sapphire. 9And I saw a flaming fire, and beyond those mountains 10there is a region on the other side of the great earth], and there [the heavens] are completed. 11[Then I was shown a deep abyss, between pillars of heavenly fire, and I saw] in it columns [of fire descending to the bottom, and they were beyond measuring, both in their depth and in their height. 12And beyond] that abyss [. . .]

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 28 (En. 18: 10). ותמן; *ἐκεῖ* C.—אשת[למו] or preferably אשת[יציו], in the perfect as against the imperfect in C.—*χάσμα* (lines 28 and 30, verses 11 and 12) is נ[קר], known also in Syriac, rather than נ[גן] or נ[פש].

Ll. 28–9 (En. 18: 11). Restore באדין rather than ו = *καί* in C and E? In C (but not in E) an omission by homoeoteleuton: *καὶ ἴδον χάσμα μέγα εἰς τοὺς στύλους τοῦ πυρὸς* ⟨*τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἴδον ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς στύλους τοῦ πυρὸς*⟩ *καταβαίνοντας*.

[4QEnᶜ 1 ix, x, and xi are missing]

4QEn^c 1 xii—En. 30: 1–32: 1 (Pl. XIII)

[ ]

[30 1 ולהל]א״ מׄנהון אׄרׄחקת

[למדנח שגיא וחזית אתר אוחרן רב נחלי מין רברבין 2 דב]הׄ קׄניא טביא די בשמא די

[דמין לצפר 3 ועל שפואת נחליא אלן חזי]תׄ קׄוׄנם בשמא *vacat* ולהלא מן נחל[י]א

[אלן ארחקת למדנח 31 1 ואחזיא]תׄ [טורי]ןׄ אׄחרנין ואף בהון חזית אילנין די נׄפׄק

[מנהון דמעא די מתקרא צרו וחלבנ]הׄ 2 [ול]הׄלא מן טוריא אלן אחזיאת טור

[אוחרן למדנח סיאפי ארעא ו]כׄוׄל איׄלׄניׄא דׄ[בה מ]ל[י]ן . . . וׄהוא דמא לקלפי לׄ[וז]

[3 כדי מ . . . ין באילניא אלן]שׄדׄאׄ מׄנׄ[הון בש]ם ריׄחׄ כדי מדקׄין קליפיא אלן

[אנון על כול בשם 32 1 ולהלא מן טוריא אלן] כׄלצפון מדנחה[ו]ן אחזיאת טו[ר]יׄן

margin

30 1 And beyond these (mountains) I proceeded [very] far [to the east, and I saw another vast place, valleys of great waters, 2 in] which were sweet-smelling reeds [like mastic, 3 and on the banks of these valleys] I saw the fragrant cinnamon; and beyond [these] valleys, [I proceeded far eastwards. 31 1 And] I was shown other mountains, and also in them I saw trees [from which] came [the resin which is called styrax and galbanu]m. 2 And beyond these mountains I was shown [another] mountain [to the east of the limits of the earth and] all the trees in it were filled with . . . and it was like the bark of the almond tree. [3 When incisions(?) are made in these trees] there comes forth from them a pleasant odour; when these barks are ground, [they are (sweeter) than any fragrance. 32 1 And beyond these mountains], approximately to the north-east of them, I was shown [other] mountains [. . . .]

This fragment, which contains the remainder of two columns, xii and xiii, was found together with the large fragment of columns v and vi in September 1952 when Cave 4 was being cleared

by R. de Vaux and me. It has already been published, together with Enᵉ 1 xxvi 14–21, in *RB* lxv (1958), 70–7 ('Hénoch au pays des aromates'). See there for a more detailed commentary, particularly on the names of the aromatics and the spices, and on the geographical regions where they are found.

Texts for comparison: Enᵉ 1 xxvi 14–17 (En. 31: 2–32: 1), C, E.

Ll. 23–4 (En. 30: 1). L. 24. At the end of the verse, after *φάραγγαν ὕδατος* E adds a gloss: 'like that which fails not'; perhaps there was only 'great water(s)': *φάραγγα ὕδατος μεγάλου* or *ὑδάτων μεγάλων*, where the adjective may have been missed out, since it is preceded by *τόπον ἄλλον μέγαν*.

Ll. 24–5 (En. 30: 2). L. 24. *καιδενδρονχροα* in C is doubtless an unintelligible corruption of *κάλαμοι χρηστοί*; cf. *νάρδου χρηστοῦ* = נרד טב in Enᵉ 1 xxvi 18.—*Ὁμοίων*: read *ὅμοιον* (sc. *δένδρον*) and correct to *ὅμοιοι* (sc. *κάλαμοι*).—*Σχύνῳ* (read *σχοίνῳ*, 'to the reed', and not *σχίνῳ* as Charles does) is equivalent to צפר according to Enᵉ 1 xxvi 18 (En. 32: 1). On the region of these *calamus et iuncus odorati* (Pliny), valley of the Merğ situated in the Beqâʿ between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, see *RB*, loc. cit., 73, and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, 'Notes de géographie syrienne antique': *MUSJ* xl (1964), 296–301 and *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vi (1967), 23–4.

Ll. 25–6 (En. 30: 3). C omits one word: *καὶ ἐπέκεινα* ⟨*τῶν φαράγγων*⟩ *τούτων*.

Ll. 26–7 (En. 31: 1). L. 26. C and E omit אף.—The term *ἄλση* in C replaces, for an obscure reason, חזית, 'I saw', of Enᶜ; are we dealing here with a clumsy adaptation of חזיתא, 'front part, flat surface'? Note that Aramaic does not seem to have possessed a term which corresponded exactly to the Greek *ἄλσος*. Thus in Palmyrene the name of a sacred thicket, (*ἱερὸν*) *ἄλσος*, is simply transcribed *hlss*, or else translated by a generic term *gnt*' ('*lym*); Milik, *Recherches*, pp. 4–8.

L. 27. *Νέκταρ* denotes here the resin of the styrax (צרו was transcribed by *σαρραυ*, later corrupted to *σαρραν*) and of the trees of the Ferula species (חלבנה). The author of the book of Enoch seems to consider the names of these two aromatics as synonymous.

Ll. 27–8 (En. 31: 2). This verse is considerably reworked in E; C is relatively close to the original.

L. 27. The inner passive of the Ophal אחזיאת is translated by the active *ἴδον*, as often happens in the Greek Enoch; at line 30 (En. 32: 1) אחזיאת = *τεθέαμαι*.

L. 28. The name of the aromatic remains indecipherable. In any case, the traces of the letters do not agree with any Semitic term to denote *στακτή*, so that the correction of *ἐξαυτῆς* in C to *στακτῆς* ('aloes' E) is unconvincing; see Charles, i, p. 71 note 14. The MS. of C clearly has *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀμυγδάλῳ* (dative), and not *ἀμυγδάλων* as in Charles; Enᶜ is more detailed: 'to the bark of the almond tree'.

Ll. 29–30 (En. 31: 3). The first part of this verse has been omitted in C and E by homoeoteleuton: *ὅταν* ⟨. . . *ὅταν*⟩.

L. 29. The traces of the letters here and in Enᵉ 1 xxvi 15 allow one to grasp the approximate meaning of the hemistich omitted in the Greek: 'when incisions(?) are made in trees, a pleasant perfume comes from them'.—After *τρίβωσιν* = מדקין the Greek translator has omitted קליפיא אלן, just as he has omitted קלפי at v. 2, probably because he did not know the meaning of this term.—*Διο*: some corrupted word.

L. 30 (En. 32: 1). C omits by homoeoarcton: *ὑπὲρ πᾶν* ⟨*ἄρωμα. Καὶ ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὀρέων τούτων*

καὶ τῶν〉 *ἀρωμάτων*; the phrase *καὶ τῶν ἀρωμάτων* seems to be an addition peculiar to the Greek, which has dropped 'these mountains'; in E: 'after these perfumes'. The remainder is equivalent to C, while E is different. For the continuation see Enᵉ 1 xxvi 17 ff.

4QEnᶜ 1 xiii—En. 35 and 36: 1–4 (Pl. XIII)

[ ]

[35]תרעין פת̊י[חין בשמיא היך די חזית במדנחא]

חשבוניהון *vacat* באד̊[ין]

[36] [1] מן תמן אובלת לדרום ס̊[יאפי ארעא ותמן אחזיאת תרעין תלתתהון פתיחין]

לרוח דרומא לטל ומט[ר ול . . . [2] ומן תמן אובלת למדנח סיאפי ארעא ותמן]

אחז̊י̊ת̊ תרעין ת̊ל[תתהון פתיחין למדנחא ולעלא מנהון שפשין [3] די כוכבי]

שמ̊[י]א [נ]פ̊ק̊[ין מן כול חד וחד מנהון ואזלין למערבא בארחתא די חזיאן להון]

va]*cat* [4] וכדי הוית חזה הוית מברך בכול עדן]

באדי̊ן̊ א̊ב̊ר̊[ך למרא רבותא]

margin

[[35]. . . and I saw] portals open [in heaven, such as I have seen in the East . . .] their number. Then [. . .] [36] [1]From thence I was transported to the South of the limits [of the earth, and there I was shown their three portals open], for the south wind, for dew and rain [and for . . . [2]And from thence I was transported to the East of the limits of the earth and there] I was shown [their] three portals, [open to the East, and above them small gates, [3]from every single one of which the stars] of heaven come forth [and go to the West on the paths which are fitting for them.

[4]And as often as I was looking (at all these things) I was saying blessings every time]. Then I shall continue blessing [the Lord of Majesty . . .]

Only E to be compared.

Ll. 23–4 (En 35). L. 23. תרעין פתי[חין]: the number of the portals of heaven in the West does not appear to be stated precisely here. The addition of E, 'three (portals)', is mistaken,

because the original text spoke here about the six gates for the sun and for the moon in the West, corresponding to the six gates in the East (see En. 33: 2–3). Three gates in the South (line 25), and three in the East ([תרעין תל[תה] or rather [תל[תתהון, line 27), and also three in the North (34: 2) and in the West (E om.), stand for the meteorological phenomena. En. 34: 2–36: 2 summarizes ch. 76 of the Astronomical Book, adding confusedly other information concerning the sky.

L. 24. חשבוניהון, 'their number', doubtless ends a phrase summarized in E by 'so many portals (or: entrances) and so many exits'. After that comes a short gap; the following word, באדין, begins a new clause which probably contained a text analogous to that of 33: 3 or 33: 4; see Ene 1 xxvii 19–20.

Ll. 25–6 (En. 36: 1). According to E the three portals are for the south wind, for the dew, for the rain, and for the wind. The fourth term seems to be corrupt.

Ll. 26–7 (En. 36: 2). 'To the ends of the earth' as in Ev (Martin, p. 77) rather than 'to the ends of the sky' (other manuscripts of the Ethiopic).

L. 27. 'small doors': probably שפשין, a term which recurs in 5Q 15 i 8 (*DJD* iii, p. 188, s.v.).

Ll. 27–8 (En. 36: 3). At the end of this verse I restore חזיאן, 'fitting, proper (to them)', rather than מ(ת)חזיאן, notwithstanding *tarē'ēyat* ('the path which) is shown to them' in E.

Ll. 29–30 (En. 36: 4). In line 30, after the word באדין, few traces of letters are left; the reading [אבר[ך seems better than [ברכ[ת.

[Fragments 2 and 3 of 4QEnc are edited below, pp. 316–17, as 4QEnGiants[a] 9 and 10]

4QEnc 4—En. 89: 31–7 (Pl. XIV)

[a]

] [31]וכ֯ו֯להון הווא ד֯[ח]ל֯[י]ן [ורעדין מן קוד]מ֯[והי]

[וזעקו לאמרא די הוה תנינה] ד֯י֯ ה֯וה ביניהון לא יכלי֯ן֯ א֯נ֯חנא ל֯מ֯ק֯[ם] לקו֯ב֯ל֯ [מריא]

[[32]באדין תב אמרא די דבר להון ב]ת֯נ֯ינא וסלק לראש כפא דן וענא שריו֯א֯ לא֯ת֯ס֯[מיה]

[ולמטעא מן אורחא די אחזית ל]ה֯ון ואמרה לא ידע בהון [33]ומרא ענא ר֯ג֯ז על [ענא רגוז]

[רב וידע אמרא דן ונחת מן ראש כפא] ד֯ן֯ ואתה על ע֯נ֯א֯ ואשכח כול שג֯א֯הון מת֯[סמין]

[וטעין [34]ובמחזאהו שריוא למדחל מן ק]ו֯דמוהי ולמ֯ה֯[וא] צ֯בין למ֯[ת]ב֯ לדיריהון

[[35] ואמרא נסב עמה אמרין אחרנין ואתה ע]ל ענ֯א וש֯[ח]ט֯ו כ֯ו֯ל טע֯יתא ושריו למר[עד]

[מן קודמוהי באדין] אתיב֯ א֯מרא דן לכול ענא טעיתא לדיריה֯[ון]

[וכדי תבו ענא טעיתא לדיריהון אמרא] דן לא[י ל]ב֯גלא֯ ולבגעה ול֯אעקה י֯מא ע֯[ל]

[שם עגלא די דהב [36] וחזית בחלמא דן עד די א]מ֯ר֯[א] ד֯ן אתהפך והוא אנוש ועבד מ֯[שכן

[למרא ענא ואיתה לכול ענא על משכנא דן [37] וחזית עד די דמך] א֯מ֯[רא] ד֯ן ד֯י֯ א֯ל[וה]

[31]And they all were afraid [and trembling] before Him, [and they cried to the Sheep who was the second (in command) to Him], who was among them: 'We are not able to stand before [the Lord.' [32]Thereupon that Sheep that led them] went up [again for] a second time to the summit of that rock. But the flock began to go blind [and to stray from the way which had been shown] them: but the Sheep did not know about these (happenings). [33]And the Lord of the flock was filled with [great] wrath against [the flock and that Sheep knew it and came down from the summit of] that [rock]; and he came to the flock, and found all the majority of them blinded [and straying. [34]And when they saw him, they began to fear] before him, and desired to return to their folds. [35][And the Sheep took other sheep with him and came] to the flock; and they slaughtered every one that had gone astray; and they began to fear [before him. . . . Then] that Sheep restored all the straying flock to their folds. [And when the straying flock had returned to their folds] that [Sheep] set about reproaching and slaying and punishing (everyone) who swore by [the name of the golden calf(?). [36]And I watched in this dream until] that Sheep was changed and become a man and made a Tabernacle [for the Lord of the flock; and he brought all the flock to that Tabernacle. [37]And I watched until] that Sheep who was associated [with (the first Sheep) fell asleep . . .]

Only E to be compared. The beginning of line 1 (En. 89: 31) overlaps with En^d 2 ii 30, but with an interchange of participles, רעדין ודחלין for דחלין ורעדין.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 89: 31). L. 2. The text of E^t and of the second group of Ethiopic manuscripts, *zahalo lakâlĕ'ĕ {bagĕ'ĕ} zakona mâ'ekalomu*, 'who was as the second {sheep}, who was in the

middle of them', is relatively close to the original: [די הוה תנינה] די הוה ביניהון. This verse alludes to Exod. 20: 18–19. Thus, it is Moses himself, and not Aaron, who is the 'second to Him', the lieutenant of God; read תנינה, or תנין לה as in En[a] 1 iii 6 (En. 6: 7).—למקם, 'to hold (ourselves) upright', is found only in E[nvx]: *qawima* (*qawimu* E[b] 2nd hand). E adds 'nor to look at him'.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 89: 34). L. 3. בתנינא (for בתנינוא*, a' second time'; cf. תנינות in 4QEnGiants[b] quoted below, p. 306), om. by E as apparently redundant with 'returned' (= 'again'). The ascension of Moses to Sinai is mentioned in verse 29 (Exod. 19: 3); on the second ascension see Exod. 24: 12–14.

L. 6. (En. 89: 34). In the lacuna there was doubtless nothing but 'to fear', as in E[y]; other Ethiopic manuscripts add 'and to tremble'. The infinitive was preceded by שריו(א), 'they began to', omitted in E.

Ll. 7–10 (En. 89: 35). This verse is much shortened in E. In other respects it is more detailed than the corresponding Biblical passage, Exod. 32: 25–8. Already at v. 34 (line 6) the blind and straying sheep wish to return to their folds, that is to good conduct, a detail which is not found in Exod. 32: 19 ff., unless one sees a reference to it in 32: 20: the Children of Israel drink water mixed with the ashes of the golden calf.

L. 7. ושחטו: technical term for the slaughter of sheep; 'and it (that sheep) began to kill them' E. In the Aramaic it is those who escape from the massacre who begin to tremble; 'and the sheep were afraid of its presence' E.

L. 8. In the lacuna a phrase (omitted by E) of the type וצבו למתב לדירא; cf. line 6 and immediately after.

Ll. 9/10. A long phrase, omitted by the Ethiopic.

L. 9. לבגלא: Pa'el infinitive of בגל, in Syriac *b[e]gal*, 'clamavit, reprehendit, vituperavit'. —לבגעה: Pa'el infinitive of בגע, in Arabic 'to cut with the sword'.—ימא על, '(whosoever) would swear by [the name of . . .]'.

L. 10. '[the name of the golden calf]' probably.

Ll. 10–11 (En. 89: 36). For the equivalent 'vision', *rā'ĕyĕ*, in E = 'dream', חלמ(א), see En[e] 4 ii 1 (En. 89: 7); here [בחלמי דן] or [בחלמא דן], E *bazĕ* (*bazĕku* E[q]) *rā'ĕyĕ*.—אתהפך missing in E.—The trace of the last letter in this line would make a Mem מ[שכן] more likely than a Beth ב[יא].

L. 11 (En. 89: 37). The top of the Lamed, just on the margin of the fragment, is quite visible on an earlier photograph, PAM 41. 355.

4QEn[c] 5 i—En. 104: 13–106: 2 (Pl. XIV)

1–19 [ ]

20 [ ] [13] ואנון יהימנון להון ויחדון בהון ו]ישׂ[a]מחון כ̊[ול]

[קשיטיא למאלף מנהון כול אורחת קושטא [105 1] ביומיא אלין פקדהון מריא]
בבני ארע[א]

[למקרא ולאשהדה להון על חוכמתהון למאמר אחויוהון עליה די אנ]תון תהוון

[מדברין להון ואנתון תהוון מתפרעין מן כול בני ארעא 2 ולהוא ל]כון כול

[שלמא חדו לכון יא בני קושטא *va[cat*

] *va[cat*

[106 1 ובאתר עדן נסבת אנה חנוך למתושלח ברי אנתה והיא ילדת בר וקרית] שמה למ[ך]

[למאמר לו מך קושטא עד יומא דן וכדי מטה לקומין נסב מתושלח לה אנ]תה והיא

[הות בטנה מנה וילדת לה עלים 2 וכדי יליד עלימא הוה בשרה לבן מן תלגא ו]שמ̊וק

[מן ורדא וכול שערה חור כעמר נקא ועבי והדיר וכדי פתח עינוהי אניר' כו]ל̊[b]

[ביתא כשמשא [

[104 13 . . . And they will believe in them and be glad over them]; and all [the righteous] will rejoice [to learn from them all the ways of righteousness. 105 1 In those days the Lord appointed them (the righteous)] over the children of earth, [to read (them, i.e. the books), and to testify with regard to them according to their wisdom, saying: 'Tell them about it (wisdom), for] you are [to lead them, and you will receive your reward from all the children of earth. 2 And] you [shall have all remuneration. Be glad ye, o children of righteousness.'

106 1 And after a time I Enoch took a wife for Methuselah my son and she brought forth a son and called] his name Lamech [saying: 'Brought low, indeed, righteousness has been to this day.' And when he came to maturity, Methuselah took for him] a wife, and she [became pregnant by him and bore a boy. 2 And when the boy was born, his flesh was whiter than snow and] redder [than the rose, and all his hair was white as the pure wool, and thick and bright. And when he opened his eyes he lighted up the] whole [house as the sun . . .]

Texts for comparison: CM and E; cf. Latin (106: 1–18), 1QGenAp ii–v (the same manuscript as 1Q20) and 1Q19 3 and 8 (106: 2–6 or 106: 9–12).

L. 20 (En 104: 12/13). Before 'and they will believe', *καὶ αὐτοὶ πιστεύσωσιν*, E adds (or else CM omits): 'and great wisdom. [13]The books will be given to them'.

Ll. 20–1 (En. 104: 13). L. 20. וישמחון (Hebrew verb!) = *καὶ ἀγαλλιάσονται* in CM = *wayĕtḫaśayu* in Emdehily (verb *ḫaśaya* 'rejoice'). The reading *wayĕt'aśayu* of other manuscripts of E is a simple orthographic variant and should not be corrected to *wayĕt'asayu*, 'and they will be recompensed' (verb *'asaya*), as it has been by all translators of the Ethiopic Enoch. On the expression 'trees of joy', *'ĕḍawa ḫaśet* (read *ḫaśet*), in En. 10: 19 see the note to Enc 1 v 8.

Ll. 21–4 (En. 105). This short chapter certainly existed in the Aramaic original, no matter what Charles, and following him the editor of CM, said about it. The fact that it is omitted in CM can be explained by homoeoteleuton *ἀληθεία* ⟨... *ἀληθείας* {Amen}⟩, and one simply cannot see in this omission in CM any corroboration of Charles's opinion, as C. Bonner seems to think: 'Charles's doubts about the appropriateness, for this place, of ch. 105 of the Ethiopic texts are shown to have been fully justified. The Greek passes directly from 104 to 106, which, together with 107, is generally considered to be a fragment of a Book of Noah.'

Ll. 21–3 (En. 105: 1). L. 21. The meaning of פקד followed by the accusative of person and by ב (or by על) of thing or of person is 'to appoint over', hence '[the Lord appointed them (sc. the righteous)] over the children of the earth'. The Greek translator took this to be the normal use of פקד, 'to command, to order', with the result that the concept of the supremacy of the righteous, theologically very important, was completely lost.

L. 22. Before direct speech a verb like ואמר להון or simply למאמר is necessary.

L. 23. The expression in E, 'and (you are) the rewards on all the earth', is not clear. I take it that here, and likewise at verse 2 (see below), the author wanted to say, rather prosaically, that the righteous will be rewarded, well paid, by the children of the earth, for their teaching of the wisdom drawn from his writings, i.e. the writings of the pseudo-Enoch.

L. 23–4 (En. 105: 2). The length of the lacuna at line 23 shows that no element of the Christian interpolation in the first half of this verse was found in the Aramaic original. כול can scarcely precede שלם 'peace'; the Aramaic text no doubt had שלמא, the Pa'el infinitive (written with Aleph as above, Enc 4 9) of the verb שלם 'to remunerate, to reward, to pay'; 'you will have peace' E.

Ll. 24–5. The *vacat* is very long, one and a half lines, since chapter 106 begins a part of the work which is quite distinct from what comes before. In any case, the exclamations of E, 'Amen', and 'Hallelujah' in Eq, were certainly not found at the end of verse 2 of chapter 105.

Ll. 26–8 (En. 106: 1). L. 26 *ἔλαβον*: the context, too abrupt otherwise, seems to demand the addition of אנה חנוך. In E a long omission by homoeoarcton ⟨*ἔλαβον Μαθουσαλεκ* ...⟩ *ἔλαβεν αὐτῷ*: restore according to CM, lines 18–22, except perhaps for the addition of מתושלח towards the end of our line 27 (with E, which, however, expands further: 'my son Methuselah took for Lamech his son').

L. 27. למאמר: see the note to line 22.—*ἐταπεινώθη*: I add the emphatic particle לו (known in early Aramaic) to convey the play of words למך:לו מך; see below, p. 215.—*Ἡλικία* (CM) translated as in Syriac, John 9: 21.

L. 28. At the beginning of the lacuna there must without doubt be added, with E, 'has become pregnant' (cf. Ena 1 iii 16); om. CM.

Ll. 28–30 (En. 106: 2). This verse should be restored according to CM, apart from {*και*}

before ὡς ἔρεια; cf. v. 10, and the addition of כול before 'the house': ἔλαμψεν ἡ οἰκία CM, 'he lighted up the whole house' E. Translate ὡς ἔρια λευκά by כעמר נקא according to Dan. 7: 9 (ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρόν). E paraphrases this verse and has not understood οὖλον (οὖλος MS.), 'bushy, thick', which he has changed to ὀφθαλμοί, 'eyes', according to v. 10. I retranslate καὶ οὖλον by ועבי, the adjective which I read now in 1Q 19 8, line 1: [. . .]ו̊עבי̊[. . .]; in line 2: [. . . מתושל[ח; cf. En. 106: 2 and 4 or 106: 10 and 12. This fragment should be placed quite close to fragment 3 of 1Q19, and both of them seem to me now to correspond better to 106: 9–12 than to 106: 2–6.

4QEn[c] 5 ii—En. 106: 13–107: 2 (Pl. XV)

1–16 [13 באדין ענית אנה חנוך אמר]

בל[c] יה̊[דת מריא לדתה על ארעא כלקובל די חזית ואחוית לך ברי די] ב̊יו̊[d]מי ירד א̊[בי]

עברו̊ [מלת מריא מן אורית(?) שמיא 14 וארו חטי]ן̊ ועב̊[e][רין ...א ו...ה]ו̊ן̊ שניו למע̊[ל]

[על נשין ועמהן למחטא ונסבו להון מנהן וילדן 17a לא דמין לרוחין להן לבשרין]

[15 ולהו]א̊[f][רוגזא רבא על אר]ע̊א̊[b][ומבולא ויתעבד אבדנא רב]א̊[g][על שנה חדה 16 ודן עלימא]

ד̊י̊ יליד [לכו]ן̊[h][ותלתת בנוה]י̊ יפ[לטון כדי ימותון די על] ארעא *vacat* [17b באדין תנוח]

[ותתד]כא ארעא [מן] ח̊[i]בלא [ר]בא *va*[*c*. 18 וכען אמר ללמך די ברך הוא] ב̊קשוט [וניח קרי דן]

[עלי]מא [די י]לי̊[ד ונוח קר]י̊ שמה [בדיל די הואה להוא לכון לניח די בה תנוחון]

[ולהוא לכון לפלטה בדי] י̊פלט הוא̊ [ובנוהי מן חבל ארעא די מן עובדי כול חטיא]

[ומן רשעי ארעא די] להוא ביומ[והי 19 וב]א̊ת̊[רהון יא]ת̊ה ר̊ש̊[ע] ת̊קיף [מן דן די ישתלם]

ב[b]י̊[ו]מ̊י̊[הון בד]י̊ ידע אנה ברז̊י̊ [מריא די] קדישין אחויוני ואחזיוני [ודי בלוחת]

שמיא קרית [107] 1 וחזית כתיב בהון די [ד]ר מן דר יבאש בכדן ובאש להוא
[עד די יקומון]

דרי קושטא ובאישתה ורשעה יסוף וחמסא יכלא מן ארעא וע[ד די טבן
יאתן בארעא]

עליהון *vacat* 2 וכען אזל נא עד למך [בר]ך [ואחויה לה]

די עלימא דן ברה הואה בקשוט ולא ב'דבין [*vacat?*]

margin

[[106] 13 Then I Enoch answered saying]: 'Truly [the Lord] will restore [His Law on the earth, according as I saw and told you my son that] in the days of Jared my father (Watchers) transgressed [the Word of the Lord (and departed) from the covenant of Heaven. [14] And behold], they go on sinning and transgressing [the custom and] they perverted their [nature] to go un[to women, and to sin with them, and married some of them, and (women) are begetting children, [17a] who are not like spiritual beings, but creatures of flesh. [15] And there] shall be [great wrath (of God) against] the earth [and Flood; and] great [destruction shall be done for one year. [16] And this boy] who has been born to you [and] his [three children] will be saved, [when men die upon] earth. [17b] [Then], the earth [shall be at rest], and be cleansed [from] great corruption. [18] [And now say to Lamech: 'He is thy son] in truth,' [and Pious call this] boy who has been born, [and Noah] call his name, [for he shall be your rest, wherein ye shall rest, and he shall be your salvation, for] he will be saved, he [and his sons, from the corruption of the earth—which (will be caused) by the deeds of all sinners, and by the wickedness of the sons of the earth—which] shall be in his days. [19] And thereafter shall come stronger wickedness [than that which will be consummated] in the days of (Noah and his sons). For I know the mysteries [of the Lord which] the Holy Ones have told me and showed me, [and which] I read [in the tablets] of heaven. [107] 1 And I saw written in them that generation after generation would do evil in this wise, and evil would be (more and more) [until there arose] generations of righteousness, and evil and wickedness should come to an end, and violence should cease from off the earth, and until [good should come on the earth], upon them (men).

2 And now, go unto Lamech, thy son, [and tell him] that this boy is truly, and without deception, his son.'

The identification and the placing of the small fragments in lines 17 to 23 remain somewhat hypothetical, particularly the placing of *e*, *f*, *i*. Note in addition that the tiny fragments *d*, *e*, *g*, *h* have suffered less from the shrinking and rucking of the skin than the other fragments, including the large pieces *a* and *b*. Texts for comparison: CM and E; cf. Latin, etc. (above, on 5 i).

Ll. 17–18 (En. 106: 13). The small fragment *c* is certainly to be placed at the beginning of the lines of the same column as the large fragment *b*. Besides, the verb עברו (which is palaeographically preferable to עבדו) in the second line of fragment *c* can only be placed in En. 106: 13. If this placing is accurate, it will be necessary to discover the meaning of the letters in line 1 of fragment *c*, where the only letters which are beyond doubt are the first two: בל. Now, in CM after the introduction to v. 13, *τότε ἀπεκρίθην λέγων*, comes the word *ἄναξ* followed by the verb *καινίσει* (rewritten from *καινιζει?*). This noun caused the editor of the papyrus a great deal of trouble: '*ἄναξ* (not in E) can scarcely be right. This poetic word continued to be used in verse and in religious language down to Roman times; but it occurs neither in LXX nor in N.T., and is disturbing here. Read *ἀνακαινίσει* (James).' I think that the Greek translator of the Book of Enoch did not understand the exclamation בל, well-known, especially in the Nabataean, Palmyrene, and Hatraean inscriptions (cf. also Syriac *bal*, 'sed, profecto'); negative בל perhaps in 1QGenAp ii 25: דבל תרגז, 'that thou shouldst not be angered'. He thought this was the divine name *Bêl* (an error, let it be said in passing, which even several modern epigraphists make), and he translated it by *ἄναξ*, drawing on the semantic use of the Aramaic synonym *beʿl*. A subsequent copyist may have taken this poetic term as a Greek approximation of the name of *Enoch* (cf. *Ἄνωχος* in *AJ* i 85) and this was why he omitted *ἐγὼ Ἐνώχ*, which should have been placed immediately before or after *ἀπεκρίθην*, and is retained in E; cf. also אנה חנוך in GenAp v 3 (ed. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, 1956, p. 18). I restore what follows according to CM, where *καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον* should be corrected to *κατὰ τὸν τρόπον ὅν*, which corresponds well to the Aramaic כלקובל די; then *τέκνον* (add *μου*) should be moved after *σοι* or even left out (cf. superfluous *τέκνον* in 107: 2 of CM).

Fragment *d* is placed at En. 106: 13–14 and not in En. 6: 6, on account of the Aleph which follows 'Jared'; here we have ביומי as in En. 6: 6, of which *ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ* in CM (= *batĕwlĕdu* in E) is an equivalent translation. This phrase of En. 106: 13 is repeated in GenAp iii 3: ארי ביומי ירד אבי (ed., loc. cit.).

Ll. 18–19 (En. 106: 14). After *τὸ ἔθος* in CM, 'the law' in E, there is an omission in CM and E: '[and] they have changed their [nature?]' (assuming, of course, that our identification of fragment *d* is correct). I find a certain corroboration of the existence of this phrase, in an early copy of the Greek Enoch, from the passage in Test. Napht. 3: 5: *οἱ Ἐγρήγοροι ἐνήλλαξαν τάξιν φύσεως αὐτῶν, οὓς κατηράσατο (κατηργήσατο* MSS. *hi) Κύριος ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, δι' οὓς ἀπὸ κατοικησίας καὶ ἄκαρπον τάξας τὴν γῆν ἀοίκητον*. This is certainly an implicit and free quotation of our passage. The author of the Testaments of XII Patriarchs (second century A.D.) read a copy of the Epistle which had the phrase about changing their nature in verse 14 and followed the same order of verses as that found in 4QEn^c and in CM, namely 14, 17a, 15.

L. 19 (En. 106: 17a). According to CM (which preserves the order of the Aramaic original) this phrase certainly follows verse 14, as Goldschmidt and Charles hinted. In the Greek archetypes of E this passage was omitted, then added in the margin, and finally inserted in the wrong part of the text.

E makes additions after τίκτουσιν: first 'of the children' at v. 14, then 'of giants on the earth' at v. 17, in order to make the author's thought more explicit; cf. En. 7: 2. Besides, the close link between the destruction of the giants and the flood could already have been deduced from chapter 6 of Genesis.

This motif was very popular in medieval, Greek, and Eastern art, in which miniatures often represent Noah's ark and above it two drowning giants, either alone or mingling with the corpses of men and beasts. (See, for example, W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration* (*Das Problem der Beatus-Handschriften*), 1931, pp. 71–3 and phot. 90–8; J. M. Casanovas, C. E. Dubler, and W. Neuss, *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin codex Gerundensis*, *Prolegomena*, 1962, p. 58 and the photographs on pp. 57 and 59.) In the monastery church of Saint-Savin a fresco shows two giants climbing on to the ark in order to escape from the waters of the flood. Another fresco in the same church shows the figure of Enoch in the process of bodily translation into heaven (A. Grabar), deep in prayer, perhaps that of En. 84 (P.-H. Michel), or else in the act of receiving the visions and inspiration necessary to a holy writer, as in representations of the Evangelists (Y. Zaluska); see P.-H. Michel, *La fresque romane*, 1961, pp. 84 and 120–2. Since the figure of Enoch is wholly exceptional in Christian art, the two frescoes in Saint-Savin may testify to a knowledge, direct or indirect, of the Book of Enoch in twelfth-century France.

The giants appear in other miniatures as well. In the illuminated Octateuch MSS. (references above, p. 21), a row of armed men with a chief bears the legend: σφαγεῖς γίγαντες τῶν κακῶν ἐφευρεταί: Octateuch of Serail, fol. 54^v; Octateuch of Smyrna, fol. 19^r. This is a clear allusion to En. 7–9. A preceding miniature represents the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men (Serail, fol. 54^r; Smyrna, fol. 18^v) but, according to the later interpretation, they are designed as Sethites (men) and Cainites (women): υἱοὺς θεοῦ νόμιζε τοὺς Σὴθ ἐκγόνας . . . βλέποντας εἰς θυγατέρας βρωτῶν ἐχούσας τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ Κάϊν.

Equally well known in iconography is the theme of Enoch's ascension to the heavenly paradise. In *Caedmon Poems* (Oxford, Bodl. MS. Junius 11, p. 61) the scene is figured in two acts. In the lower register, Enoch supported by two angels looks up with hands spread out in prayer; two groups of onlookers watch as he is raised into the air; the upper register shows Enoch, with two angels, half disappearing in the firmament of heaven. Also in two acts, but in a different manner and with Latin legends, was painted the ascension of Enoch on the eleventh-century fresco of the Dionysius Chapel in Xanten; see V. H. Elbern, *Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland am Rhein und Ruhr*, ii (1964), 1017 and fig. 3. In *Aelfric's Paraphrase of the Heptateuch* (London, Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Claudius B. iv, fol. 11^v) the bottom right compartment of a full-page miniature represents the Lord helping Enoch to climb the ladder leading to heaven.

Less popular was the motive of Enoch as writer or receiver of revelations. The Caedmon MS., p. 60, represents Enoch, with halo, holding an open book, trampling on a dragon (Satan? Death?), and listening to an angel addressing him from above. Enoch writing on the stone tablets is figured in a Greek sacred history of the Old Testament (Sinai, MS. 1187, f. 26^r). Enoch as a bearer of celestial wisdom, especially of astronomy, is frequently mentioned in Greek chronicles; above, pp. 19–22. Similar notices occur in Western chronicles as well, *v. gr.* in *Historia Scholastica* of Patrus Comestor (*PL* 198, col. 1080): 'Henoch fuit optimus. Et transtulit illum Deus in

paradisum voluptatis ad tempus, ut in fine temporum, cum Elia convertat corda patrum in filios'; (ibid. 1081, Additio): 'Henoch quasdam litteras invenit, et quosdam libros scripsit sub quo Adam intelligitur mortuus.'

L. 20 (En. 106: 15). CM keeps the original meaning of the text; E substitutes *ḥaguĕl* 'destruction' for *ὀργή* = רוגזא, adds 'all (the earth)' and 'the waters (of the flood)', and omits the second *ἔσται* (= perhaps יתעבד rather than להוא).

Ll. 20–1 (En. 106: 16). *καὶ τόδε τὸ παιδίον* no doubt reflects the construction with the demonstrative pronoun placed first (cf. 1 viii 30), ודן עלימא, as against *τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο* = עלימא דן 107: 2 (line 30). Cf. עולימא דנא in 1QGenAp ii 2.

L. 21. *Γεννηθέν*, here and at 107: 2: frequent confusion of the passive participle with the perfect passive Peʿîl, which should normally be followed by a dative, here לכון with E.—*Καταλειφθήσεται* ('will be left on the earth' E) seems to me to be out of place here, perhaps in anticipation of v. 18 (line 23). The addition found in E at the end of the verse, 'he will be saved, he and his children', appears to me to be an accurate, though incomplete, reading of this passage, first placed in the margin of a manuscript and then wrongly inserted.

Ll. 21–2 (En. 106: 17b). [*Καὶ*] *πραΰνῖ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς οὔσης ἐν* [*αὐτ*]*ῇ φθορᾶς* abridges quite extensively the original formulation. Since we have here a new development, which describes the situation after the flood, we would expect [*τότε*] rather than [*καί*]. Further, the transitive *πραΰνεῖ τὴν γῆν* is not at all satisfactory; it is the earth, etc., which rests after a critical period, e.g. ותנוח אר[עא] in Enᵍ 1 ii 16 (probably a more detailed text of En. 91: 10; see 91: 5 ff. on the state of violence on the earth); וכולא ינוח מן חרב, 'and all (men) will rest from the sword', in an unpublished Aramaic apocalypse from Qumrân, 4Q246 1 ii 4 (the epoch of wars will last: ... עד יקום עם אל וכולא). E drastically reshaped this phrase in terms of what precedes it (v. 17) and drew on v. 15: 'and there will be a great chastisement on the earth'. On the other hand, E has kept the parallel verb, omitted in CM: 'and ⟨the earth⟩ will be purified of all (great, Enᶜ; cf. 1 vii 2, note) corruption'.

Ll. 22–5 (En. 106: 18). With CM keep the direct speech of Lamech, introduced by *ὅτι* = די; E in the 3rd person.

Ll. 22–3. The passage בקשוט ... שמה is translated in CM *δικαίως καὶ ὅσιον* (*ωσιων* MS.) *κά*[*λεσο*]*ν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα*; it should not be corrected to *δ. κ. ὁσίως*, ⟨*καὶ*⟩ *κά*[*λεσο*]*ν α. τὸ ὄ.* ⟨*Νῶε*⟩ (Bonner). Our Enᶜ and also E make it clear that there is an omission by homoeoteleuton in CM: *κά*[*λεσο*]*ν* ⟨*τόδε τὸ παιδίον τὸ γεννηθὲν καὶ Νῶε κάλεσον*⟩; E reads *ʾĕsma zatawalda waldu* (better Eᴵᵍ *waldĕka*) *wĕʾĕtu baṣĕdĕq* (*ṣâdĕq* Eᵍᴵᵍᵘ) *waṣawĕʾĕ sĕmo noḥ*, thus shortening, and inverting the order of words, in the first part of this passage.—*Δικαίως* = בקשוט also in line 30 (En. 107: 2).

The phrase 'and pious call this boy who is born' gives the first etymology of the name Noah, based on the late Hebrew adjective *nôḥ*, or on the Aramaic *nîḥ*, 'quietus, mitis, placidus, gratus, bonus'. The second etymology, 'the rest, to rest', follows שמה in line 23. These two etymologies are given also by Philo, according to whom Noah means 'rest' or 'just' (*De Abrahamo*, § 27, ed. J. Gorez, *Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 20 (1966), 34): *ὃς Ἑβραίων μὲν τῇ γλώττῃ καλεῖται Νῶε, τῇ δὲ Ἑλλήνων "ἀνάπαυσις" ἢ "δίκαιος"*. The same notice occurs in *Legum allegoria*, iii 37 (ed. C. Mondésert, *Les œuvres* . . . , 2 (1962), 212): *ἑρμηνεύεται γὰρ Νῶε ἀνάπαυσις ἢ δίκαιος*.

The third etymology is given in lines 24–5 by the noun [פלטה], 'salvation', and by the verb יפלט, 'will be rescued, saved' (the latter anticipated in line 21 = En. 106: 15). I think it was inspired by Gen. 5: 29: זה ינחמנו ממעשינו (= עובדי in our passage) ומעצבון ידינו מן האדמה (= ארעא) אשר ארּרה יהוה. The Pa'el of the verb פלט plus the suffix of the 1st person plural, exactly as in ינחמנו, occurs in 1QGenAp xii 17, where Noah and his sons praise the Lord 'and the Great Holy One who rescued us from destruction', לקדישא רבא די פלטנא מן אבדנא. The author of the Noachic work, resumed in GenAp and in En. 106–7, did not, however, interpret the verb *nḥm* in the Hebrew sense 'to console', but in the Eastern Aramaic meaning 'vivificavit, resuscitavit'; notice the nouns *nûḥâmâ* and *nûḥâmᵉtâ*, 'resurrectio, restitutio in pristinum statum', where the first part of the words calls to mind the name *Noḥ*.

The literary fashion of giving a triple explanation of the names of important persons can be detected in the Aramaic Testament of Levi, in the etymologies of the names of Gershom, of Qahat, and (probably) of 'Amram; it becomes evident when one compares three fragmentary texts preserved in the following manuscripts: Koutloumous 39, fol. 205v–207r (Greek version), Cambridge, Univ. Libr., T-S. 16. 94, col. *c* and *d* (Aramaic Cairo Test. of Levi), and 4QTLevib 1 iv (tiny Aramaic fragment). The influence of triple etymology is also reflected in the use of three names for a man or for a spirit; such was the case of Moses, of Michael, and of Beli'al; see my paper in *RB* lxxix (1971), 77–97.

Here one may point out that the etymologies (and not only those mentioned above) play more often on the Hebrew than on the Aramaic meaning of words. This is particularly obvious, for instance, in the etymology of Jared in En. 6: 6, [די נחתו] ביומי ירד (4QEna 1 iii 3–4); the ordinary Aramaic narrative phrase becomes a significant play on words in Hebrew retranslation: אשר ירדו בימי ירד. One must then conclude that authors writing in Aramaic, such as those of the Book of Watchers, the Book of Noah, or the Testament of Levi, used the Hebrew etymologies deliberately, presuming a sufficient knowledge of this sacred language on the part of their future readers. Notice also that, according to Jewish belief, Hebrew was the first language of mankind and that of patriarchs. Anyhow, these word-plays, clear in Hebrew and obscured in Aramaic writings, certainly cannot be advanced as an argument for the original Hebrew redaction of the book of Enoch (as often claimed in the past; see *v. gr.* Charles, ii, p. lvii), or of the Testament of Levi (as suggested by P. Grelot, 'Le Testament araméen de Lévi est-il traduit de l'hébreu?' in *Revue des études juives*, xiv (cxiv) (1955), 91–9).

J. Amir, 'Explanation of Hebrew Names in Philo' (*Tarbiz*, 31 (1961–2), 297), proved definitely that Philo, not knowing Hebrew (nor Aramaic), used a pre-existent Greek Onomasticon of Biblical proper names. D. Rokeah, 'A New Onomasticon Fragment from Oxyrhynchus and Philo's Etymologies' (*JThS*, N.S. xix (1968), 70–82) confirms this argument and dates the first redaction of such an Onomasticon to the late third or early second century B.C. Rokeah is right too when he points out, against the thesis of A. T. Hanson, 'Philo's Etymologies' (*JThS*, N.S. xviii (1967), 128–39), that the Greek Onomastica and Jerome's translation both provide us with parallels for the most far-fetched etymologies in Philo. Let us illustrate these statements by the four etymologies given in the books of Enoch:

1. The Watchers, Sons of Heaven, *descended* (ירדו) in the days of *Jared* (ירד), En. 6: 6 (Ena 1 iii 3–4; see note ad loc.).—Ἰάρεδ κατάβασις, P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*, 177, 70;

Ἰάρεθ καταβασις ἢ ἐπίβλεψις Κυρίου ἢ ἐπικράτησις, ibid. 192, 93; 'Jared descendens siue continens, quod graece dicitur *ἐπικρατῶν*', ibid. 64, 30; 'Iareth descendens siue roborans', ibid. 7, 11.

2. The name of Hermon from the mutual anathematizing of the Watchers: חר[מו]ן and אחרמ[ון] in En^a 1 iii 4–5 (En. 6: 6); see note ad loc.—*Ἑρμῶν ἀναθεματίζων, On. S.* (Glossae Colbertinae), 202, 73–4 (read, according to the manuscript, Colbertinus 4124 = Paris, Bibl. Nat. grec 2617, fol. 78^v ii 37 *Ἑρμῶν: ἀναθεματισμός*); 'Ærmon anathema moeroris', *On. S.*, 23, 25 (cf. 22, 9); 'Ermon anathema siue damnatio', 27, 5; 'Ermon anathema eius uel anathema moeroris', 48, 16.

3. *Ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Λαμεχ· ἐταπεινώθη ἡ δικαιοσύνη μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης.* En. 106: 1 (CM); see above, note to En^c 5 i 26–7.—*Λάμεχ ταπείνωσις*, Philo, ***De posteritate Caini***, §§ 41, 46, 73 (ed. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, ii (1958), 350, 352, 368).—*Λαμεχ πλήξαντος ἢ ταπείνωσις, On S.*, 176, 48 (the same item in Par. Gr. 2617, fol. 75^v ii 34); 'Lamech humiliatus aut percutiens siue percussum', 8, 3; 'Lamech humilis, quidam putant percutientem siue percussum posse resonare', 65, 5 (the last entry also in [D. de Bruyne], ***Préfaces de la Bible Latine***, 1920, p. 190, no. 47).

4. Of three etymologies of Noah given in En. 106: 18 only one, 'rest', is retained by Onomastica: *Νῶε ἀνάπαυσις, On. S.*, 176, 51; 177, 71; 203, 22 (the last = Par. Gr. 2617, fol. 79^v i 21; also ibid., fol. 75^v ii 39). It is not true, on the other hand, that the *Glossae Colbertinae* give the second etymology of Philo, namely *Νώη δικαιοσύνη, On. S.* 203, 22 (repeated by Rokeah, loc. cit., p. 82 no. 12). The MS. Gr. Par. 2617, fol. 79^v i 26 writes clearly *Ναύη: δικαιοσύνη*, the name of Joshua's father having the same meaning in *On. S.* 183, 23–4: *Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ σωτὴρ ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης*. But, in fact, the etymology 'Noah = righteousness' occurs in quite different texts, namely in a number of medieval chronicles which all depended in their initial sections on an anonymous 'Chronicle of Creation'. Apropos of the confusion of Babel, they tell us that the Hebrew language was that of Adam until Eber, and that 'the names of ancient men' (*τὰ τῶν παλαίων ὀνόματα*) are meaningful only in Hebrew, beginning with that of 'Adam = man'. About the etymology of Noah they write: *καὶ ἡ τοῦ Νῶε προσηγορία δι' ἑτέρας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς διαλέκτου ἑρμηνεύεται· κατὰ δὲ ταύτην* (sc. Hebrew language) *δικαιοσύνην σημαίνεται*; Chronicle of Symeon the Magister and the Logothetes, Par. Gr. 1712, fol. 11^v 34–5; the same wording in the Chronicle of Leo Grammaticus, Par. Gr. 854, fol. 331^v 25–7 (with the marginal title: *Νῶε δικαιοσύνη*) = ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1842, p. 13, 13–15; *καὶ ἡ τοῦ Νῶε προσηγορία· δικαιοσύνην σημαίνει*, Par. Gr. 1712, fol. 23^r 34 (the source of Cedrenus); the same wording in the Synopsis of George Cedrenus, MS. Sinai, Greek 1184, fol. 12^v 17–18 = ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838, p. 23, 1–2. This story of the original language of mankind derives perhaps from the world chronicle of S. J. Africanus, who—at least for the etymology 'Noe–righteousness'—seems to depend on Philo.

Anyhow, accepting the thesis of the two Israeli scholars, we can agree that the author of the original Greek Onomasticon, who certainly wrote earlier than Philo, invented most of his plays on words by himself. Nevertheless he also borrowed some of his etymologies from the Hebrew or Greek Old Testament, and a few of them from other ancient Jewish works: thus, the etymologies of Jared and of Hermon from the Book of Enoch, those of Lamech and of Noah from

the Enochic Pentateuch, or rather from the Book of Noah, the source of En. 106–7. If one admits Rokeah's dating of this Onomasticon, one has a *terminus ante quem* for the Book of Noah, which corroborates the date of its composition proposed above, p. 56.

L. 23. [Κατά]λιμμα in CM ('a remainder' in E) translates the substantive (א)נית or even נוח (Hebrew).—Ἀφ' (ἐφ' ed., according to Sir. 5: 7 and 44: 23) οὗ ἂν καταπαύσηται (read -τε) om. by E; retranslate: (or תתנחון) תנוחון (or מנה) די בה.

L. 24. καὶ [οἱ υἱο]ὶ αὐτοῦ was preceded by καὶ αὐτὸς σωθήσεται omitted in CM by homoeoteleuton and preserved in E. It seems, however, that neither CM nor E kept a phrase parallel to ἔσται ὑμῖν κατάλειμμα, namely, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν σωτηρία, αὐτὸς γὰρ σωθήσεται κ.τ.λ.—In the lacuna I restore מן חבל ארעא according to ἀπο τῆς φθορᾶς τῆς γῆς; E paraphrases 'from the destruction which shall come upon the earth'. The noun חבל is preserved in line 22 (verse 17b) where CM and E use the same words, φθορά and *musna*.—καὶ ἀ[πὸ] πάντων τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ed. (καια or κατα in the note); but four letters were lost in the lacuna and I supply κατὰ [ἔργα or ἔργον] πάντων τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν; E briefly: 'on account of all the sin'. The preposition κατά doubtless translated די מן: 'the corruption of the earth which (had been caused) by the works of sinners'; a second ומן, parallel to the preceding one, has been translated by ἀπό in CM.

L. 25. κ[αὶ ἀ]πὸ [πασῶ]ṿ τῶν συντελ̣ίῳṿ ἐ[πὶ τῆς γῆς] ed. (alternatively [συμπασῶ]ν, in the note); but the second lacuna is longer than Bonner thinks and I supply [τῶν ἀδικίω]ṿ, whilst the damaged word is better read as συντελ̣ο̣ṳμέ[νων], all of which is fairly close to the Ethiopic text: 'and on account of all the injustice which will be consummated on the earth in his days'.—Ἀδικίαι (= רשע in the plural?) was linked directly in the original with τῆς γῆς, because there is no place further on for על ארעא. Instead of מן רשעי ארעא one could just as well restore מן רשע בני ארעא, which is closely parallel to (or עובד) מן עובדי כול חטיא.—להוא in Enc refers to חבלא, or else to רשע, if our suggestion is accepted.

Ll. 25–6. From ביומוהי down to קדישין the corresponding text in CM is missing through the loss of the lower portion of the columns.

Ll. 25–7 (En. 106: 19). L. 25. תקיף: *fadfâda* E; translate 'stronger' and not simply 'still more' (Charles).

Ll. 25–6. [מן דן די ישתלם] ביומו[הי]; in E: 'than that which was first consummated on the earth', *'ĕm'ĕnta tafaṣamat qadâmi diba mĕdĕr*. I restore the predicate in future tense, and I omit 'first' following E^{Ig}. Read ביומו[הי], 'in his (Noah's) days', or rather ביומי[הון], 'in their days' (sc. of Noah and of his sons); the suffix of the latter reading seems to be indicated by *dibehomu* E^{t} for which all other manuscripts substituted 'on the earth'. 'Upon them' of E^{t} translates probably ἐπὶ αὐτῶν in the temporal meaning, well known in Greek, 'during their days, life', when talking of the events which had happened under previous kings, etc.

L. 26. ברזי [מריא די] קדישין אחויוני ואחזיוני; E transposes: 'the mysteries of the Holy Ones, for the Lord has shown (them) to me and has made (them) known to me'. The text of CM was correct, to judge by the plural of the first predicate: [. . .] ὑπέδιξαν μοι καὶ ἐμήνυ[σάν (εμεηνυ MS.) μοι, my restoration; σεν ed.].

Ll. 27–9 (En. 107: 1). L. 27. וחזית = *warĕ'iku* E; τότε τεθέαμαι CM.—καιειδωντοτε (nothing corresponding in E) should be corrected to read κατ' εἶδος τόδε, 'according to this manner'

(*καὶ εἶδον τόδε* ed.), which translates בכדן of the original, 'thus, in this manner'; in the context: 'more and more'.—ובאש להוא om. in the Greek.

L. 28. דרי: Greek in the singular.—רשעה (for רשעא) om. in the Greek.—Towards the end of the verse the text of CM is correct, except for the omission of עד די; E translates the plural טבן by 'very well' and omits 'on them'.

Ll. 29–30 (En. 107: 2). L. 29. *Ἀπότρεχε TAI τέκνον* (*ται* dittography of *τε* according to Bonner); correct *ται* to *ναί*, a fairly satisfactory attempt to convey the exclamation נא.—*Τέκνον* ('O my son' E): an addition of the Greek, which also moves *Λαμεχ τῷ υἱῷ σου* after the second imperative.—The phrase of the beginning of verse 2 occurs also in GenAp v 10: אזל אמר ללמך ברך.

L. 30. *Τὸ γεννηθέν* (plus 'to him', E) has been added by the Greek according to vv. 16 (line 21) and 18 (line 23).—The end of verse 2 comes twice in GenAp: בקושט . . . ולא בכדבין ii 6 and 7; cf. above, l. 22 (En. 106: 18).—The remainder of the line was probably left blank, and the following column, the last on the scroll of 4QEnᶜ, contained only En. 107: 3.

FOURTH COPY (4QEnᵈ, Pls. XVI–XVII)

Skin pale or dark brown, of medium thickness; surface finely granular and fairly smooth; it is flaking and disintegrating, especially along the lines of writing; back wrinkled. Guide-lines moderately broad and not very deep.

The hand is fairly similar to that of Enᶜ, less assured and less firm but applied with greater pressure and with the letters straighter; one might say it is that of a pupil who is drawing his inspiration from the calligraphy of his teacher. In the same way, the arrangement of the text in the columns of the scroll (thirty lines of writing per column) and the orthography (in particular שליאו 1 xi 5, or even [א]שליאו, absolute state of שליותא, *ἀνάπαυσις*, and ראם = רם 2 ii 27) are identical in Enᶜ and in Enᵈ. One may conclude, accordingly, that the original scroll of Enᵈ contained the same Enochic writings as Enᶜ, namely the Books of Watchers, Giants, and Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch.

Of the scroll Enᵈ only two piles of fragments have been preserved: the first comprising the fragments of 1 xi–xii (Book of Watchers) and the second those of 2 i–iii (Book of Dreams), the former from the upper part of the columns, the latter from the lower part of them. Col. 1 xi, fifty-six letters per line on average; 1 xii, fifty-seven letters; 2 i–iii, fifty-two letters.

Given the rather deplorable state of the written surface, one may usefully consult earlier photographs for verification of the readings: PAM 42. 233, etc.

[4QEnᵈ 1 i–x are missing]

4QEn[d] 1 xi—En. 22: 13–24: 1 (Pl. XVI)

margin

] להן לא[a] יתנזקון ביום דינא מן [תנה ולא יתקימון] מן תנה[b]

[14 באדין ברכת למרא רבות]א ואמרת להוה בריך דין קושט[א ולהוה בריך
מרא] רבותא

[וקושטא דמריא לעלמא] 23 1 ומן תמן אובלת לאתר א[חרן למערב סיאפי
ארעא 2 וא]תח[c][זית]

[נור די הוה מדבר ודי לא ישלא] ולא ישרי בדב[רונה ביומא ובליליא
כח]דה לבך

[3 ושאלת ואמרת מה הוא די לא אי]תי לה כל שליאן[4 וענה לי רעואל דן
ד]גלה ונורא הוא

[די למערב דברונה, הוא רדף לכול מנירת] ש[מיא 24 1 ואחזיני טורין די
נור ד]לק אשן בינת[הון]

7–30 [משתלהב בליליא [

[13][. . . . Hence those who suffer affliction there, being punished less in regard to] their (spirits), they will not be afflicted, with (greater) damage, in the day of judgement, away from [there, nor will they be transferred permanent]ly from there'. [14][Then I blessed the Lord of Majesty] and said: 'Blessed be the Judgement of Righteousness, [and blessed be the Lord] of Majesty [and of Righteousness who is the Lord of the world.']

[23] [1]And from there I was transported to another place, [westwards of the ends of the earth], [2]and I was shown [fire which runs here and there, neither resting] nor halting in its running behind [by day or by night], (yet) at the same time remaining constant. [3][And I asked and said: 'What is this] which never pauses?' [4][And Ra'û'el answered me: 'This is] its function, (that) this fire [whose running is to the west, follows (as a shepherd) all the luminaries] of heaven.' [24] [1][And he showed me mountains, and] the ground between them was of burning [fire, glowing during the night . . .]

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 1 (En. 22: 13). The text of C, *ΤΑΔΕ πνεύματα ὅτι οἱ ἐνθάδε θλειβέντες ἔλαττον κολάζονται αὐτῶν οὐ τειμωρηθήσονται*, is drastically abridged in E: *wanafsomusa 'itĕtqatal*, 'and their spirit shall not be slain'. I read *τάδε* (not *τὰ δὲ*) *πνεύματα*, 'these spirits', to be joined with the

preceding word, *μέτοχοι*. The new phrase has the masculine subject, *οἱ*, which is in agreement with the masculine form of יתנזקון, and recalls (*τοῖς πνεύμασι*) *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* at the beginning of verse 13. The pronoun *αὐτῶν* translates probably להן, 'in regard to their (spirits)'. The first מן תנה is omitted in C and E. By this repetition the author of the Book of Enoch emphasizes the fact that the occupants of the fourth section of the abode of the dead, which is described in verses 12–13 of chapter 22, will not suffer any special damage (לא יתנזקון) on the day of judgement nor will they dwell anywhere else but here nor be transferred from here, ולא] יתקימו[ן מן תנה, to another place in order to be condemned to a harsher and endless punishment. In any case, *μὴ μετεγερθῶσιν ἐντεῦθεν* in C ('they will not rise from there' E) does not refer in any way to the doctrine of bodily resurrection, as is generally acknowledged. The Ethpa'al of קום means 'to remain permanent, to retain (life, etc.) lastingly', like the foliage of certain trees which remains on them during the winter, עליהן מתקימין, Enᵃ 1 ii 5.

Ll. 2–3 (En. 22: 14). C and E omit by homoeoteleuton: ⟨בריך ⟨דין קושטא ולהוה בריך. C expresses the doxology in direct speech, in the 2nd person, *εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε*, while E keeps the indirect form, which is original, adding, however, *ὁ κύριός μου* after *εὐλογητός*. Several manuscripts of E (q and *β*) retain the first epithet, '(the Lord) of glory', *sĕbḥat wa(ṣĕdĕq)*. The last epithet, *κυριεύων τοῦ αἰῶνος*, to be retranslated דמריא לעלמא, recalls מרא עלמא of Enᵇ 1 iii 14; see the note there.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 23: 2). *καὶ ἐθεασάμην* C: this verb translates the passive form of the Aramaic חזה: cf. the note to Enᶜ 1 xii 27. 'A blazing fire' E: 'blazing' is missing in C and was probably missing in the Aramaic text. כחדה = *ἅμα* in C, which should therefore not be corrected to *ἀλλά* to correspond with E, as it was by Charles.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 23: 4). This verse was quite considerably reworked in C and E. In any case, I consider the identification of the fragment *c* of Enᵈ 1 (ends of lines 3–6) to be beyond doubt, above all on account of the excellent correspondence כחדה לבך = *ἅμα διαμένον* (line 4 = En. 23: 2), an equivalent rendering such as will not be found anywhere else in this part of the Book of Enoch. The phrase in C (and in E) which refers to Raguel (רעואל), *ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὃς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἦν*, was certainly not in the original.

In En. 20: 4 Raguel is described as follows: *Ῥαγουήλ, ὁ εἷς τῶν* (*τον* C′) *ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὁ ἐκδεικῶν* (*εκεκων* C′) *τὸν κόσμον τῶν φωστήρων* C, pl. XXIXʳ 17–19; C′, pl. XIʳ 6–8. The Ethiopic, too, read *ἐκδικῶν*, 'who takes vengeance', but the original reading of the Greek was certainly *ἐκδιώκων*, that of our passage of En. 23: 4.

The original Aramaic text, or at the very least the text of Enᵈ, mentioned only the name of the archangel Ra'û'el, having assumed implicitly that the reader would know, from 20: 4, that this angel was in charge of the celestial fire from which the world of stars is supplied. Such a function is strictly cosmic and astronomical, quite different from the moral and social functions fulfilled by other archangels. Enoch wonders at the eternal fire which keeps the stars lit and burning and whose reservoirs are situated in the mountains of fire, 24: 1 (see below). In fact, *ἐκδιώκων* does not have the positive meaning of persecution, but simply of pursuit, as when a shepherd follows his flock. The corresponding Aramaic verb is רדף, which has precisely this meaning 'to follow the flock, to watch over it, to let it graze' in Safaitic. Correspondingly, the participle of *διατρέχων* and the noun *δρόμος* translate the Aramaic [מדבר] and [דב[רון, with the basic meaning: 'go behind (the flock, running to this and that side of it)'. The author of the Book of

Enoch is thus referring to the actual name of the archangel which he took to signify 'Shepherd of God' (really 'Delight of God').

Raguel's reply to Enoch—I believe that it was not introduced by באדין = *τότε* (*ἀπεκρίθη μοι Ῥαγουήλ*), but simply by ו, 'and'—has also been reworked, in the transition from the Aramaic to the Greek and from the Greek to the Ethiopic; in C *οὗτος ὁ δρόμος τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ πρὸς δυσμὰς πῦρ τὸ ἐκδιῶκόν ἐστιν πάντας τοὺς φωστῆρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; in E 'that (thing) the course {of which you have seen}, that (thing which moves) towards the West, is the fire which burns (*sic*) all the luminaries of heaven'. The initial phrase *οὗτος ὁ δρόμος* seems to replace another substantive. In En[d] I restore [דן ד]גלה, 'this is its sign', that is, the astronomical function of the eternal fire. The Greek translator of the Aramaic Enoch did not know the meaning of this term and simply omitted it; see En. 2: 3 and 4 = En[a] 1 ii 2, 3, 6 (note to line 2), and En. 82: 9 = Enastr[b] 28 1 (quoted in the note to En[c] 1 i 19 and below, p. 295). Anticipating the word *δρόμος*, the Greek editor was obliged to rework the syntax of the original text which must have been worded in approximately the following terms: *καὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο οὗ πρὸς δυσμὰς ὁ δρόμος ἐκδιῶκόν ἐστιν πάντας τοὺς φωστῆρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.*

L. 6 (En. 24: 1). The beginning should be supplied in accordance with C: *καὶ ἔδιξέν μοι ὄρη πυρὸς καιόμενα*. In E it is preceded by the phrase 'and from there I went to another place of the earth', which is certainly wrong, since Raguel remains in the actual spot where the depository of the celestial fire is. It is not until verse 2 that Enoch travels towards the seven mountains of God and towards the grove of immortality. After *καιόμενα* C has *νυκτός* which seems to be original; '{day and} night' E. Our Aramaic fragment enables us to restore the original wording of this phrase: '(mountains), and the ground (lit. floors) between them was of burning fire, glowing during the night'. Most of it was omitted in G and E by homoeoarcton: *πυρὸς ⟨καιομένου, ἐδάφη μεταξὺ αὐτῶν⟩ καιόμενα νυκτός*. For אשן = *ἐδάφη* see En[c] 1 vi 24 (En. 14: 10 end).

4QEn[d] 1 xii—En. 25: 7–27: 1 (Pl. XVI)

margin

[קאם] לק֯ו֯ב֯לה֯ ד֯[d]י מ֯כ֯[ין לאנשא כאלן לקשיטין ו]א֯[e]ל֯[ן ברא ואמר למהב להון 26 1 ומן תמן]

[אובלת למ]צ֯י֯ע֯ א֯[רעא וחזית אתר מתברך] די [בה] א֯י֯ל֯[נין די ענפיהון מתקימין ומתניצין]

[2 ותמן אחזיאת טור חד קדיש ונפקי]ן מן תחתוהי֯ [די טורא מין מן מדנחה ומנחתהון לדרומא]

[*vacat*] *va*[*cat*]

[3 וחזית למדנחא טור אוחרן רם] מ֯נה וביני֯הון חלה ע֯[מיקה די לא איתי לה פותי די בה]

[מין נפקין מן תחתוהי די טורא 4 ולמערבא]לה֯ [ט]ו֯ר֯ א֯ו֯[חרן שפל מנה די לא איתי לה רום]

[וחלה עמיקה ויבישה תחתוהי ו]בׄינׄתׄהון וׄחׄ[לה אוחרי על תלתת טוריא

5 וכול חליא עמיקן [

ובטנר תקיף ואילן לא מתנצב בהן 6 ות]מהת על טׄוׄר[יא ותמהת על חליא ותמהת לחדא]

[27 1 באדין אמרת למה די ארעא דה מת]בׄרׄכׄהׄ [וכ]וׄל[ה מלאה אילנין]

10–30 [ ]

[25 7. . . the King of the world which stands] before Him, Who prepares [such things for men (if they are) righteous; and] these things [He has created and promised to give to them. 26 1And from thence I was translated] to the centre of the earth, [and I saw a blessed place in] which were trees [whose branches bloomed with everlasting blossom. 2And there I was shown a holy mountain, and] proceeding forth from beneath [the mountain, water, from the East, and going down towards the South.

3And I saw to the East another mountain higher] than it, and between them a deep valley [which was without breadth, with water proceeding forth from beneath the mountain. 4And to the West] of it another mountain [lower than it but without height, and a deep and dry valley underneath it and] between these (mountains), and there was [another] valley [at (the foot of) these three mountains. 5And all the valleys were deep and of hard rock, and no tree was planted in them. 6And] I marvelled at the mountains [and I marvelled at the valleys, and I marvelled exceedingly. 27 1Then I said: 'Why is this land] blessed, and all of it [full of trees . . .]

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 1 (En. 25: 7). The expression לקובלה belongs to a phrase omitted in G and E, probably through homoeoteleuton: *αἰῶνος ὃς* ⟨*ἑστήκει*(?) *ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ὃς*⟩.—The verb אמר, *καὶ εἶπεν* (*δοῦναι αὐτοῖς*), has here the meaning 'to promise', as is often the case in the Canaanite and Aramaic languages, e.g. Phoenician, Hebrew, Palmyrene; for the last dialect see Milik, *Dédicaces*, p. 3.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 26: 1). The Greek verb *ἐφώδευσα εἰς* corresponds to the Aramaic אובלת ל, 'I was transported (by the angels)', as in the preceding column, line 3 (En. 23: 1), and in En[e] 1 xxvi 18 (En. 32: 2). I retranslate *παραφυάδας* by 'branches' and not by 'young shoots', since the choice of the Greek word was prescribed by *τοῦ δένδρου ἐκκοπέντος*, which is a gloss peculiar to C and E (Charles); is it a Christian anti-Jewish addition?

L. 3 (En. 26: 2). The form *τεθέαμαι* is equal to אחזיאת, as in En[c] 1 xii 30 (En. 32: 1).—I restore טור חד in accordance with כף חד in En[d] 2 ii 27 and En[e] 4 iii 19 (En. 89: 29).—The Aramaic manuscript used by the Greek translator probably omitted, through homoeoteleuton,

the participle מן ⟨ונפקין⟩.—The reading of C, *καὶ τὴν δύσιν εἶχεν*, is to be retained as *lectio difficilior*, against *wawĕḥzatu*, 'and its flowing' of E. The noun *δύσιν*, in its basic sense of 'going down' (speaking of sun, moon, stars), translates without doubt the infinitive מנחת; cf. והמים ירדים in Ezek. 47: 1. The author of our Enochic writing is clearly influenced by the passage of Ezek. 47: 1–12; see also Joel 4: 18 and Zech. 14: 8, and my paper in *RB* lxvi (1959), 533–4.

Line 4 is left completely blank, as the preceding line which concludes a paragraph section was completely filled with writing.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 26: 3). In C correct (*ἀνὰ μέσον*) *αὐτοῦ* to *αὐτῶν*, as in Enᵈ, ביניהון, and E.

Ll. 6–7 (En. 26: 4). In the second part of the verse, line 7, the text of G is relatively close to the supposed Aramaic original: *καὶ φάραγγαν βαθεῖαν καὶ ξηρὰν* ⟨*ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ καὶ*: preserved in Eᵐᵠᵘᵃ which omits, however, the two preceding adjectives⟩ *ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ ἄλλην φάραγγαν* {*βαθεῖαν καὶ ξηρὰν*} *ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν τριῶν ὀρέων*. The second *βαθεῖαν καὶ ξηρὰν* is probably a superfluous addition of the Greek, drawing on *περὶ τῆς φάραγγος* in v. 6. The latter expression should normally refer to the last-mentioned valley, but in fact refers to the last but one. For the identification of mountains, brooks, and valleys in En. 26: 2–5 see above, pp. 36–7. The expression *ἐπ' ἄκρων* seems to correspond to the simple preposition על = *ἐπί*. For another strange use of *ἐπ' ἄκρων* see the note to Enᵉ 1 xxvi 20 (En. 32: 2).

Ll. 7–8 (En. 26: 5). I translate *ἐκ πέτρας στερεᾶς* by בטנר תקיף according to the Targum of Isa. 50: 7; ed. J. F. Stenning, pp. 170–1.—The Aramaic probably did not have the phrase 'and without breadth', which is found in E, but not in C.

L. 8 (En. 26: 6). C omits by homoeoteleuton ותמהת ⟨על טוריא ותמהת⟩ על.

L. 9 (En. 27: 1). I restore באדין: *wĕ'ĕta gize*, 'then', in E, *καὶ* in C.

4QEnᵈ 2 i—En. 89: 11–14 (Pl. XVII)

[ ]

[ ]∘∘̊[a]∘[ ]

] [11] ושריו למנכת ו]למׄדבר אלן

[לאלן ותורא חורא די אתילד ביניהון אולד ערד ועגל חור כח]דׄה וׄערדין

[אתשנאו [12] ועגלא חורא דן די אתילד מן תורא חורא אולד חזי]ר אׄכום ודׄכר די ען

[חור וחזירא אולד חזירין שגיאין ודכרא אולד אמרין תרי]עשׂר *vacat*

[[13] וכדי רביאו תרי עשר אמריא אלן יהבו אמר חד מ]נהון לערדׄיא וערדיא

[יהבו אמרא דן לדבין ואמרא רבה לות דביא [14] ודבר דכרא] לׄ[ח]ד עׄשׂר אמריא כׄולהון

[ ]...[ ]

[. . . 11And they began to bite and] to chase one [another; and the white bull which was born among them begat a wild ass and a white bull-calf] as well, and the wild asses [multiplied. 12And this white bull-calf which was sired by the white bull begat] a black wild boar and a [white] ram of the flock [and the wild boar begat many wild boars and the ram begat] twelve [sheep. 13And when those twelve sheep had grown they gave one] of them to the wild asses, and the wild asses [gave up that sheep to wolves, and the sheep grew up among wolves. 14And the ram led forth] all of the eleven sheep [. . .]

Texts for comparison: En[e] 4 ii 11–17 and E.

Ll. 24–6 (En. 89: 11). To the words 'and they began to bite one another' in E there corresponded in the original 'and they began to bite and to chase one another'.

L. 25. ועֲרדין: the plural has been kept in several manuscripts of E; other manuscripts in the singular: 'wild ass'.

Ll. 26–7 (En. 89: 12). 'A white sheep' in E is inaccurate, as the original has דכר די ען [חור], 'a ram of the flock, [a white one]'.

L. 29 (En. 89: 14). ודבר דכרא in accordance with En[e] as against 'and the Lord brought' in E.—כולהון: E omits.

4QEn[d] 2 ii—En. 89: 29–31 (Pl. XVII)

[ ]

[29 ואמרא סלק לראש כף] חד ראם[b] ו[מרא ענא שלח לה לות ענא]

[וכולהון קמו מן רחוק va[cat] [vacat

[30 באדין חזית והא מרא ענא קאם לקוב]ל ענא וחזיה תקיף ורב וד[חיל וכול]

[ענא חזו לה ודחלו מן קודמוהי 31 וכולהון הווא רע]דין ודחל[ין מן קודמוהי]

[. . . 29and that sheep went up to the summit of] a high [rock], and [the Lord of the sheep sent him to the flock, and they all stood at a distance.

30Then I saw and behold, the Lord of the sheep stood] facing the flock, and his appearance was strong and great and fearful; [and all the flock saw Him and were afraid before Him. 31And all of them] were trembling and fearful [before Him . . .]

Texts for comparison: E, En[e] 4 iv 7–9 and En[c] 4 i.

Ll. 27–8 (En. 89: 29). Only one Ethiopic manuscript of Enoch, M, retained the indefinite 'a rock' = חד [כף]; all the other manuscripts of E: 'this rock'. For this term and for the addition at line 28 see En[e].

Ll. 29–30 (En. 89: 30). The order of the adjectives is different in E: 'great and terrible and powerful' instead of 'powerful and great and terrible'.

L. 30 (En. 89: 31). The order רעדין ודחלין inverts that of דחלין ורעדין in En[c] and in E.

4QEn[d] 2 iii—En. 89: 43–4 (Pl. XVII)

1–26] 43ודכרא דן שרי לנגחה[

בׄקׄרׄנׄוׄהׄיׄ [ולמרדף בקרנוהי ולנשקה לתעליא ובאתרהון לחזיריא ואובד]

חזירין שגיא[ן ובאתרהון שרי לכלביא 44ואמרא די עינוהי אתפתחו חזה]

לדכרא די ענ[א דן עד די שבק ארחה ושרי למנקש לענא וארמה לה ושרי

למהך לא]

בארח *va*]*cat* [

margin

[. . . 43And that ram began to butt] with his horns [and to pursue with his horns and to strike hard the foxes, and thereafter the wild boars, and he destroyed] many wild boars [and thereafter let the dogs go free. 44And the sheep whose eyes were opened beheld that] ram of the flock, [until he deserted his way and began to strike the flock, to trample it down, and to depart out of] a (good) way. [. . .]

Texts for comparison: E and the Vatican fragment, the latter from the edition of M. Gitlbauer, *Die Ueberreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809* (extract from *Die Denkschriften der philosophische-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xxviii), 1st fascicle, Vienna, 1878, pp. 57 (syllabic transcription) and pp. 94–5, no. xvi. Cf. above, p. 74.

Ll. 26–8 (En. 89: 43). This verse is much shortened and inaccurate in E; Vat., on the other hand, seems to be very close to the original: *καὶ ὁ κριὸς οὗτος ἤρξατο κερατίζειν καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐν τοῖς κέρασιν· καὶ ἐνετίνασσεν εἰς τοὺς ἀλώπεκας καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς ὕας· καὶ ἀπώλεσαν* (read *ἀπώλεσεν*) *ὕας πολλοὺς* (corrected in MS. from *πολλυς*) *καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἤρξαντο* (read *ἤρξατο*) *τοὺς κύνας*. The expression *μετ' αὐτούς* (twice) translates באתרהון which has, however, the temporal meaning: *μετὰ ταῦτα*, 'thereafter'.—*κερατίζειν*: cf. *κερατίζοντα* = מנגח

in Dan. 8: 4; here [לנגחה] בקרנוהי.—The verb ἐνετίνασσεν means 'to strike violently' (cf. 1 Macc. 2: 36 and, with εἰς as in our passage, 2 Macc. 4: 41 and 11: 11); it probably translates נקש in the Pael.—'The foxes' are the Ammonites of 1 Sam. 11: 1–15.—'The wild boars' are the Amalekites of 1 Sam. 15: 1–9, as already noticed by the author of the work from which the extract in the MS. Vat. Gr. 1809 comes. Indeed, the explicit detail 'and he caused numerous wild boars to perish' refers to the *ḥerem* to which the Amalekites were dedicated; a passing mention of the Edomites in 1 Sam. 14: 47 would not explain this remark of the author.—In the phrase ἤρξαντο τοὺς κύνας ('dogs', the Philistines) the Greek translator has confused שרי, 'began', with שרי, 'released (free), no longer pursued'; this is a clear reference to 1 Sam. 14: 46: ויעל שאול מאחרי פלשתים.

Ll. 28–30 (En. 89: 44). At the beginning there is a reference to Samuel (cf. 1 Sam. 13: 8–15 and 15: 1–35); we should thus correct (partly in accordance with E) the plural of four words of Vat. to the singular: καί τὸ πρόβατον, οὗ (MS. τὰ πρόβατα ὧν) οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἠνοίγησαν ἐθεάσατο (MS. ἐθεάσαντο).—לדכרא די ענ[א דן] = τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐν τοῖς προβάτοις; more precisely ἐκ τῶν προβάτων = די ענא would be necessary, as in v. 42 of Vat. E follows the Greek of Vat.: 'which was in the midst of the sheep'.—The passage in E, '(began) to strike these sheep and trampled upon them' (Vat. omits), was probably found in the original, although it refers to the events which followed the anointing of David, vv. 46–7. The phrase which precedes this passage and that which follows, however, are better preserved in Vat., to judge by the latter: καὶ ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι ἀνοδίᾳ = [ושרי למהך לא] בארח, as against ἀδοξίᾳ in E. In the same way, the first phrase of Vat., ἕως οὗ ἀφῆκεν τὴν ὁδόν, is preferable, because of the parallelism of 'way' and 'no way'; 'until he (the ram) forsook his glory (δόξαν)' E.

FIFTH COPY (4QEnᵉ, Pls. XVIII–XXI)

Skin of a bluish colour, or pale red, or else dark brown, moderately thick (fragments 1 xx, 2 and 3, are a little thicker and stiffer than the others); surface finely granular, glazed here and there, flaking in places; back rather smooth and blackish. Fragments 1 xxvi and following have shrunk somewhat as a result of the disintegration of the skin.

Guide-lines are almost invisible or have disappeared.

The writing, which is very careful at the beginning of the scroll, becomes less careful and hastier from 1 xxvi; none the less, one can hardly doubt that the entire manuscript is the work of a single hand. It dates from the Hasmonaean period, probably from the first half of the first century B.C. (cf. the alphabets traced by Cross, p. 138, fig. 2, lines 2 and 3, and p. 149, fig. 4, lines 2 and 4).

The layout of the text in the columns of the scroll was rather economical, with the lines of writing progressively more closely crammed together, and with a very sparing use of the blank spaces which separate the paragraphs

and the sections of paragraphs: 1 xxii 3, xxvi 18, 4 i 21. The actual copying of the text was very careful: there are few scribal errors (cf. 1 xxvi 16, note) and few corrections: למומ̇י[הון] and ˺בר[בין] 1 xxvii 20 and 21.

The orthography is of the traditional type, relatively defective, but not very regular.

Defective forms: e.g. קשטא 1 xxvi 21; קלפוהי 16; עבדין xxvii 21; כל and כלהון 4 i 20 and 12. Too full, on the other hand: ערטליין 1 xxvii 11, and especially a superfluous Aleph at the end of a word which ends in a vowel (see the introduction to En[c]): בגוא 4 i 17 (cf. בגוהון 4 ii 3) and a phonetic spelling, an intervocalic *-y-* becoming -'-, in קאמין 4 i 19 (as against רם in 4 iii 19, corresponding to ראם in En[d] 2 ii 27).

The definite article is marked by Aleph, with the exception of ערבה 4 i 20 (but ערבא twice in line 15 of the same column) and ענה 4 iii 21. The final vowel *-a* of feminine nouns in the indefinite state, of derived infinitives, of the 3rd person singular masculine of the perfect, etc., is marked by He, with the exception of רמא, 'he threw', 4 i 12; עלא מן 1 xxvi 20. The final *-e* is spelled with He: participle חזה 4 i 16 and 18. The etymological Aleph and Śin are retained: שמוקא and שגיא 1 xxvi 20; שגיאיא 4 i 11; פאתא 1 xxvi 5; שכירו 4 ii 2 (cf. סכר in Biblical Hebrew). In a verbal reflexive form the dentals are not assimilated: יתדינן 1 xxii 2; note in addition that this is the 3rd person plural feminine of the imperfect.

The system of personal independent pronouns and suffixes is normal, with the exception of one phonetic form: omission of the consonant *-h-* in the suffix of the 3rd person plural masculine in ענג⟨ה⟩ון 1 xxii 1. The demonstrative pronoun for an object close at hand is דן, for an object at a distance הוא. Relative pronoun די is used, in conjunctions, before verbs, etc., ד before nouns: דכדן and דמן 1 xxii 6. Worthy of note is the archaic form זי in 4 ii 13 and iii 16; it goes back to the actual period of the composition of this part of the Book of Enoch, towards the middle of the second century B.C.; see my remarks on Mur **72** (*DJD* ii, p. 174).

A similar alternation of older and more recent orthography (and pronunciation) is recorded in the verbal preformatives: causative passive Hophal in הובלת of 1 xxvi 18, and probably in בהדמיה (infinitive) of xxvii 20, and likewise in the reflexive forms: הת[שגאו] 4 ii 17 (instead of השתגאו); התפתחו iii 17. Elsewhere ארחקת and אעברת 1 xxvi 20, אחלפת 19 and 21, אחזית xxvii 1 and 21.

Finally, a doubtful attestation of the adverbial afformative *-âyît* in [תקיפ?]ית of 4 ii 21 should be pointed out.

Just as with the scroll of En[c], it is possible with a fair degree of certainty to assign the fragments belonging to the Book of Watchers (En. 1–36) to their original columns and lines:

Column	Letters per col.	Width of col.	Sections of text	Text preserved	Sigla of fragments	Fragments on plates
[i–xix]						
xx				En. 18: 15 (?)	4QEn[e] 1 xx 1–2	4QEn[e] 1 *a*
xxi			En. 21: 2–22: 3	21: 2–4	xxi 1–4	*b*
xxii	34	9 cm	22: 3–13	22: 3–7	xxii 1–7	*b*
[xxiii–xxv]			22: 13–27: 5			
xxvi	35	9	28: 1–32: 3	28: 3–29: 2; 31: 2–32: 3	xxvi 3–6, 14–21	*c*, *d*
xxvii	40	9·5	32: 3–34: 1	32: 3, 6; 33: 3–34: 1	xxvii 1–3, 10–11, 18–21	*e*, *f*, *g*
[xxviii]			34: 1–36: 4			

Column xxviii, not completely filled with text, was perhaps located on the same sheet as fragments 2 and 3 i, these latter belonging to a different Enochic writing, probably the Book of Giants.

Of the Book of Dreams there remain some fairly important fragments, which are placed in three consecutive columns:

i	39	9·5 cm	En. 86: 6–89: 6	En. 88: 3–89: 6	4QEn[e] 4 i 10–21	4QEn[e] 4 *a*, *b*
ii	41	9·5	89: 7–16	89: 7–16	ii 1–5, 10–21	*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*
iii	32	9	89: 16–30	89: 26–30	iii 13–21	*e*, *f*

Number of lines per column, 21. Upper margin 1, 2 cm; lower margin 1, 5 cm; space between columns 1, 2 cm.

The fragments of En[e] that can be identified with certainty belong to the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams. The former, however, was probably followed by the Book of Giants; see notes to fragments En[e] 2 and 3. Moreover, we may suppose that the Epistle of Enoch was present at the end of the original scroll of En[e], just as in the case of En[c]. Given that the date of En[e] was the first half of the first century B.C., we have thus an additional proof of the early composition of the Enoch Pentateuch.

[4QEnᵉ 1 i to xix are missing]

4QEnᵉ 1 xx—?En. 18:15 (Pl. XVIII)

margin[a]

] סחרין לה [

]ר֯ ל∘∘ן

L. 1. Identification open to doubt. Restore perhaps ¹⁵וכוכביא די]סחרין לה [סחור סחור: *καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ κοιλιόμενοι ἐν τῷ πυρί* in C.

לה or maybe [להן]לנורא, 'round the same fire', refers to the columns of fire which are mentioned in verse 11 (cf. Enᶜ 1 viii), or else to the actual fire of the seven stars: *ἑπτὰ ἀστέρες ὡς ὄρη μεγάλα κεόμενα* (v. 13). The participle סחרין would have specified that the planets revolve round the fire in a circular motion; thus *κυκλώμενοι* and not *κυλιόμενοι*, 'wallowing in the fire' (like animals) or 'swarming around the fire' (like bees).

L. 2. Perhaps supply: הא אלן אנון די חטאו למעב]ר֯ למ֯א[מר מריא: *οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παραβάντες* (MS. *παραβοντες*) *πρόσταγμα* $\overline{κυ}$ in C.

Our verse 15 of chapter 18 of Enoch, and its doublet En. 21:6, are generally considered to be the origin of Jude 13; see, however, the notes to Enᵉ 4 i 11–13.

4QEnᵉ 1 xxi—En. 21:2–4 (Pl. XVIII)

]א֯שׁ֯ו֯ה֯[b]

]בא הוא

בל]שׁ֯ני נור

]ם֯

The identification of this fragment, which contains the remains of a column belonging to the same piece of parchment as the following column, is in my opinion fairly certain. The texts of the versions, Greek (in double recension C and C′) and Ethiopic (E), differ widely from what may be read and supplied in our fragment.

L. 1. Read and restore probably [אתר די לא] א֯שׁ֯ו֯ה֯ = *τόπον ἀκατασκεύαστον* of C and C′ in En. 21:2; thus an Ophal perfect rather than a Peal passive participle: ל]א[שׁ֯ו֯ה֯.

L. 2. The letters בא הוא[...] correspond roughly to (*δεδεσμένους καὶ ἐρριμμένους ἐν*) *αὐτῷ* of C and C′ in En. 21: 3. I restore tentatively [...בה בעד]בא הוא[כחדה...], '... in it, in that lot (sc. place allotted to them), together...'. Such a reading can be recovered from E: (*'ĕsurâna* ⟨*wagĕdufâna*⟩) *balâ'ĕlehu ḫĕbura*, '(bound [and cast down]) in it together'. I suppose a second omission in E, by homoeoteleuton: ⟨*baḫĕbra*⟩ *ḫĕbura*, '⟨in the lot⟩ together'; *ḫĕbĕr* is a normal equivalent of Old Testament Hebrew חבל and of its Greek Biblical translations. In C and C′ there occurred an even longer omission: *ἐν αὐτῷ* ⟨*ἐν τῷ σχοινισμῷ*(?) *ὁμοῦ*⟩, *ὁμοίους*. The Aramaic word is used in 1QGenAp ii 21, apropos of Enoch: עדבה פליג, '(... with angels) his lot is apportioned'.

L. 3. The expression [בל]שני נור, 'in tongues of fire', is equivalent to *ἐν πυρὶ* (*καιομένους*), end of verse 3.

L. 4. Without doubt restore [ועל אידן אש]ם, *καὶ διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν* as in C′; *καὶ διὰ τί* C and E, En 21: 4.

4QEn[e] 1 xxii—En. 22: 3–7 (Pl. XVIII)

margin

[נפש]ת[b] כל בני אנשא [4] והא אלן אנון פחתיא לבית עגון
לכדן עב[י]דו עד יום די יתדינן ועד זמן יום קצא ד[י]
דינא רבא די מנהון יתעבד *vacat* [5] תמן חזית רוח
אנש מת קבלה [ו]אנינה ע[ד] שמיא סלק ומזעק וקב[ל]
[[6] באדין שאלת לרפא]ל לעירא וקדישא ד[י עמי הוה]
[ואמרת לה דה רוחא קבלת]א דמן היא דכד[ן אנינה]
[סלק ומזעק וקבל עד שמיא [7] וענה] לי א[מר הא דה היא]
8–21 [רוחא די נפקת מן הבל די קטלה קין אחוהי]

[[22] [3]. . .] the souls of all the children of men. [4]And behold, these are the pits for their place of incarceration; they have been fashioned in this manner until the day they will be judged, and until the time of the Day of the End of the Great Judgement which will be exacted of them.

[5]There I saw the spirit of a dead man making accusation, and his lamentation ascending up to heaven, and crying out unceasingly and making accusation. [[6]Then I asked] Raphael the Watcher and Holy One who [was with me and I said to him: 'This spirit] making accusation, whose is it,

that in this manner [his lamentation is ascending and crying out unceasingly and making accusation to heaven. 7And he answered] me, saying: ['Behold, this is the spirit that went forth from Abel whom his brother Cain slew . . .]

Texts for comparison: C and E.

L. 1 (En. 22: 3). 'The souls of all the children of men' Enᵉ, 'all the souls of the children of men' E, 'all the souls of men' C.

Ll. 1–3 (En 22: 4). L. 1. 'And these places' in C and E abridges the Aramaic expression והא אלן אנון פחתיא, 'And behold, these are the pits', i.e. *τὰ κοιλώματα ταῦτα* or *οἱ τόποι οἱ κοῖλοι* of verses 2 and 3.—(*εἰς*) *ἐπισύνσχεσι* (*αὐτῶν*), Greek *hapax*, quoted in Liddell and Scott under *ἐπισύσχεσις*; cf. *συσχετήριον*, 'prison enclosure, etc.'. It renders well the Aramaic לבית עננ‹ה›ון, 'for their place of seclusion, their prison'.

L. 2. The adverb לכדן is omitted in C and E; '(pits made) in this manner', that is 'smooth, deep and dark', verse 2.—עב[י]דו, simple passive form (Peil), was translated by the active in C and E: *ἐποίησαν*.—עד יום די יתדינן, 'until the day when (the souls) will be judged'; *μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν*, C and E.

Ll. 2/3. The phrase ועד זמן יום קצא די דינא רבא די מנהון יתעבד constitutes a long genitival chain, fairly well preserved in C: *καὶ μέχρι τοῦ διορισμοῦ* (cf. זמן translated by *ὅρον* in Neh. 2: 6 = 2 Esd. 12: 6 LXX) *καὶ διορισμένου χρόνου* (יום is often translated by *χρόνος* in the LXX), *ἐν ᾧ ἡ κρίσις ἡ μεγάλη ἔσται* (= יתעבד, synonym of להוא) *ἐν αὐτοῖς*.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 22: 5). In line 3 תמן is omitted in C and E or else translated by *ἐν αὐτοῖς* and subsequently omitted by haplography; cf. the Greek edition of Enoch in *CSEL*, by Flemming and Radermacher, who link up *ἐν αὐτοῖς* at the end of v. 4 with the phrase at the beginning of v. 5.—חזית: *τεθέαμαι* C, elsewhere corresponding to the Ophal אחזיאת; see the note to Enᶜ 1 xii 27.

Ll. 3–4. רוח אנש מת קבלה ואנינה almost correctly surmised by Charles (and others): *πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου νεκροῦ ἐντυγχάνοντος* (better *ἐντύγχανον*) *καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ*, instead of *ἀνθρώπους νεκροὺς ἐντυγχάνοντος καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ* in C and 'the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice' in E. The term *ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ* is too general as a translation of 'his complaint, his lamentation'.

L. 4. ומזעק: omitted by C and E; this participle (which should also be restored at line 7, verse 6) is of the Pael conjugation, which does not appear to be attested in later Aramaic languages; it should be understood as 'to cry out unceasingly, continually', just as in the Piel of the Hebrew צעק. This same participle is found in an analogous phrase in 4QGiantsᵇ: [נפשת קטי]לין קבלן על קטליהון ומזעקן which corresponds to En. 9: 10: *βοῶσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν τετηλευτηκότων καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσιν*.

Ll. 5–7 (En. 22: 6). L. 5. [באדין] as in E as against *καί* in C.—'To Raphael, the Watcher and Holy One, who (was with me)'; C and E have 'the angel' instead of 'the Watcher and Holy One': see the note to Enᵃ 1 i 3.

Raphael, one of four archangels in En. 9: 1 and 10: 4–8, explains to Enoch the distribution of the souls of the dead in the various sections of Sheol, En. 22: 3 ('one of the holy angels') and 6, since he is 'Raphael, one of the holy angels, he of the souls of men', '*Ραφαήλ, ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων* (*ἀγγέλον* C′) *ὁ ἐπὶ* (*ἐπει* C′) *τῶν πνευμάτων* (*πνῦτων* C′) *ἀνθρώπων*

(αυπων C′), En. 20: 3 (C and C′; pl. XXIXʳ 15–17 and XIʳ 4–6). The same archangel appears again beside Enoch in the Paradise of Righteousness and speaks to him of the tree of wisdom, En. 32: 6: *'Ραφαήλ, ὁ ἅγιος ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὤν*. However, it is Gabriel who, according to En. 20: 7, is the official 'in charge of paradise, of the dragons, and of the cherubim', *Γαβριήλ, ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὃς ἐπὶ (ο επει C′) τοῦ παραδίσου καὶ τῶν δρακόντων καὶ χερουβεί (χερουβίν* C′) (XXIXʳ 24–6 and XIʳ 13–16). But the function of Gabriel is that of chief of the guardians of paradise (Gen. 3: 24: לחט החרב המתהפכת and הכרבים), whilst Raphael features there in the capacity of the divine watchman of the souls of the patriarchs, including those of the first parents who are the subject of this passage; cf. 1 xxvii 9–11.

In En. 24: 6–25: 6 it is the archangel Michael who explains to Enoch the mountain-throne of God and the tree of life, the fruit of which will serve as nourishment to the just and to the elect. He makes these revelations because he is in charge of the grove of trees which encircle the throne of God: *Μιχαήλ, εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὃς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῶν* (sc. *τῶν δένδρων*) *ἡγεῖτο*, En. 24: 6. This function coincides with that of En. 20: 5: 'Michael, one of the holy angels, he who is superintendent of the righteous of the people', *Μιχαήλ* (*Μηχαήλ* C′), *ὁ εἷς τῶν* (*τον* C′) *ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὁ ἐπὶ* (*ὃς ἐπεὶ* C′) *τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγαθῶν τεταγμένος* (*τετάκται* C′), C (XXIXʳ 19–21) and C′ (XIʳ 8–10); the addition *καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ χαῷ* (read *λαῷ* Charles), should come after.

L. 6. The adverb דכדן was translated in C by *διὸ οὕτως*, 'because thus', which leads one to surmise that the Aramaic archetype of the Greek version had די כדן.

Ll. 7–8 (En. 22: 7). The special compartment in the abode of the dead reserved for men borne away by violent death, killed without good reason (*περὶ μηδενός*, 'for nothing', says an inscription from southern Syria), of whom Abel was the archetype *par excellence*, reveals the strong sensitiveness of the ancients to this kind of death. Eloquent proof of this is also given in a long series of funeral stelae in which supine hands are represented, a brilliant study of which by F. Cumont appeared in *Syria*, xiv (1933), 383–95. He also discusses there two remarkable stelae commemorating two young Jewesses from the island of Delos (cf. A. G. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*⁴, 1923, pp. 351–62). See further L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, i: *Inscriptions grecques*, 1936, pp. 54–5 and 122–3, and H. Seyrig, 'Inscriptions grecques', Appendix II to G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, iii (1958), 31–2, no. 34.

L. 8. Instead of *τὸ ἐξελθὸν*, C and E, one would expect *ὃ ἐξῆλθεν*. Did the Greek translator confuse the feminine ending of the perfect נפקת with the feminine ending of the Hebrew singular participle?

[4QEnᵉ 1 xxiii–xxv are missing]

4QEnᵉ 1 xxvi—En. 28: 3–29: 2 and 31: 2–32: 3 (Pl. XVIII)

[ ]

[ ]חׄד ∘[. . כלצפון מערבה מן כולא הובל מין וטל עוד]

[29 1 מן תמן] אׄזלת באתׄ[ר אוחרן די במדברא וארחקת]

[שגיא] ל[מדנ]ח פאׄ[תא דה 2 ותמן חזית אילני ברא די]

[אנון מד]מ֯עי֯[ן בשמי לבונה ומור]

[ ]

d

[דב]ה֯ מ֯[לאין דמע והוא דמה לקלפי]

[לוז ³ כדי . . .]◦ו באיל[ניא אלן שדה מנהון בשם]

[ריח כדי] מדקק קלפוהי א֯[נון על כל בשם ¹ ³² ולהלא] מן

[טוריא] אלן כלצפון מדנחהון [אחז]ית טורין אחרנין

[מלאין נ]רד טב וצפר וקרדמ֯ן [ופ]לפלין *vacat* ² ומן תמן הובלת

[למד]נח כל ט֯וריא אלן רחוק מנהון למדנח ארעא ואחלפ֯[ת]

[על]א מן י֯[מא] שמוקא וארחקת֯ שגיא מנה ואעברת ע֯ל֯[א]

מ֯ן חשוכא רח֯[ו]ק מנה ³ ואחלפת ליד פרדס קשט֯[א]

margin

[. . . [28] [3]Flowing like] a [copious aqueduct approximately to the North-West, it brought from everywhere water and dew as well. [29] [1]From thence] I went to [another] place [which was in the desert and I withdrew far] to the East of [this] part. [[2]And there I saw wild trees which] were exuding [perfumes of incense and myrrh . . .]

[31] [2]. . . in it full of [nectar, and it is like the bark of the almond tree. [3]When incisions are made (?)] in [these] trees [there comes forth from them a pleasant odour; when] their bark is ground, they are [sweeter than any fragrance. [32] [1]And beyond these mountains] approximately northwards, on their eastern side, I was shown other mountains plentiful with choice nard, mastic, cardamom, and pepper. [2]And from thence I proceeded to the East of all these mountains, far from them, to the East of the earth, and I was conveyed over the Red Sea and withdrew far from it, and I crossed over the darkness, far from it. [3]And I passed on to the Paradise of righteousness,

Texts for comparison: En^{c} 1 xii 28–30, C, E.

Fragment *d*, lines 14–21, has been published in *RB* lxv (1958), 70–7, along with En^{c} 1 xii 23–30.

I consider the identification of fragment *c*, lines 3–6, to be pretty well beyond doubt, although the text of Enoch corresponding to this passage is rather difficult to understand. However, if one keeps essentially to the Greek wording of C (fairly concise in chapter 28), it will be possible to bring out the meaning of En. 28: 1–29: 2. The commentators (myself included, *RB*, loc. cit., p. 72) had too much faith in the Ethiopic text, which is decidedly corrupt.

Paraphrasing a little, I reproduce the Greek text of chapter 28 as follows: [1]*Καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπορεύθην εἰς τὸ μέσον Μανδοβαρα, καὶ ἴδον αὐτὸ ἔρημον· καὶ αὐτὸ μόνον* [2]*πλήρης δένδρων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων· ὕδωρ ἄνομβρον ἄνοθεν, φαιρόμενον* [3]*ὡς ὑδραγωγὸς δαψιλὴς ὡς πρὸς βορρᾶν ἐπὶ δυσμῶν, πάντοθεν ἀνάγει ὕδωρ καὶ δρόσον*, 'And from there (that is, from Jerusalem) I went towards the middle of Madbarâ, and I saw it (sc. Madbarâ 'the Desert') deserted, but a single (sc. place in the middle of the Desert, which Enoch arrives at) was full of trees and plants (*ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων* = [מן זרעיא], partitive genitive); (a stream) of water, not nourished by the rains from above (keep *ἄνομβρον*, 'without rain', as in C and do not correct to *ἀνομβροῦν*), carried by a copious aqueduct (which runs) approximately to the North-West, brought from everywhere water and dew.' The places referred to are certainly Petra (*RB*, loc. cit., p. 72) and Wâdi Mûsâ where there was an aqueduct perhaps as early as the Hellenistic period. The verb *ἀνάγει* does not necessarily have the meaning 'to raise', as Charles insists; in the Greek Bible it corresponds to a number of Hebrew verbs, בוא, הלך, יבל, יצא, עלה, שוב, all in the Hiphil, with the exception of the Qal of גרר and עלה, and the Piel of נהג. In our context understand 'to bring in, to gather' (uses of *ἀνάγειν* well known in Greek), more precisely 'to gather the water from sources, from drippings and from seepages in rocks, from dew, and from mist'.

L. 3 (En. 28: 3). '(Like) an (aqueduct)': for the numeral 'one' in the function of the indefinite article, cf. ערב חדה 4 i 14 and כף חד 4 iii 19. חד was followed by an adjective or participle = *δαψιλής*.

Ll. 4–5 (En. 29: 1). The adverb *ἔτι* at the beginning of this verse belongs in fact to the preceding phrase: . . . *καὶ δρόσον ἔτι. Ἐκεῖθεν κ.τ.λ.*—ארחקת = *ᾠχόμην* as in En. 30: 1 (Enᶜ 1 xii 23). Add [שגיא] in accordance with line 20 (En. 32: 2). E has quite the opposite: 'I approached'.—פא[תא], 'the corner, the side': Pe beyond question, clear trace of Aleph. In C vocalize *ὅρους*, and not *ὄρους*, 'the mountain', as in E, which anticipated this imaginary mountain at 28: 1.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 29: 2). At the beginning of v. 2 *καί* C, 'and there' E.—*κρίσεως* C and E: correct to *κτίσεως*; cf. En. 22: 7, where C writes *ἐκρείθησαν* instead of *ἐκτίσθησαν* retained in E. The Greek translator confused ברא, 'to create', with ברא, 'desert, field'; therefore restore אילני ברא, 'wild trees', in contrast to the cultivated trees at Petra, 28: 2.

L. 6. The traces of three letters of which only 'Ain is certain favour the restoration of an Aphel, or a Pael, participle of the verb דמע, 'to cry' but also, when speaking of aromatic trees, 'to exude tears, drop by drop' (thus the Pael in Syriac). This is a very exact description of the gum-resins which flow, of their own accord or after cutting, from incense and myrrh trees; cf. *RB*, loc. cit., p. 72 note 2, and, for the noun דמע, *DJD* iii, p. 250 no. 122. The term *δάκρυον* is used by Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix 4, 4 (ed. F. Wimmer, 1854, p. 232) and Dioscurides, *Mat. med.* i 64, 1 (ed. M. Wellmann, 1907, p. 57): *σμύρνα δάκρυόν ἐστι δένδρου γεννωμένου ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ, ὁμοίου τῇ Αἰγυπτιακῇ ἀκάνθῃ οὗ ἐγκοπτομένου ἀπορρεῖ τὸ δάκρυον κ.τ.λ.* (*ṣamġat* = 'gum' in the Arabic version of Diosc., ed. C. E. Dubler and E. Terés, 1957, p. 60, lines 6 and 8). Pliny describes these resins as lacrima, gutta, sucus, spuma; 'sudant autem sponte prius quam incidantur . . .'; *Hist. nat.* xii §§ 56 to 68 (ed. C. Mayhoff, 1909, 395–9; ed. A. Ernout, 1949, pp. 37–42). These naturalists made a distinction between cultivated incense and myrrh trees and wild ones: Theophrastus ix 4, 2; Pliny xii 53 and 68 'sativae' and 'silvestres' or 'arbores sponte natae', the latter therefore identical with אילני ברא in our Aramaic text. There was some

disagreement about their botanical appearance or about their symbiosis: *γίνεσθαι δὲ ἀμφότερα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ* Theophr. ix 4, 8; 'murra in isdem silvis (where incense trees grow) permixta arbore nasci tradidere aliqui, plures separatim', Pliny xii 66. Our Jewish author seems to have shared the opinion of those who considered incense and myrrh as the products of the same tree: *ᾤοντο γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δένδρου τόν τε λιβανωτὸν γίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν σμύρναν* Theophr. ix 4, 8; 'nec non fuere qui e turis arbore utrumque nasci mentirentur', Pliny xii 67.

The participle מדמעין was translated in C by *πνέοντα*, 'which exhale'. The Ethiopic, by *fadfâd*, implies the Greek *πλέον(τα)*; see Charles, i, p. 69 note 28. This is a fairly obvious corruption of *κλέοντα, κλαίοντα*, 'which cry, exude'.

Ll. 14–17 (En. 31: 2–32: 1). See the notes to En^c 1 xii 28–30.

L. 14. On דמע, 'tear', = *νέκταρ*, see the note to line 6, particularly the reference to *DJD* iii.

L. 16 (En. 31: 2). מדקק is probably just a simple scribal error for מדקין, which is the reading of En^c.

Ll. 16–18 (En. 32: 1). In line 17 'other mountains' En^e, 'seven mountains' C and E.

L. 18. In C read *σχύνου* (i.e. *σχοίνου* = צפר) and not *σχίνου* as Charles read it; see En^c 1 xii 25, note.

Ll. 18–21 (En. 32: 2). In line 18 the verb הובלת is equivalent to *ἐφόδευσα*; see the note to En^d 1 xii 2 (En. 26: 1).

L. 19. The rendering of למדנח by *ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχάς* is explicable by the Greek translation of LXX, where קדם and קדמה, 'before; East', are often rendered by *ἀρχή*, but only in their temporal meanings; plural *κατ' ἀρχάς*, equal to קדם, in Ps. 118 (119 MT), 152.—The participle *ἀπέχων* corresponds to מנהון; this explanatory word in the Greek was probably added to *ἀπ' αὐτῶν*, the latter being lost by homoeoteleuton.—The verb אחלפת is here equivalent to *διέβην*, but at 3 (line 21) it is equivalent to *ἦλθον* (MS. *ελθων*); אערבת on the other hand is equivalent to *διέβην* at the same v. 2 (line 20).

L. 20. The phrase וארחקת שגיא מנה ו is better preserved in E: 'and I went far from it (sc. from the Red Sea) and'; thus (*καὶ ᾠχόμην*) *ἐπ' ἄκρων καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου* in C comes probably from *μακρὰν ἀπὸ τούτου καί*, as suggested by Charles, i, p. 72 note 3. See, however, a second strange use of *ἐπ' ἄκρων* in En^d 1 xii 7 (En. 26: 4).

L. 21. The term חשוכא was translated in C by *τοῦ Ζωτιήλ*, and by 'the angel Zotiel' in E. Is the first part of this name a corruption of *ζόφος* or of *ζοφώδης* (*RB*, p. 76 note 2) or else a simple transcription, *τὸ υζωκα*, which is also corrupt? For the transcription of ש by *ζ* cf. the name of the 10th angel, *'Aśa'el* and *Ἀζαήλ* (above, p. 177), or the place-name מרשה, transcribed *Μαρησα* and *Μαρηζα* in Zenon Papyri.—רחוק מנה om. in C and E.

4QEn^e 1 xxvii—En. 32: 3 and 6, and 33: 3–34: 1 (Pl. XIX)

margin

ואׄחזית מׄ[ן רחוק לאילניא דבה אילנין שגיאין לחדה ורברבין]

שנין [דן מן דן וחזית תמן אילן די הוה שנה מן כולהון רב שגיא]

וׄ[שפיר ויקיר [

] אבוך רבא]

[ו]אׄמך רבתא וידׄ[עו מנדע ואתפתחו עיניהון ואתבוננו]

דׄיׄ עׄרטליין ∘] [

] [

] [∘]^g [

] אוריאל חד מן] עׄירין ⁴ ואׄ[חויני]

[וכתב לי כולא ועוד כתב לי שמהתהון] בׄהׄדׄמׄיה למזׄמׄ³[יהון]

[³⁴ ¹ ומן תמן אובלת לצפון סיאפי ארעא] ואחזית עבדין ברׄ[בין]

margin

and I was shown from [afar trees in it, trees exceedingly numerous and great], differing [the one from the other. And I saw there a tree which was different from all, very great] and [beautiful and magnificent . . .]

[⁶. . . your father of old and] your mother of old, and they learnt [knowledge, and their eyes were opened, and they understood] that they were naked [. . .

³³ ³. . . 'Ūri'el, one of] the Watchers. ⁴And he sh[owed me and wrote down everything for me; also he wrote for me their names] according to the resemblance to [their] fixed times. [³⁴ ¹And from thence I was transferred to the North of the ends of the earth], and I was shown great wonders [. . .]

Texts for comparison: C and E.

Ll. 1–3 (En. 32: 3). Fragment *e* has not been positively identified, all the more so as the actual text of En. 32: 3 leaves much to be desired, both in the Greek and in the Ethiopic. In any case our small fragment cannot be placed in En. 33: 1 where the word 'different', שנה, occurs: 'and there I saw great beasts, different one from another'.

The Greek text of En. 32: 3 has, after *καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν παράδισον τῆς δικαιοσύνης* (= ואחלפת ליד פררס קשטא at the end of the preceding column), the following form: *καὶ ἴδον μακρόθεν τῶν δένδρων τούτων δένδρα πλείονα καὶ μεγάλα· δύω μὲν ἐκεῖ μεγάλα σφόδρα καλὰ καὶ ἔνδοξα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ, καὶ τὸ δένδρον τῆς φρονήσεως οὗ ἐσθίουσιν ἅγιοι τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπίστανται φρόνησιν μεγάλην*. Instead of *δυω μεν* E read *φυόμενα* 'which grow'; added after *ἐκεῖ* 'and their scent is sweet'; omitted *μεγαλοπρεπῆ*; and shortened the final phrase *οὗ . . . μεγάλην* to 'whereof they eat and know great wisdom'. We should note first of all that Enoch is not inside Paradise but ליד, 'beside' (Paradise); he thus catches sight of the trees which grow there at some distance, 'from afar'. Instead of *μακρόθεν τῶν δένδρων τούτων* (the demonstrative pronoun is not at all justified here) we should read *μακρόθεν τὰ δένδρα ἐν αὐτῷ*. After *δένδρα πλείονα* ('very numerous trees', not 'more numerous') *καὶ μεγάλα* there was—if our identification of fragment *e* is correct—the phrase 'different one from another', שנין [דן מן דן]; cf.

Dan. 7: 3: שנין דא מן דא, *διαφέροντα ἓν παρὰ τὸ ἕν* (text of LXX; *δ. ἀλλήλων* Theodotion). The enigmatic *δύω μὲν* in C (*φυόμενα* in E is simply an attempt by the Ethiopic translator to find a meaning in it by means of a correction) might possibly come from *ἴδον μέν*, through an intentional reworking by a Greek copyist who may have wished to mention here the two trees, the tree of life and the tree of wisdom. But the author of Enoch speaks here only of the tree of wisdom, and the original wording of his text, in which the same word 'different' perhaps occurred a second time, was approximately as follows: 'and I saw there ⟨a tree which was different from all of them; cf. Dan. 7: 19: די הות שניה מן כלהין⟩, very large ⟨and⟩ beautiful and glorious and magnificent, the tree of wisdom'. After *καὶ μεγάλα* the Greek original would thus have: *ἴδον μὲν ἐκεῖ ⟨δένδρον ὃ ἦν διάφορον παρὰ πάντα⟩ μέγα σφόδρα ⟨και⟩ καλὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, {καὶ} τὸ δενδρον τῆς φρονήσεως οὗ κ.τ.λ.*

L. 1. ואחזית causative passive: C *καὶ ἴδον*; see the notes to Enᶜ 1 xii 27 and Enᵉ 1 xxii 3.

Ll. 9–11 (En. 32: 6). The Cairo papyrus, fol. 33ᵛ, ends with *ἐξ οὗ ἔφαγεν ὁ πατήρ σου*.

L. 10. [. . . ו]אמך רבתא: '[your father of old (i.e. Adam) and] your mother of old (i.e. Eve)' in the original. This meaning of רבא, 'distant ancestor', recurs in other Aramaic languages, for example in Palmyrene; see Milik, *Recherches*, pp. 28 and 98–9. 'Your father of old and your mother of old {who were before thee}' E.

L. 11. Instead of 'that they were naked' as in E the original had 'that (their bodies, or their sexual organs) were naked'; the first letter of the substantive is the Mem or the Teth; in any case not a Beth, which excludes the reading ב̊[שריהון].

L. 19 (En. 33: 3). '[ʾÛriʾel, one of the] Watchers' Enᵉ; 'Uriel, the angel who was with me Holy One' E; see the notes to Enᵇ 1 iii 7, Enᶜ 1 v 19, Enᵈ 1 xi 5–6, and Enᵉ 1 xxii 5–7.

Ll. 19–20 (En. 33: 4). 'Their laws and their companies (manuscripts of group β 'functions') E. The Aramaic original had, if my reading is correct, '[their names (given)] according to their fixed times'; in other words the names of the stars reflect their functions, their evolutions in the sky. In בהדמיה of the first four letters only the lower tips are preserved; the foot of the left-hand down-stroke of the He is quite visible on earlier photographs, for example on PAM 41. 665. This word is the Hophal infinitive of דמה; cf. the Ettaphal of the same verb in Syriac: 'similis factus est, imitatus est'. The Greek translator might have misread this word as בחרמיה, 'anathemas, laws', or else as a derivative of the verb רמה, some impersonal forms of which signify in Syriac or in Palmyrene 'it has been decided, established'; see below, note to 4 i 10–11.—למזמני[הון]: 'their times (cf. 33: 3), their evolutions' which the Ethiopic could have translated by 'their functions'.

L. 21 (En. 34: 1). ואחזית: 'And there I saw' E. עבדין רבר[בין], 'a great and magnificent wonder (several manuscripts: 'device')' E; cf. 'great and magnificent wonders' in En. 36: 4; עובדין, 'wonders', just as מעשים in the Hebrew Bible.

4QEnᵉ 2 and 3—(?)Book of Giants (Pl. XIX)

ii i 3 2

] 1-14 [ ]ין וכ̊ל̊[

את] 15 [אח]ז̊ית לחנוך ס̊[פר פרשא

3 בני א]דׄם הׄא רבׄא[

[מׄ∘]
[א∘]
[ ]
אר]עׄא כׄ[ל] בׄ[ני אד]ׄם מן בׄאשת]
בד]יׄ בׄה דׄם הוה שפיךׄ]
]הׄוו מׄ[תע]בׄדׄין בהׄ[כ]ל]

margin

Fragment 2

[1][. . . —]s and all [. . . [2]. . . the vision . . .] was shown to Enoch the scribe [of distinction . . . [3]. . . children of] Adam. Behold, the Great One [. . .].

This fragment would belong to the initial part of the Book of Giants.

L. 2. אח]זׄית or אתח]זׄית with חזות(א) preceding it, rather than אח]וׄית or ק]רׄית.—ספר פרשא is a standing epithet of Enoch in the Book of Giants (see p. 262) as against 'scribe of righteousness, of truth' in the Book of Watchers: En. 12: 4 ('*Ενώχ, ὁ* (MS. *Αινωχ οι*) *γραμματεὺς τῆς δικεοσύνης*) and 15: 1 (*γραμματεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας*).

L. 3. The expression הׄא רבא seems to imitate ינפק קדישה רבה' in En[a] 1 i 5 (En. 1: 3), the phrase which begins a descriptive text after a long title.—The God's epithet 'the Great One' occurs in En. 14: 2 (רבא En[c] 1 vi 11, *ὁ μέγας* C, *'abiy* E), in En. 103: 4 (*ἀπὸ προσόπου τοῦ μεγάλου* C, *'ĕmqĕdma gaṣa 'abiy* E), in En. 104: 1 (*ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου* C, ***baqĕdma sĕbḥatihu la'abiy*** E twice, the second time in a parallel phrase omitted in C by homoeoteleuton).

Fragment 3 i

Lines 19–21 seem to overlap a fragment of 4QEnGiants[e]:

לב]קרה [ב]אׄרׄעא כל בׄ[
]הוה משתפך וכדבׄיׄן הוו מ[
]∘מׄבול על ארעׄא[

The beginning of the second line of this fragment seems to be the same as the end of En[e] 3 i 20, except for a grammatical variant: משתפך instead of שפיך. The phrase on the shedding of blood upon the earth is to be found also in En. 9: 1 (En[a] 1 iv 7), and cf. En. 9: 9.

Our fragment En[e] 3 i would have about thirty-three letters per line, and EnGiants[e] about forty-seven.

Tentative translation of the combined text of both fragments

[. . . To] inspect upon the earth all the children of Adam on account of the wickedness [*of the Giants, which they have done upon the earth*], for upon it

blood was being shed, and falsehoods were being s[*poken, and impieties*] were being perpetrated upon it, all [*the days* . . .] flood upon the earth [. . .].

An alternative placing of En[e] 2 and 3 would be in the first Dream of Enoch, En. 83, if one supposed a different recension of this chapter, but in my opinion this is less plausible.

4QEn[e] 4 i—En. 88:3–89:6 (Pl. XX)

[a]

] [3]וכדי הוית חזה בחלמי והא לחד מ[ן

[b]

[ארבעתא די נפקו רמה מן שמיא די כול כ]וכביא שגיאיא

[די.... הון כדלסוסיא אסר ל]כלהון ידין ורגלין ורמא

[להון בתהום ארעא [89] [1]וחד מן אר]בעתא על על חד מן תוריא

[חוריא ואלף לה וע]בד לה ערב חדה ויתב בגוה

[ותלתת תוריא עלל]ו עמה לערבא וערבא חפית וכסית

[מן עליהון [2]והוית] חזה והא מרזבין שבעה שפכין

[על ארעא מין שגיאין] [3]והא חדרין פתיחו בגוא ארעא ושריו

[להבעה ולמעל עליה ו]אנה הוית חזה עד ארעא חפית מין

[[4]וחשוך ושחק(?) והוו] קאמין עליה [5]ותוריא שקעין וטבעין

[ואבדין במיא אלן] [6]וערבה פרחה עלא מן מיא וכל תוריא

[ערדיא וגמליא] ופיליא ירו מי[ן] *vacat*

[. . . [88] [3]And when I was looking in my dream and, behold, to one] of [the four who had come forth it was ordered by Heaven; and all] the many stars, [whose privy members were like those of horses, he bound] all of them hand and foot and cast [them into the depths of the earth. [89] [1]And one of] the four went to one of the [white] oxen [and instructed him]; and he made for himself a ship, and dwelt inside it; [and the three oxen enter]ed with him into the ship, and the ship was covered and roofed [over them. [2]And I] was looking and, behold, seven sluices pouring out [on the earth much water]. [3]And, behold, the (underground) chambers were opened in the interior of the earth and (waters) began [to pour out and come upon it. And] I was looking until the earth was covered by the waters [[4]and by darkness and mist, and they were] standing upon it. [5]And the oxen were submerged and engulfed

[and perishing in those waters]. 6And the ship floated above the waters, and all the oxen [and wild asses and camels] and elephants sank in the waters [. . .]

Only E to be compared.

Ll. 10–13 (En. 88: 3). Ll. 10–11. 'Behold one of those four who had come out threw (them) from heaven, and he assembled and took all the great stars' E. Commentators on this passage assume there is a lacuna in the text after 'threw, stoned', *wagara*. I think rather that the Greek translator misunderstood the impersonal construction, well known in Syriac (for the Palmyrene see J. Cantineau, *Syria*, xix (1933), 184): *rᵉmê lî*, 'sollicitus sum, mihi ipsi curae est, statutum est'; see the note to 1 xxvii 20.

L. 11. כוכביא שגיאיא Enᵉ: *kawâkĕbta 'abiyâna* E; cf. כוכבין שגיאין in Enᶠ 1 4 (En. 86: 3).

Ll. 11/12. The passage 'and he assembled ($E^{tu\beta}$) and he took ($E^{mt\beta}$)' in E (other manuscripts 'and they were assembled and taken') was probably missing in our Aramaic scroll; cf. a similar omission of 'were assembled' in En. 89: 5 (below, line 19).

It is mainly from this chapter, En. 88, that a phrase in the Epistle of Jude 13 is drawn: ἀστέρες πλανῆται οἷς ὁ (article omitted in the Bodmer papyrus, P72) ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται; for the text of the Old Latin see the Beuron edition, vol. 26/1, pp. 425–6. The earth's abyss into which the numerous stars are cast (88: 3) is 'narrow, deep, steep, and dark' (88: 1). This is not yet the definitive place of punishment of the sinning stars, 'an abyss filled with a blazing fire and full of columns of fire', 90: 24; see a similar description of the abode of the seven sinning stars in chapters 18 and 21. Thus, it is only 88: 1 which speaks of darkness in the abyss.—En. 88: 1 takes up 10: 4–8 (Raphael imprisons 'Aśa'el); 88: 2 corresponds to 10: 9–10 (Gabriel incites the descendants of the Watchers to kill one another); 88: 3 summarizes 10: 11–15.

Ll. 13–16 (En. 89: 1). This verse summarizes En. 10: 1–3. 'One of the four', sent on a secret mission to Noah, is the archangel Śarî'el; see the note to Enᵇ 1 iii 7.

L. 14. After 'and instructed him' the whole passage in E, 'in a secret, without his being terrified; he was born a bull, and became man' was not in Enᵉ.—ערב חדה Enᵉ: 'a great boat' E.

L. 15. They dwelt' E; read 'they entered', [על]ו or [עלל]ו required by (ל(ערבא.— E omits one of the synonyms חפית וכסית.

Ll. 16–17 (En. 89: 2). This verse is much shorter in Enᵉ than in E; in the latter: 'And again I raised my eyes towards heaven and I saw a high roof, and seven cataracts thereon and these cataracts flowed into an enclosure (*ba-l-'aṣad*) in abundant masses of water.'—מרזבין translates אֲרֻבֹּת of Gen. 7: 11 and 8: 2.—Note that at v. 3 (lines 17 and 18) two mentions of enclosure, '(on the earth) in this great enclosure', *diba mĕdĕr bawĕ'ĕtu 'aṣad 'abiy*, and 'this enclosure (, till all the earth)', *lawĕ'ĕtu 'aṣad 'ĕska kwĕllu mĕdĕr* (*mĕdĕr* Eq, *mĕdru* all other manuscripts), are the glosses added to 'the earth', ארעא, in Enᵉ. One certainly gets the impression that the original text, as we can see it in Enᵉ, was reworked, following the outline of a more systematic symbolism.

Ll. 17–18 (En. 89: 3). 'And I saw again' at the beginning of the verse in E is omitted in Enᵉ.— חדרין: *'anqĕ'ĕtât*, 'sources' E, which draws on (תְּהוֹם) מַעְיְנוֹת in Gen. 7: 11 and 8: 2. Note,

however, that the Ethiopic *naqĕʿĕ*, 'fons, scaturigo', is connected with *nĕqĕʿat*, 'fissura, rima, hiatus'; the underground springs of the water-reservoirs reach the surface through fissures (below, 4 ii 2 note). The חדרין are the chambers, the subterranean reservoirs of the waters, just as there are החדר for the tempest (Job 37: 9) and חדרי for the stars (Job 9: 9) and *θησαυροί* for the stars and natural phenomena (En. 17: 3 and 18: 1). It may be said in passing that this lexical coincidence favours an Aramaic original for the book of Job, and not a Hebrew one where one would expect אוצר(ות). Aramaic fragments of Job have been identified among the manuscripts of Cave 4 and Cave 11 of Qumrân; the latter edited by J. P. M. Van der Ploeg, A. S. Van der Woude, and B. Jongeling, *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân*, Leiden 1971. For our verse compare especially En. 17: 7–8: *ἴδον . . . τὴν ἔκχυσιν τῆς ἀβύσσου πάντων ὑδάτων· ἴδον τὸ στόμα τῆς γῆς* (read *πηγῆς* with Dillmann) *πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς ἀβύσσου* (see above, pp. 39–40).—ארעא, twice: see the note to the preceding verse.

L. 19 (En. 89: 4). The end of v. 3 and v. 4 appear in En^{e} in the form 'until the earth was covered by waters [4][and by darkness and by mist and they were] standing upon it'. In E it is much more developed: 'until all the earth (E^{q}) was covered with water. [4]And the water and the darkness and the mist increased above it. And I saw the height of this water; and this water rose above this enclosure, and it spilled over this enclosure and it stood upon the earth.'

Ll. 19–20 (En. 89: 5). The text of En^{e} is shorter here too: 'and the oxen were submerged and engulfed [and perished in these waters]'. In E: 'and all the cattle of this enclosure were assembled, until I saw them submerged and engulfed and destroyed in this water'.

Ll. 20–1 (En. 89: 6). 'The elephants and the camels and the asses' E, the order which is also found in the Ethiopic text of En. 86: 4; 87: 4; 88: 2. In En^{e} the order of the animals is different: '[the wild asses and the camels *or* the camels and the wild asses] and the elephants'. These are the three categories of giants which Syncellus enumerates in his quotation of En. 7, but which appear neither in C nor E nor our Aramaic manuscripts of En^{a} and En^{b} (above, p. 157). Syncellus, or rather his predecessors Annianus and Panodorus, could have derived their information from Jub. 7: 22 (Giants, *Nâfidim/Nâfil*, *'Elyo*), or from the Book of Giants, but this tradition is older than the composition of both books, since our writer of the sacred history makes an unmistakable reference to it, which is based on a play on words and assonances: ערדיא—*'Ελιούδ*, גמליא—גבריא, פיליא—נפיליא. The Nephilim are mentioned in En. 15: 11 and 16: 1; frequently, too, in 4QEnGiants$^{b, c}$. In En. 10: 9 the descendants of the Watchers and the daughters of men are likewise divided into three categories: *mamzêrayâ*—the bastards, the sons of courtesans, the children of the Watchers.—ירו מים, 'they sank in the waters' En^{e}: 'they sank in the earth' E. The Aramaic writer borrowed the verb from Exod. 15: 1: מרכבת פרעה וחילו ירה בים ושלשיו טבעו בים סוף (cf. רמה בים in verse 21). Note moreover the parallelism of the verbs טבע (line 19) and ירה; in En^{e}, however, this last verb is used in the intransitive sense.

4QEn^{e} 4 ii—En. 89: 7–16 (Pl. XX)

[7 ועוד חזית בחל]מׄי עד מׄ[רזביא אלן התכלאו מן טלילא רמא דן]

[ובקיעי] חדריא שכירו ו[חדרין אחרנין פתיחו 8 ומיא משרין]

וׄנׄחׄתין בגוהון עד ספוׄ [מיא מן עלא ארעא והתגליאת וערבא]

תקנת [ע]ל א̊רעא [ועדה חשוכא והוה נהורא [9] והא תורא חורא]
[ות]ל[תת תוריא עמה נפקו מן ערבא דה [
] והתילד]
ל̊[a]מצ̊[יעהון תור חד חור *vacat?* [11] ושריו למנכת ולמדבר אלן]
לאלן [ותורא חורא הולד ערד ועגל חור כחדה וערדין התשגאו]
[12] ו̊[b]עגלא [חורא די התילד מן תורא חורא הולד חזיר אכום ודכר]
זי ע̊[ן חור וחזירא הולד חזירין שגיאין ודכרא הולד]
אמר̊[י]ן ת̊[רי עשר [13] וכדי רביאו יהבו אמר חד מנהון לערדיא]
וער̊דיא יהב̊[ו אמרא דן לדביא ואמרא דן רבא לות דביא]
[14] ודבר דכרא ל[חד עשר אמריא כולהון למתב ולמרעא עמה]
לות ד̊ביא̊ והת̊[שגאו והתעבדו ען די אמרין רברבין [15] ודביא]
ש̊ריו למלחץ לענ̊[א עד רמו כול חד וחד מן טליהון ביבלא רבא]
[די י]שקע מין ב̊[אדי]ן̊[d] [שריו אמריא לזעקה על טליהון ולמקבל]
[לקובל מראהון [16] וחד] אמר נת̊[ר מן דביא ערק ואזל לערדיא וחזית עד]
[ענא אנן ומזעק תקיפ]ית עד נחת מ̊[רא ענא]

[7And again I watched in] my dream until [those] sluices [were closed from that lofty roof, and the fissures] of the (underground) chambers were stopped, and [other (underground) chambers were opened. 8And the waters began] going down into the midst of these until [the waters] vanished [from above the earth, and it (the earth) appeared, and the vessel] settled on the earth; [and the darkness retired and light came. 9And behold the white ox, and] the three [oxen with him came forth from that vessel . . .

10. . . and there was born] among [them a white bull. 11And all these animals began to bite and to chase] one another, [and the white bull begat a wild ass and a white bull-calf together, and the wild asses multiplied]. 12And the [white] bull-calf [which was sired by the white bull begat a black wild boar and a white ram] of the flock [and the boar begat many wild boars, and the ram begat] twelve sheep. [13And when they had grown, they gave a sheep from them to the wild asses], and the wild asses gave up [that sheep to the wolves and that sheep grew up among the wolves]. 14And the ram led forth [all of the eleven sheep to live and to pasture with it] beside the wolves and

they [multiplied and became a flock of many sheep. [15]And the wolves] began to oppress the flock [till they had cast each one of their young into a great stream to sink in the waters. Then [the sheep began to cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain to their Lord. [16]And a] sheep which had been preserved [from the wolves fled and came to the wild asses and I watched, while the flock lamented and cried terrib]ly till the Lord [of the sheep] descended [. . .].

The placing of fragment *a* at lines 10–11 (see above, 4 i 10 end) is not altogether certain.

Texts for comparison: End 2 i 24–9, and E.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 89: 7). In line 1 [בחל]מי Ene: *barâ'ĕy*, 'in vision' E.

L. 2. *Wanĕqĕ'ata mĕdĕr*, 'and the chasms of the earth' E, undoubtedly equivalent to [ובקיעי] חדריא; cf. נבקעו כל מעינת תהום רבה in Gen. 7: 11. The Ethiopic interpreter nowhere translates the term חדר: at v. 3 'the sources' (preceding column, line 17), here 'the earth', immediately afterwards 'abysses'.—שכירו, 'were stopped up': E imprecisely, 'became level'; cf. ויסכרו מעינת תהום וארבת השמים ויכלא הגשם מן השמים Gen. 8: 2.

Ll. 2–4 (En. 89: 8). In line 3 'until the earth was uncovered' E; Ene more detailed, 'until [the waters] disappeared [from above, *or* from the face, מן אנפי, of the earth and it was uncovered?]; cf. Gen. 8: 7–14, especially 13.

Ll. 4–5 (En. 89: 9). 'Who had become man' E, after 'the white bull', was not in the original text; see the note above to 4 i 14 (En. 89: 1).

Ll. 9–10 (En. 89: 10). The *vacat* before v. 11 is surprising; instead of 'in their midst' read perhaps 'in the midst of all these animals', or (in v. 11) 'and all these animals began'.

Ll. 10–11 (En. 89: 11). For line 10 see End 2 i 24.

L. 11. The phrase 'who was born in the midst of them' E and probably End 2 i 25 was without doubt omitted in Ene.—The white bull, Abraham, begets a wild ass (ערד), Ishmael (cf. Gen. 16: 12: והוא יהיה פרא אדם), and a bull-calf (עגל line 13, verse 12), not 'a bull' as in E. —[כחדה וערדין] in accordance with End 2 i 25.

Ll. 12–14 (En. 89: 12). L. 12. 'And that bull (*wawĕ'ĕtu lâhĕm*) which had been begotten by him' E; Ene was probably more explicit (cf. End 2 i 26, in the lacuna): 'and the [white] bull-calf [which had been begotten by the white bull]', sc. Isaac by Abraham.

Ll. 12/13. Not 'and a white sheep', *wabagĕ'a ṣa'adâ*, E, but 'and a white ram of the flock', sc. Jacob: [ודכר] זי ע[ן] Ene, ודכר די ען End. For the archaic form of the relative pronoun (here and 4 iii 16), see the Introduction to Ene.—The author of 'Mysteries . . .' resumes En. 89: 12 by the phrase *wabaḥakwĕ tawaled 'ĕmbaḥakwĕ*, 'and a ram was born from a ram', sc. Jacob from Isaac; *PO* vi. 3, p. 395 [137], 8.

Ll. 13–14. See End 2 i 27.

Ll. 14–15 (En. 89: 13). Ene seems to have omitted 'these twelve sheep' after 'had grown', as against E and probably also End 2 i 28.

Ll. 16–17 (En. 89: 14). ודבר דכרא: 'Then the Lord brought' E.

Ll. 17–20 (En. 89: 15). L. 18. 'To fear them and' is missing in Ene before 'to oppress them', more precisely 'to oppress the flock', למלחץ לענ[א]. There is a similar reading, 'they

oppressed the sheep', in v. 19 of E. The verb חלץ is not attested in Judaeo-Aramaic, but is found in Samaritan, in Christian Palestinian, in Syriac, and in Hebrew.

Ll. 18/19. The continuation of the verse differs in E and Ene. The phrase 'until they destroyed their little ones' was probably missing in the Aramaic manuscript, but roughly the same meaning is conveyed by [די י]שקע מין which, on the other hand, is missing in E. Besides, the direct object of these phrases should be in the singular, so I restore: . . . כול חד וחד.—I render 'the water-course', the Nile, by יב(ו)לא', a term denoting the Jordan in a pseudo-Danielic document of 4Q; see *RB* lxiii (1956), 412–13.—I restore בׄ[אדי]ןׄ ('and' E) to take account of a final letter at line 1 of fragment *d*.

Ll. 20–1 (En. 89: 16). L. 20. To '(and a sheep) which had escaped (from the wolves)' in E there corresponds in Ene the verb נת[ר] which can be translated, according to the Hebrew meaning of the word, by 'to run in flight'; for the usual Aramaic meaning see Dan. 4: 11.

L. 21. 'To lament, and to cry, and to beseech their Lord with all their might' E; the expression 'and to beseech their Lord' was no doubt missing from our Aramaic manuscript. 'With all their might' probably translates an adverb of manner with the afformative –ית', *-âyît*, *-â'ît*, very widespread in the eastern Aramaic dialects, Syriac, Palmyrene, Hatraic, Mandaic, and also in Christian Palestinian. Perhaps restore תקיפית.

4QEne 4 iii—En. 89: 26–30 (Pl. XXI)

[26] 1–12

[ ]מׄיׄא[e][והרם עד כסי דביא]
[[27] והוית חזה עד כל ד]ביא רדפין לענ[א דן אבדו]
[שקעין וטבעין ו]מׄיא חפו עליהון [28] ועׄ[נא נגדו מן]
[מיא אלן ואזל]וׄ צדיותא אתר זׄי [לא איתי בה]
[מין ועשבי]ןׄ ועיניהון התפתחׄ[ו וחזו וחזית]
[עד מרא ענא רעא] להון ויהב להׄ[ון] [f]מׄיא [למש]תׄ[א]
[ועשבא למאכל [29] ואמרא ס]לק לרׄ[אש כ]ףׄ חד רם ומׄ[רא]
[ענא שלח לה לות ענא וכ]ל[הון ק]מׄו מןׄ [רחוק [30] באדין]
[חזית והא מרא ענא קאם לקובל ענ]הׄ וחׄ[זיה תקיףׄ]

[26. . .] the waters, [and it arose until it covered the wolves. [27]And I looked until all] the wolves who were pursuing that flock [perished, sinking and drowning, and] the waters covered them over. [28]But [the flock departed from those waters, and] they [came] to a wilderness, a place where [there was no water nor] grass, and their eyes were opened [and they saw. And I looked until the Lord of the sheep was pasturing] them and He gave them water to

drink [and grass to eat. 29And the sheep] ascended to the summit of a certain high rock, and the Lord [of the flock sent him to the flock], and they all stood at [a distance. 30Then I looked and, behold, the Lord of the flock stood facing] the flock and [his] appearance was [strong . . .]

Texts for comparison: En^{d} 2 ii 27–9 and E. To the Ethiopic evidence add a long quotation, En. 89: 19–30, in *CSCO* 235/*Aeth.* 43, pp. 81–2 (translation, *Aeth.* 44, pp. 71–2), 1963, ed. K. Wendt: a liturgical composition of the fifteenth century, from the MS. Abbadie 62, sixteenth century.

Ll. 14–15 (En. 89: 27). 'And they were drowned' E; En^{e} is more developed, [שקעין וטבעין ו]מיא חפו עליהון; for the verbs in the lacuna see above, 4 i 19.

Ll. 15–19 (En. 89: 28). L. 17. עיניהון התפתחו: 'and they began to open their eyes' E.

Ll. 18/19. 'Water to drink [and grass to eat]' En^{e}: 'water and grass' E.

L. 19. The phrase 'and this sheep walked and guided them' was not in our Aramaic text, perhaps omitted by homoeoteleuton before 'and the sheep' of v. 29.

Ll. 19–20 (En. 89: 29). L. 19. I restore ואמרא with E^{a-t} and *Aeth.* 43, p. 82, 22, as against ואמרא דן = *zĕku bagĕʿĕ* of other manuscripts.

L. 20. At the end of the verse there is a phrase, וכלהון קמו מן [רחוק], which has no equivalent in the Ethiopic text. Cf. Exod. 19: 27: ויתיצבו בתחתית ההר, 20: 18: ויעמדו מרחוק, and 20: 21: ויעמד העם מרחוק.

Ll. 20–1 (En. 89: 30). See En^{d} 2 ii 29.

SIXTH COPY (4QEnᶠ, Pl. XXI)

Skin pale cream, fairly thick; surface rough and granular, damaged; back black. Ink pale. Guide-lines fairly fine and deep.

On average fifty-four letters per line.

The interesting thing about this single piece of a manuscript of the book of Enoch is its writing, which is fairly archaic, of the early Hasmonaean period, 150–125 B.C. The same scribe also copied an Aramaic manuscript of the Testament of Levi, 4QTestLevi^{b}. The copyist of Enᶠ was thus a contemporary of, or at the very most separated by a generation from, the author of the Book of Dreams, En. 83 to 90, who composed his work during the year 164. See the general introduction to this edition, pp. 41–7.

4QEnᶠ 1—En. 86: 1–3

[86 1 ועוד הוית]

1 [נטל עיני בחלמא וחזית שמיא]מֹןֿ עֹלֹהֹ [והא] כוכבֹ חֹ[ד נפל מן שמיא למציע]

[תוריא רברביא ואכל ורעה] ביניהון 2 הא באדין חזֹ[ת תוריא אלן רברביא]

[ואכמיא והא כלהון מרעיהו]ן ודיריהון [וע]ג̇ל[י]ה̇[ון חלפו ושריו למחיה חד לחד]

[3 ועוד חזית בחלמי והדקת שמיא]ו̇הא כוכבין ש̇ג̇יא̇[ין נחתין ומתרמין מן שמיא]

[לות כוכבא קדמיא והתהפכו תו]ר̇יא במ̇צ̇[יע עגליא אלן ועמהון רעו ביניהון]

[86 1And again I kept my eyes up in the dream and I saw the heaven] above, [and behold], a star [fell from heaven into the midst of the big oxen; and it fed and pastured] among them. 2Behold, then I saw [these oxen, big ones and black ones, and behold, all of them exchanged] their [pastures] and their cattle-sheds, and their calves, [and they began to live one with another. 3And again I saw in my dream and beheld the heaven] and behold many stars [were descending and falling from heaven to near the first star, and they were turned into] bulls in the midst of [those calves and pastured with them and among them . . .]

Versions to be compared: Greek, in pap. Oxyrhynchus 2069, fragment 1^r+2^r (En. 85: 10–86: 2), ed. Milik, *Chronique d'Égypte*, xlvi, no. 92, pp. 323–9, and Ethiopic.

For lines 1–3 (En. 86 1–2) see my commentary in *Chronique d'Égypte*, loc. cit.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 86: 1). The restoration **והוית נטל**, instead of the more usual **נטלת**, seems to be required by ὧν ἀναβλέψας of Oxy. 1^r+2^r, line 3.—**ביניהון** = *mâ'ĕkala* of E; in Oxy., line 8, μετα[ξὺ αὐτῶν), or even μετ' α[ὐτῶν], the latter = *mĕslehomu* used with the same verb in v. 3 of E (line 5 of En^f).

Ll. 2–3 (En. 86: 2). **הא באדין** simplified to *wa'ĕmzĕ* in E.—In En^f the predicate 'exchanged' was probably put after the three objects, which is quite correct in Aramaic syntax.

Ll. 4–5 (En. 86: 3). **[בחלמי]** En^f, *barâ'ĕy* E; cf. En^e 4 ii 1 (En. 89: 7).—After **והא** = *wanawâ* E adds *rĕ'iku* (E^m *warĕ'iku nawâ*). In a similar manner, before **והא** of line 1 (En. 86: 1) Oxy., line 4, adds καὶ ἐθεώρουν [καὶ ἰδού]; also E^{gmq} *warĕ'iku {samâya} wanawâ*. Again in En. 89: 3 to the Aramaic **והא** of En^e 4 i 17 corresponds *warĕ'iku kâ'ĕba wanawâ* in E.—E transfers *'alhĕmta konu* = **[והתהפכו תו]ריא** after *mâ'ĕkala 'ĕllĕktu ṭa'ĕwâ* = **במצ[יע עגליא אלן]**.

All the chapter En. 86 recounts afresh, from En. 6: 1–7: 6, the story of Šemîḥazah and his companions.

SEVENTH COPY (4QEn^g, Pls. XXI–XXIV)

Skin greyish and faintly purplish-blue, bright pink here and there, thick and fairly taut; surface finely granular, damaged in places or shrunk; verso

similar. There are no guide-lines, which explains the irregular length of the lines of the text, which indeed run on into the space between columns iv and v to the point of encroaching upon the text of column v. Ink very dark blue, which spreads easily and blurs.

A beautiful semi-cursive script, dated by Cross to the years 50–1 B.C.[1] In my opinion the handwriting of En^g dates from the middle of the first century B.C. rather than from its end.

The arrangement of the text is highly economical: the lines of writing are packed close together, with very small gaps between words and spaces between lines, without any blank spaces between the sections of the text. When he was copying column iv the scribe must have been very tired, to judge from numerous errors and corrections (see notes on the readings for 1 iv).

The orthography of En^g is relatively archaic; the scribe was fairly discreet, though also inconsistent, in his modernization of the orthography of his exemplar. The relative pronoun זי (corrected immediately to די) in iii 25 and probably in v 17, and בהשתא for בהתתא ii 25 are very archaic. Archaic, too, is the defective orthography of several words which, however, alternates with full forms: כל ii 17, but כול ii 24, iv 16, etc.; כלה iv 20, but כולה iv 21 and v 21, and likewise [כל]א iii 22; קדשא v 16 and קדשין iii 21, but קשיטין and רשיעין iv 16; קשט iv 13, קשטא ii 18, iii 24, v 25, but קשוט iv 15, 16, 17 and קושטא ii 20; שבעין iv 25, but שבוע iv 15, 19; תשעי iv 19, but תמיני iv 15; אורכה ופתיה v 21, זוה iv 18, ארח iv 22 and ארחת ii 18 and v 25, עבד iv 14, צרתה v 22.

The article is always marked by Aleph, whilst the final vowel *-a* of the feminine absolute, etc., is marked by He, but the *-e* by Aleph: יתבנא iv 18, יתגלא 19. The etymological /'/ is not retained: ממר iii 21, בתרה iv 15, 19, שגי iv 25. The dissimilation of the dentals is not consistent: מדע iv 13, but ינדע v 15.

Personal pronoun of the 2nd person plural masculine אתון ii 25; suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd person plural masculine כון' and הון'. Relative pronoun זי (*prima manu*), quoted above; די before verbs, ד before nouns (דבה iv 15); interrogative pronoun מנו v 17, 20, 22. The short imperfect of הוה: להון iv 14. Aphel אחוית iii 21.

The scroll of 4QEn^g contained, in all probability, only the Epistle of Enoch, En. 91 to 105. Of the first column there remain only two letters;

[1] Table of this alphabet: Milik, *DJD* ii, p. 73, fig. 24, col. 1, and Cross, loc. cit., p. 149, fig. 4, line 5.

the other four columns, on the other hand, retain extensive parts of the Aramaic text, which differs considerably from the Ethiopic. Codicological data:

Leaf	Column	Letters per col.	Width of the col.	Sections of the text	Text preserved	Sigla of fragments	Fragments on plates
1	blank						
	i			En. 91: 1–?		4QEn[g] 1 i 18	4QEn[g] 1 *a*
	ii	39	13 cm	?–92: 3	En. 91: 10+ 18–19 and 92: 1–2	ii 13–26	*a*
2	iii	40	14	92: 3–93: 4	92: 5–93: 4	iii 15–25	*b*, *c*
	iv	37	12·5	93: 4–10+ 91: 11–17	93: 9–10+ 91: 11–17	iv 11–26	*c*, *d*
	v	40	13	91: 17+?+ 93: 11–94: 2	93: 11–94: 2	v 14–26	*c*, *e*

Number of lines per column, twenty-five or twenty-six. Lower margin, approximately 1·2 cm; space between columns, 2 cm to 0 cm. Restored height of the scroll, 19 cm. A minute fragment of En[g], with traces of three letters, is not placed.

The Ethiopic text of this last part of the Enochic Pentateuch is much altered in comparison with the original Aramaic text. Our manuscript has definitively confirmed the good judgement of the editors of the Ethiopic text who moved forward the description of the last three Weeks (eighth, ninth, and tenth) of the Apocalypse of Weeks (En. 91: 12–17) to follow the description of the first seven Weeks (En. 93: 3–10). In actual fact the passage began in 91: 11, but this verse was shorter in the Aramaic than in the Ethiopic. Besides, the beginning of the Epistle of Enoch, En. 91: 1–10, was much fuller in the original, as was the Aramaic text corresponding to 92: 3–5. Finally, the section 93: 11–14 was preceded by an analogous text, three times as long as the Ethiopic passage.

The calculations made by C. Bonner showed that the beginning of the Ἐπιστολὴ Ἑνώχ in the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus (CM) was also longer in this Greek version than in the Ethiopic translation. On two small Greek fragments of CM which belong probably to the beginning of the Epistle of Enoch see notes to col. i and to ii 22–3. Unfortunately there are no overlaps between our En[g], ending at En. 94: 2, and the main portion of CM, which covers En. 97: 6–107: 3.

A small Coptic fragment, preserving a part of En. 93: 3–8, is closer to the original than the Ethiopic text of this passage.

Thanks to two passages in 4QEn[g], 1 iii 23–5 and iv 11–26, we now have a much better understanding of the Apocalypse of Weeks (En. 93: 3–10+91: 11–17). Critics of the Ethiopic Enoch for the most part regard it as an older fragment, inserted, just as it stood, into his composition by the author of the Epistle of Enoch. The re-examination of texts already known, as also the study of some Qumrân texts, both published and unpublished, will allow us to follow, with greater accuracy as to chronology and ideology, the development of this literary genre, and also to understand the place of our Apocalypse amongst similar literary works.

The earliest reference to a chronological work in which the sacred history was divided up into seventy ages is to be found in En. 10: 11–12 (see 4QEn[b] 1 iv 8–11; Aramaic fragments preserved, outside the brackets):

'[And the Lord said to Michael: "Go then, Michael, and] make known to Šemîḥazâ and to all his companions who have joined with [women in order to defile themselves with them in their impurity, [12]that when] their children have perished and (when they themselves) have seen the destruction [of their loved ones, they will be chained up for] seventy generations [in the vales] of the earth until the great day [of their judgement . . .]." '

The author of this section of the Book of Watchers, entitled 'Visions of Enoch', which dates from perhaps as early as the Persian period (above, pp. 30–5), thus reckons 'seventy generations' from the days of Enoch and Noah (10: 1–3) until the end of time. The temporary imprisonment of the wicked angels will in no way prevent them from exercising a baneful influence on humanity, and in particular on the people of Israel, as will be described in greater detail by the author of the Book of Dreams. In making only this brief reference, the author of the Book of Watchers seems to assume that his readers have direct knowledge of a work which divided the sacred history into seventy ages. The existence of such a chronological composition and its very early date seem to me easy to prove, taking as a point of departure two Hebrew texts from Qumrân, 4Q**180** and **181**.[1] Here are the passages from them which refer to our subject-matter:

[1] Published by J. M. Allegro, *DJD* v, pp. 77–80, pls. XXVII and XVIII; essential corrections and remarks made by J. Strugnell, *Revue de Qumran*, 1970, pp. 252–5 and pl. VI; a not very satisfactory French translation and some remarks by A. Dupont-Sommer, *L'annuaire*

4Q180 1

margin

פשר על הקצים אשר עשה אל קץ להתם[כל הויה]
ונהיה בטרם בראם הכין פעולות[המלאכים לקציהם]
קץ לקצו והוא חרות על לחות [השמים וחקוק החק]
[ל]קצי[כו]ל ממשלותם זה סרך בר[יאת אדם ומנוח לאברהם]
[ע]ד הוליד ישחק את עשרה ה[שבעים *vacat*]
[*va*]*cat*]
[ו]פשר על עזזאל והמלאכים אש[ר באו אל בנות האדם]
[וי]לדו להם גברים ועל עזזאל [אשר התעה את ישראל]
[לאהבת] עולה ולהנחיל רשעה כל ק[צו בשבעים השבוע]
[להשו]ת משפטים ומשפט סוד נד[תם]

margin

4Q181 2

]
[לאברה]ם [עד הולי]ד ישחק [
[בנות] האדם וילד[ו] להמה גבור[ים
[א]ת ישראל בשבעים השבוע ל[השות
ואוהבי עולה ומנחילי אשמה ◦[
לעיני כול יודעיו ו[מ]ש[רתי קודשו
ולטובו אין חק[ר
אלה נפלאי מדע[ו
תכנם באמתו ו[
בכול קצותם [
בריאותיה[ם

du Collège de France, 68 (1968–9), 427–9; S. B. Hoenig, 'The New Qumran Pesher on Azazel', in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, lvi (1965–6), 248–53 (medieval parallels); Milik, *JJS*, xxiii (1972), 110–24.

4Q180 1

L. 1. אל in Palaeo-Hebrew characters.—The reading of the last word (להתה̊[לך] Allegro) and the supplement (cf. 1QS iii 15) by Strugnell; instead of הויה one could just as well restore הויה עולם (cf. CD 2, 10).

L. 2. The suffix of ממשלותם at line 4 refers without any doubt to the angels, who should accordingly have been mentioned before, at line 2 rather than at line 3. So I restore here המלאכים (with or without article) rather than בני אלים, followed by לקציהם which is necessitated by the expression at the beginning of line 3.

L. 3. 'Tablets of heaven': see En. 91: 1, 2; 93: 2 (cf. En^g 1 iii 22); 103: 2; 106: 19 (En^c 5 ii 25–6).—וחקוק החק suggested tentatively by Strugnell (letter of 15 September 1970).

L. 4. Words at the beginning ([ל] or [ב]) and at the end completed by me; ל[קצי[and ט, Allegro.—After סרך a Beth seems preferable to a Pe (Strugnell, by letter). I restore בריאת אדם, the expression זה סרך ב׳ א׳ imitating זה ספר תולדת אדם of Gen. 5: 1, and referring to the first ten generations, from Adam to Noah, described in Gen. 5. Alternatively, פרוש קציהם (CD 2, 9 and 16, 2) rather than פ׳ שמותם (סרך פרוש שמותם 1QM iv 6; פרוש שמותם 1QM iv 7, 8, 11, 12; פרוש שמותיהם CD 2, 14 and 4, 4).

L. 5. Beginning and end as read by Strugnell (°[and]עשרים ה̊ Allegro). In the lacuna of line 4, at the very end, the name of Abraham must be restored; cf. Gen. 25: 19 (אברהם הוליד את ישחק) and 4Q**181** 2 3. The name of the father of Isaac must be preceded by that of Noah, for between Noah and Abraham, excluding the former, there can indeed be counted 'ten [generations]', ה[דורות], or rather (drawing on **181** 2 5) 'ten [weeks]', ה[שבעים]. For את with a temporal function see Exod. 13: 7; Lev. 25: 22; Deut. 9: 25.

L. 7. At the beginning restore 'and'; restoration of the lacuna by Strugnell in line with Gen. 6: 4 and **181** 2 4.

L. 8. Restoration partly suggested by Strugnell (letter). The manuscript **181** 2 5 transfers את ישראל before בשבעים השבוע (line 9 of **180** 1).

L. 9. The first word restored by Strugnell; cf. **181** 2 6.—After כל a Qoph seems fairly certain (Strugnell, by letter); read ק[צו] (Milik) rather than ק[ץ משלו] (Strugnell), the latter restoration making the line too long.—In the lacuna must be placed the expression בשבעים השבוע of **181** 2 5 (where it is preceded by [א]ת ישראל, which the scribe of **180** has written at line 8).

L. 10. Read [לנשו]ת (Strugnell, letter) or rather [להשו]ת.—I restore סוד נד[תם], drawing on **181** 1 2 (first hand) as read by Strugnell, *RQ*, loc. cit., p. 255.

4Q181 2

Ll. 1–2. The text of **180** 1 1–4 fills these two lines well, each line of **181** having almost double the number of letters compared with the average number in **180**.

L. 3 (line 1 in the editor's numbering). My restoration, in accordance with **180** 1 4–5; clear trace of the lower left corner of the final Mem.

L. 5. 'Israel he has sated (השביע) with plenty', Allegro; 'Israel, by the Seventy he made (him) swear', Dupont-Sommer.

Lines 1–5 of **181** 2 can be restored in the following way:

[פשר על הקצים אשר עשה אל קץ להתם כול הויה ונהיה בטרם בראם
הכין פעולות המלאכ]י֯ם֯

[לקציהם קץ לקצו והוא חרות על לוחות השמים וחקוק החוק לכול קצי
ממשלותם זה סרך בריאת אדם ומנוח]

[לאברה]ם֯ [עד הולי]ד֯ ישחק [את עשרה השבעים *vacat* ופשר על עזזאל
והמלאכים אשר באו אל]

[בנות] האדם וילד[ו] להמה גבור[ים ועל עזזאל אשר התעם לאהבת עולה
ולהנחיל רשעה כל קצו וגם]

[א]ת ישראל בשבעים השבוע ל[השות משפטים ומשפט סוד נדתם ל....
והיו [

The two letters of the end of line 1 are to be found at fragment 1, col. i.

Translation of the combined text of **180** 1 1–10 *and* **181** 2 3–6

180 1 [1]Commentary on (the book of) periods created by God: each single period in order that [every past] [2]and future event may be fulfilled. Before creating them He established the activities [of the angels in accordance with their periods], [3]one period after another, (each one of) which is engraved on tablets [of heaven, and the Law is determined [4]for] all the periods of their domination. This is the order of (generations after) the creation [of Adam; and from Noah to] Abraham, [5]when he begat Isaac, there are ten [weeks.

[7]And] commentary concerning 'Azaz'el and the angels 'who [went unto the daughters] of men [8]and they gave birth to giants for them' (Gen. 6: 4). And concerning 'Azaz'el [*who led*] Israel [*astray* [9]to love] iniquity and to (wish to) possess wickedness, all [his (sc. 'Azaz'el's)] period, during seventy weeks, [10][*making* (them)] *forget* commandments, and the commandment concerning the mystery of [their (Law of)] impurity [*making them* . . . And they became . . .s of . . .] and lovers of iniquity and possessors of guilt [. . .].

Strugnell is quite right when he suggests (with some hesitation) that 4Q**180** 1 and **181** 2 belong to the first column of the scrolls, the *incipit* of the work. He and the first editor naturally saw close connections linking the two manuscripts; in my opinion, we are certainly dealing with two copies of the same text, though this does not rule out possible variants (see the note to **180** 1 9). This text is a commentary on a very early work which enjoyed an authority among the Essenes equal to that of the prophetic books, the Psalter, etc., for which *pesharim* were composed to make them better understood by readers

and listeners. I have not much doubt that it is precisely to this 'Book of Periods'[1] that the passage in En. 10: 12 refers. Thus this chronological work presented the sacred history divided into seventy ages corresponding approximately to seventy generations, from Adam to Noah ten generation-weeks, from Noah to Abraham ten weeks, etc., up to the advent of the eschatological era.

The commentator of 4Q**180** and **181** summarized or quoted verbally Biblical passages which describe the events marked by the intervention of angels, messengers of God who is the special protector of Israel (Deut. 32: 9 ff.). To the example quoted above (note to **180** 1 5) I add that of fragments 5–6 of **180**, in which I find a reference to the sacrifice of Isaac: for דרך שני ימים (line 3) compare Gen. 22: 4, 'On the third day, Abraham, lifting up his eyes, saw the place afar off'; the expression הו]א הר ציון ירושלי[ם (line 4) identifies as Mount Moriah (Gen. 22: 2) the hill of the temple of Jerusalem (2 Chr. 3: 1); intervention of the Angel of God (Gen. 22: 11 and 15). This event took place at the beginning of the third of the groups of ten Weeks, since the birth of Isaac marks the end of the second group of ten Weeks (**180** 1 5).

In the next part of the pesher, introduced by **180** 1 7 ff., not one fragment of which remains, the commentator described the maleficent activity of the fallen angels throughout the whole seventy Weeks. 'Šemîḥazâ and his companions' of Books of Enoch become in his version ''Azaz'el and the angels', as he restricts himself deliberately to the range of names and language of the Bible. We shall meet these angels again in the guise of the seventy shepherds in the Book of Dreams. There, however, the activity of the wicked shepherds does not begin until after the destruction of the kingdom of Israel. The author of the 'Book of Periods' portrays them as already active in Paradise, or at the very least during the era of the patriarchs Enoch and Noah.[2]

The chronological scheme elaborated by an author living probably in the Persian period was to be taken up and adapted by other Jewish writers. The first of these was the author of the Testament of Levi in Aramaic, who was writing in the third century or even at the end of the fourth. The fragments of this early work that I have identified in the manuscript material of Caves 1 and 4 do not include any corresponding to chapters 16 and 17

[1] Probably preserved partly in Aramaic on papyrus fragments of a 4Q manuscript (to be published in an article by me).

[2] Fragment 1 of 4Q**181** (Allegro, pp. 79–80; Strugnell, pp. 254–5), with its description of eschatological bliss in the company of the angels, should belong to column ii of the commentary; see Milik, *JJS*, loc. cit., 114–18.

of the Greek version of the Testament of Levi, which forms part of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. I assume none the less, disregarding Christian interpolations, that some kind of treatment of the seventy Weeks and of the jubilees was already to be found in the Aramaic original of this Levitical document.

It seems probable to me that the original text contained a fairly detailed description of the seventy Weeks, and not simply a reference such as we find in the Greek Test. Levi 16: 1. What is obvious is that the author of this priestly work was interested only in the history of the Sons of Aaron, and paid scant attention to the history of the people of Israel, and even less to the history of other nations. Similarly in the Apocalypse of Jubilees he characterizes these eras only by reference to eminent Jewish priests, who are in any case difficult to identify (17: 2–7). In sharp contrast to the current interpretation of this chapter, I do not see here the remains of two apocalypses, one of jubilees and one of Weeks (17: 10–11). It seems obvious to me that verses 8 to 11 describe the sole and last jubilee, namely the seventh. In the 5th week of years of this jubilee the author places the restoration of the Temple in the Persian era (v. 10). The 7th and last week of the 7th jubilee will be marked by the climax of the corruption of the Aaronic priesthood, which will bring about the intervention of God, who 'will cause a new priest to arise' (18: 2). This division of the sacred history into seven ages echoes the Apocalypse of Weeks in the Epistle of Enoch (5th section of the Ethiopic Enoch), where the Biblical history is distributed among seven Weeks, whilst the three following Weeks already belong to the eschatological era. We shall never know how the author of the Aramaic Testament dealt with the final era, since chapter 18 has undergone very extensive Christian adaptation.

The theme of the seventy Weeks was taken up on his own account by the author of the Book of Daniel (Dan. 9: 24–7), who, concerned to give it a Biblical reference, linked it up with a prophecy of Jeremiah (Jer. 25: 11–12 and 29: 10). He dates the beginning of this cycle from Cyrus' decree of liberation in 538, and detects signs of the end of time in events which are contemporaneous with himself: the death of the high priest Onias (Dan. 9: 25 and 11: 22; 2 Macc. 4: 30–8), which opens the 70th and last week of years, the middle of which is marked by the cessation of the legitimate sacrifice and the installation of the Abomination of Desolation in December 167 (Dan. 9: 27; cf. 7: 25; 8: 11–14; 11: 31; 12: 11–12; 1 Macc. 1: 54; 4: 52; 2 Macc. 1: 9; 6: 2; 10: 5). Reference to the murder of Onias is also made by the author of the Book of Dreams (En. 90: 8).

It is precisely this Book of Dreams, composed one year before the book of Daniel, which gives us an apocalypse of the seventy Weeks, presented in a very original manner, namely, through the metaphor of the seventy shepherds who are the angels charged with successively ruling Israel, each one for an era. The author divides the complicated periods of angelic dominion into four sections corresponding to the successive number of the angels: 12+23+23+12 (En. 89: 59–90: 25). The start of the cycle begins with the Assyrian invasion of the kingdom of Israel and the fall of Samaria in 724–721, events which are mentioned, moreover, in the same verse as the destruction of Jerusalem (89: 66). Thus the first age extends from Salmanassar to the return under Cyrus (89: 65–72), the second to Alexander the Great (vv. 72–7), the third to the year 200 (90: 1–5), the fourth to the advent of the eschatological era (90: 6–17). The four great eras correspond accurately to the four empires (of which the Book of Daniel, among others, speaks). It must be emphasized, however, that the choice of the numbers of the angels is also significant; the author wished to express by it the concept of a week of years of history (necessarily shortened by two units 'months': $12+23+23+12 \approx 6\times 12$), to be completed by the sabbatical year of the eschatological kingdom. We should recall, finally, in connection with En. 89–90 and En. 10: 12, that the chronological scheme of the seventy ages presided over by the seventy angels intersects, according to the oldest Biblical traditions, the geographical scheme of the seventy nations, each one of which is guided by a Son of God. Indeed, the ethnic table of Gen. 10 contains the names of the seventy nations, descended from the three sons of Noah. Now this list is simply an ethno-geographical illustration of the theological subject expressed by Deut. 32: 8: בהנחיל עליון גוים בהפרידו בני אדם יצב גבלת עמים למספר בני אלים (Read אלים with a fragment of 4Q and early versions as against ישראל in MT and Sam.) The expression '. . . the nations corresponding to the number of the sons of God' certainly implies the number of seventy angels, guardians of the peoples (cf. Dan. 10: 13 and Jub. 15: 32).

A cycle of seventy weeks of years is equivalent to a cycle of ten jubilees $70\times 7 = 10\times 49$. Now an apocalypse of ten jubilees appears in a group of Qumrân manuscripts which will be edited by J. Strugnell under the sigla 4Q**384** to **389**. In these various copies of one and the same document attributed to Ezekiel, Strugnell finds a long and rather confused series of Weeks and jubilees, but the fragmentary state of the manuscripts seems to him scarcely to permit any further elucidation. Thanks to his kind authorization (and the loan of the manuscript of his edition and the photograph), I am able

to quote here (along with my restorations) some phrases from 4Q390, which is probably another copy of the same pseudo-Ezekiel. The author of this text, like the author of the Testament of Levi in Aramaic, is primarily interested in the destinies of the Aaronic priesthood. The repeated transgressions of the Sons of Aaron deliver them up automatically into the power of the wicked angels: ביד מלאכי המשטמות ומשלו בהמה 390 1 11; ו[ת]הי ממשלת בליעל בהם 2 i 7; המשטמות ומשלו בהם 2 i 4. The beginning of the reckoning of the ten jubilees coincides with the 'destruction of the Land', in all probability the fall of the kingdom of Judah: ביובל השביעי לחרבן הארץ 1 7–8 (ל determinative of the era, as is usual in the dates of documents). The jubilees are divided into weeks of years, again as in the Testament of Levi. Thus in 2 i 4: שבוע שני[ם אחד ב]יובל ההוא, 'a Week of years in this jubilee'; in 2 i 6: שנים שבעים, 'two Weeks' (and not 'seventy years'; defective form of dual *šebûʿaim*, as in Lev. 12: 5; cf. שבעין, plural, in En[g] 1 iv 25); in 1 2–3:]ליד בני אהר[ון שנים] שבעים שנה [ביובל ההוא] ומשלו בני אהרון ב[הם]ה, '(power will pass) into the hands of the Sons of Aaron during [two] Weeks of years (and not 'seventy years') [in this jubilee] and the Sons of Aaron will have dominion over them (sc. over Israel)'.

A similar era of ten jubilees, whatever its point of departure, is referred to by the author of a Qumrân pesher,[1] the interest of which is centred on the person of Melchisedek regarded as 'himmlische Erlösergestalt'. At line 7 of the fragment we find 'the first Week of the jubilee, after nine jubilees, . . . the end of the tenth jubilee'.

This apocalypse of jubilees was altered in a most original way by the author of the Epistle of Enoch (En. 93: 3–10+91: 11–17 and 4QEn[g] 1 iii 23–5 and iv 11–26). He replaces the ten jubilees by the ten weeks of years and compresses the history of the world, starting from Adam, into seven Weeks, hence into one complete jubilee, no doubt drawing on the jubilee of jubilees which includes the sacred history from Adam up to the revelation at Sinai, according to the author of the book of Jubilees. A great theological innovation made by our Enochic author, in line with the thinking of the writer of the Book of Dreams, and one which was to be exploited later by Christian thinkers, is the idea of progressive development applied to the eschatological era; it is subdivided into three Weeks. No serious evidence exists to disprove that the author of this apocalypse of Weeks is the same

[1] Edited by A. S. Van Der Woude, *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, xiv (1965), 354–73, pls. 1–2; see Milik, *Journal of Jewish Studies*, xxiii (1972), 96–109.

author as composed the rest of the Epistle, towards the end of the second century or at the beginning of the first century B.C.

A small fragment from Cave 4 at Qumrân seems to belong to a kind of commentary to the Apocalypse of Weeks in the Epistle of Enoch. Here is the transcription and some notes to this isolated fragment (dating from the beginning of the Herodian period), which in my edition will be designated 4Q247:

קץ ח[קוק]
ומאחריו יב]וֹא השבוע החמ̊[ישי
שנים שמונים ו]ארבע מאות שלו̊[מוה
צד]קֹיה מלך יהודה [
[בני לוי ועם האר̊]ץ
] מל[ך] כתיים ◦[
]וֹל[ ]הֹן יא[

L. 2. I restore ומאחריו יבוא in line with ומן בתרה יקום שבוע תמיני in 4QEn[g] 1 iv 15 (En 91: 12).

L. 3. Date of the construction of the temple of Solomon according to the text of 1 Kings 6: 1: ויהי בשמונים שנה וארבע מאות שנה לצאת בני ישראל מארץ מצרים בשנה הרביעית... למלך שלמה על ישראל ויבן הבית ליהוה; cf. En. 93: 7. The second part of line 2, and line 3 of our fragment was worded approximately as follows: החמ[ישי ועם סופו מצאת בני ישראל מארץ מצרים שנים שמונים ו]ארבע מאות שלו[מוה מלך ישראל בנה (rather than יבנה) הבית.

L. 4. Era of the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem.

L. 5. Era of the return and of the reconstruction of the temple (?). The term עם הארץ denotes the citizens with full rights (2 Kings 11: 14; Jer. 1: 18; etc.), or alternatively it is equivalent to עמי הארץ and עמי הארצות, the non-Israelite population of Persian Judaea, expressions which are found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 3: 3; 9: 1; 10: 2; Neh. 10: 29, 31, 32).

L. 6. Hellenistic era.

For our purpose it is sufficient to remember that the document from which our fragment comes placed the erection of the first temple in the fifth Week of the sacred history, exactly as in En. 93: 7.

The quotation from the Epistle of Barnabas XVI: 6 (ed. P. Prigent and R. A. Kraft: *Sources chrétiennes*, 172 (1971), 190–3) belongs to a pre-Christian

Jewish work: γέγραπται γάρ· καὶ ἔσται τῆς ἑβδομάδος συντελουμένης οἰκοδομηθήσεται ναὸς θεοῦ ἐνδόξως ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου (taking up οἰκοδομηθήσεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου in § 8, p. 28, 23–4). This quotation is absolutely accurate, and not approximate, since the author of the Epistle is at pains to elucidate the last part of the sentence on two occasions. Thus it is not a vague echo of En. 93: 7 or of En. 91: 13, and probably not of a primitive formulation of the Greek Testament of Levi 17: 10 either, but is quite plausibly a verbal quotation from the Greek version of pseudo-Ezekiel, to be added therefore to the meagre collection of other quotations from this apocryphon and to the three Chester Beatty–Michigan fragments.

The two copies of the commentary to the 'Book of Periods', 4Q**180** and **181**, discussed above (pp. 249–53) date from the early years A.D.

Reduced to simple genealogical lists, apocalypses of jubilees and of Weeks appear again in the Gospels. The genealogy of Christ in Luke 3: 23–38 contains seventy-six names. If one deducts the first six patriarchs, one finds again in the era of the patriarch Enoch the beginning of a computation of seventy generations—exactly the same, therefore, as En. 10: 12.

In Matthew 1: 1–17 the reckoning begins with Abraham, and the series of ancestors of Christ is divided into three great ages, each one embracing fourteen generations. In other words, the sacred history from Abraham up to the birth of Jesus is looked upon as the cycle of six Weeks ($3 \times 14 = 6 \times 7$) which will be completed by the seventh—eschatological—Week ushered in by Jesus Christ. In this vision of the history of the world we can easily detect the influence of the apocalypses which were formulated by the authors of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch. The influence of the Enochic Book of Dreams is evident again in another essential element of the genealogy of Matthew. There, the seventy shepherds correspond to the six years of twelve months, thus $70 \approx 72 = 6 \times 12$. Here, the actual total of the ancestors of Christ amounts to only forty people, thus $40 \approx 42 = 3 \times 14 = 6 \times 7$. By the number forty the author of the first Gospel wishes to express the idea of the mystical Desert (see Milik, *Ten Years* . . ., pp. 60, 78, 87, 89, 99, 115, 116, 123). The forty generations antecedent to Christ symbolize the duration of the afflictions in the Desert which, once overcome, secure entry into the Promised Land under the leadership of the new Joshua.

The chronological idea of the seven periods of the history of salvation, underlying the genealogy of Matthew, combined with the image of the six days of Creation and of the Sabbath (days of a thousand years, according to Ps. 90: 4), was to be thoroughly exploited by Christian chronographers and

historians, such as Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus of Rome, Julius Africanus of Jerusalem. They grant to the world the duration of 6,000 years (birth of Christ in 5500), to be followed by the 7th millennium which will be ushered in by the final *parousia* of Jesus Christ.[1]

The duration of 7,000 years for the historical and eschatological world was to be applied by the Ethiopic monks to the Enochic apocalypse of Weeks. One Ethiopic author quite simply attributes the duration of 700 years to every Week of En. 91 and 93:

'(Table) by which you will know the computation of the ten Weeks of Enoch.
1st Week: 700 years
2nd Week: 1,400 years
[and so on until]
9th Week: 6,300 years
10th Week: 7,000 years.'[2]

References to this Ethiopic world-era are to be found in *CSCO* 221/*Aeth.* 41: 'the Weeks of Enoch are 700 years each one, that is 7,000 years [quotation of En. 91: 15]', pp. 53, 28–54, 3; '7,000 years of the Lord, as Enoch proclaims [quotation of En. 91: 15–17]', p. 64, 2–10; translation: *CSCO* 222/*Aeth.* 42, pp. 47 and 56.

The Ethiopic MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 117 (fifteenth or sixteenth century) contains, in its first part, a sacred history, in which Enoch and his writings are often quoted.[3] The fourth piece is entitled 'Another Discourse concerning the birth of Enoch'. It paraphrases freely the apocalypse of ten Weeks (En. 93: 2–10+91: 12–17): the first Week, birth of Enoch; the second Week, Noah saved from the Flood; . . . the sixth Week, the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ; the seventh Week, the time of Christians; . . . the tenth Week, the time of Antichrist. There follow the formulas for finding the birthdays of Enoch and of Noah, 7th of Khadâr and 7th of Mîgâzyâ respectively.[4]

[1] On the Christian eras of the world see V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (*Traité d'études byzantines*, i), 1958, pp. 3–25.

[2] Ethiopic manuscript no. 64 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fol. 63v–64r, published by S. Grébaut, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, xxii (1920–1), 215–16 (Ethiopic text) and 219 (translation).

[3] Ed. J. Perruchon and I. Guidi, *PO* i, 1, 1907, pp. 1–97.

[4] Ed. S. Grébaut, *PO* vi, 3, 1911, pp. 430–4 [172–6] and by E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and of the Earth and other Words of Bakhayla Mîkâ'êl* (*Zosîmâs*), Oxford 1935, pp. 140–4 (translation) and fol. 70v ii–72v i.

Sometimes the Incarnation of Jesus Christ is put in the eighth, and not in the sixth, Week: *PO* i, 1, p. 55; *CSCO* 221/*Aeth.* 41, pp. 14, 34, 53 (222/42, pp. 12, 31, 47).

4QEn[g] 1 i (Pl. XXI)

[ ] 1–17
מן[a] ∘[ ]
[ ] 19–28

This column, after a blank fly-leaf, contained the beginning of the manuscript: some early verses of chapter 91, in a more elaborate form than that of the Ethiopic version.

C. Bonner in his edition of *The Homily on the Passion by Melito, bishop of Sardis and some fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel* (Studies and Documents, xii), 1940, makes the following remark on fr. 3 of pseudo-Ezekiel: 'if the verso writing was the end of its selection, the writing on the recto belonged to a selection which followed it, probably the earlier part of the last chapters of Enoch'. On p. 187 he transcribes the recto of this fragment (pap. Ch. B. no. 185):

]ι νυν υμ . [
]ταὶ απο του ν̣[
μο]χ̣θηρων και̣[

I have been able to check this reading from a photograph kindly sent to me by the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. At the end of line 1 read epsilon. The verbal ending -ται, line 2 stands probably for -τε of the imperative, the second person plural. The context of these few words can be found in En. 91: 3–4, in a different recension of the Greek version from that of the Ethiopic Enoch. I tentatively suggest the following partial restoration:

[ ] *vacat* [ ]
[κα]ὶ νῦν ὑμε[ῖν]
[ἀγαπητοὶ λέγω. ἀγαπᾶ]ται ἀπὸ τοῦ ν̣[ῦν?]
[μο]χθηρῶν καὶ [οὐκ?]
[ ]∘[ ]

L. 1. A *vacat* at the end of the line before a new section; cf. pp. '15', 5; '16', 24 of CM.

Ll. 2/3. Restore perhaps '[For I exhort you], and now to you, [beloved, I say]'; *wa'ĕnagĕr-kĕmu fâqurân* (*fâqurânĕya*, my beloved, E[β]), 'and I say unto you, beloved' E; cf. En. 94: 1.

Ll. 3–4. Restore perhaps '[Lov]e from n[ow on uprightness, and hate works of wi]cked ones and [do not]', *'afâqĕrwâ larĕtĕ'ĕ wabâti ḥoru*, 'love uprightness and walk therein' E. I suppose an omission before 'and walk'.

4QEng 1 ii—En. 91: 10 (?) +91: 18–19 and 92: 1–2 (Pl. XXI)

[ ]
[10 וקשיטי]אׄ[a] [יתעירון מן שנתהון(?) חכמתא תהוא]
[קאמ]הׄ והלכׄ[ה . . . ותתיהב להון]
וׄלה תשב[חה יתנון]
ותנוח אר[עא מן חרב עד]
כל דרי עלמי[ן 18 וכען לכון אנה אמר בני ואחוא לכון כל]
ארחת קשט[א וכל ארחת חמסא ואתוב אחזא לכון כלקובל]
די תדעון מהׄ[יתע]בׄ[ד 19 וכען בני שמעו לי ובחרו בשבילי]
קושטא למהך בהון וׄ[ ]
[ע]ל דׄי אבד לסוף אבדנאׄ[כל די הלך בארח עולתא *vacat*]
[92 1 די כת]ב ויהב למתׄ[ושלח ברה ולכל אחוהי חנוך ספר פרשא]
[וח]כים אנושא ובחׄי[ר]בׄנׄי [ארעא למדן עבדיהון כתב לבני]
בׄנׄ[הי ו]לדריא אחריא לכול יׄ[תבי יבשתא די יעבדון טב]
[ושלם 2 אל תה]וׄן בבהשתא אתׄ[ון ורוחכון על חשבון עדניא]
[בדיל די קדישא רבא]יׄהבׄ[זמניא לכולא 3]

[91 10 And the righteou]s [shall awake from their sleep (?) . . . wisdom shall aris]e and go, [. . . and be given to them . . .], and to Him [will they give] praise [. . . .], and the earth shall rest [from the sword . . . for] all generations forever. [18 And now I am speaking unto you, my sons, and I will tell you all] the ways of righteousness [and all the ways of violence, and I will show you again in order] that you may know what will happen. [19 And now, my sons, hearken to me and choose the paths of] righteousness to walk in them, and [keep away from the paths of violence, from walking in them], because [every one who has walked in the way of wickedness] will be utterly destroyed.

[92 1 That which] (Enoch) wrote and gave to Methuselah [his son and to all his brothers,—Enoch the scribe of distinction and] the wisest of men and chosen of the sons of [earth to judge their deeds,—he wrote (it also) to his sons] of sons [and] to the future generations, to all who dwell [on the dry land, in order to do good and peace]: 2 'Be ye [not] in distress, ye [and your spirits, on account of the times, because the Great Holy One] has given [times for everything . . .]

Only E to be compared. For a fragment of CM, see the notes to line 22.

Ll. 13–17 (beginning) seem to correspond to En. 91: 10, drastically abridged in E: 'Then the just will arise from their sleep, and wisdom will arise and will be given to them.'

Ll. 13–14. With the expression 'wisdom will arise and will go' compare 92: 3: 'and the just (other manuscripts 'justice' or even 'wisdom') will awake from his sleep; he will arise and he will go . . .'.

L. 14. '(Wisdom) will be given to them'; cf. 93: 10 = En^{g} 1 iv 13.

Ll. 14–15 probably dealt with the cult of the true God, and are to be understood more or less as '[all men will worship God] and to Him they will render praise'.

Ll. 15–16 related the extermination of the ungodly by the sword; see 91: 8, 11, 12, this last verse equivalent to En^{g} 1 iv 15–17.—'The earth will rest [from impiety *or* from the sword]'; cf. וכלא ינוח מן חרב and חרב מן ארעא יסף in an Aramaic apocalypse of 4Q (quoted above, p. 60).

Ll. 16–17 foretold eternal peace and justice; cf. 91: 17 = En^{g} 1 iv 25–6.

Ll. 17–19 (En. 81: 18). For verses 11 to 17 of this chapter see below, En^{g} 1 iv 14–26.

L. 17. I restore the first part, וכען . . . בני, in line with 94: 1 = En^{g} 1 v 24.

Ll. 18/19. Before 'the paths of justice and the paths of violence' En^{g} adds *kwĕllo*, which I restore before both substantives.

Ll. 19–21 (En. 91: 19). Ll. 19/20. For the Ethiopic 'and walk in the paths of justice' our text had a longer form: '[and choose(?) the ways] of justice in order to walk in them'. Likewise the phrase parallel to this one, 'and do not walk in the paths of violence' in E, was more developed in the original, perhaps: ו . . . ו מן שבילי חמסא למהך בהון 'and keep afar from the paths of violence, from walking in them'.

L. 21. The conjunction על די, 'because', is well known in other Aramaic dialects. The expression לסוף אבדנא has been inadequately translated in E by 'for ever'. Note that En^{g} puts the verb אבד in the preterite, as against 'for they will perish', *yĕtḥagwalu*, in E.

Ll. 22–5 (En. 92: 1). This verse, especially the first part of it, was considerably reworked in E.

L. 22. The Ethiopic text, in all manuscripts (except for E^{g} which gives a paraphrase, which is nevertheless followed by Dillmann, Charles, Martin), has *zataṣĕḥfa 'emHenok ṣaḥâfi zakwĕllo tĕ'ĕmĕrta ṭebab*. The literal translation (inaccurately rendered by the authors mentioned above) is 'What was written by Enoch, the scribe of all the wonder of wisdom'. Note that the first *za* is the relative pronoun, while the second one is the mark of the genitive. Then the noun *tĕ'ĕmĕrt* has various meanings, 'signum, nota, iudicium, monumentum, miraculum, prodigium' (for yet another meaning, see above, p. 90), but never 'doctrine', as it is translated by modern commentators.

It is only in this passage of the Epistle of Enoch that the expression 'Enoch, the scribe' occurs. The name 'Enoch' is found in En. 93: 1, 2, 3, passages attested by En^{g} 1 iii 18, 21, 23, and also by En 106: 1 (cf. En^{c} 5 i 26), 7, 13 (En^{c} 5 ii 16), and finally by En. 107: 3, a passage preserved in CM. In none of these verses, however, is Enoch's name followed by any word whatever derived from 'to write, to be scribe'. For this reason I quite confidently identify with En. 92: 1 the verso of a small fragment of CM, transcribed on p. 11 of Bonner's edition:

]α ενωχ' γρα[
]· ἔργων καὶ σ̣[

In the Enochic writings Enoch may be called ספר קשטא, 'the scribe of righteousness', or ספר פרשא, 'the scribe of distinction'; see the note to Enᵉ 2 2. The first epithet underlines his moral rectitude (in line with 'Enoch, the righteous man' of En. 1: 2), whilst the second one qualifies him as a professional, 'distinguished', copyist who writes 'distinctly, clearly', and perhaps, at the same time, as a redactor of laws which have the force of judges' 'decisions'. Whereas the former expression could be simply rendered by *Ἐνὼχ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης* (or *τῆς ἀληθείας* En. 15: 1), the latter was paraphrased by the Greek translator, as we can see from the E version of En. 92: 1 (beginning) and from the CM fragment. CM, judging by the corresponding E text, probably had this form: *Ἐνὼχ γρα[μματεὺς τῶν σαφεστάτων] ἔργων*, 'Enoch, the scribe of very clear (trustworthy) deeds'. An Aramaic adverbial derivative of the root *prš*, namely מְפָרַשׁ in Esd. 4: 18, was translated by *σαφῶς* in a Greek recension of the Old Testament. The Ethiopic translator confused the adjective *σαφεστάτων* with *σοφωτάτων* and rendered it by 'of all . . . wisdom'. Then he took *ἔργα* in an Old Testament sense as meaning 'wondrous deeds'; see En. 36: 4 *ta'âmrâta* (*tĕ'ĕmĕrta* in Eᑫ), 'wondrous deeds (of God)', and En. 34: 1, where there is a synonymous word *mankĕra* (Eᵐᵗ²⁸), 'wonder', corresponding to עבדין, 'deeds', in Enᵉ 1 xxvii 21. Hence the E translation: 'Enoch the scribe of all the wondrous deed(s) of wisdom'.

The E text begins 92: 1 rather unexpectedly with a relative pronoun *za-*, which almost certainly reflects the wording of the Aramaic original: די כת[ב]. For this reason I do not suppose that the end of line 21 of Eᵍ contained a noun such as 'the letter', אגרתא, or 'the book', כתבא. The latter occurs in Enᵍ which substitutes for *ṣaḥâfi*, 'the scribe', of all other manuscripts the periphrastic phrase *maṣḥaf ṣaḥafa 'ĕnka Henok*, 'the book; Enoch indeed wrote'.

For the absolute, demonstrative, use of ד(י) in Aramaic see Dalman, *Grammatik*², p. 117 § 18, 2; for a similar use of אשר in Biblical Hebrew see P. Joüon, *Grammaire*², p. 448 § 145 *a* and p. 485 § 158 *l*. The syntax of the Aramaic En. 92: 1 (Enᵍ 1 ii 22–5) is to be interpreted as follows: 'That which (Enoch) wrote and gave to Methuselah . . . (line 22) . . . , he wrote (it also) for his sons of sons and for future generations . . . (lines 23/4).' A close parallel to this form is quoted by Dalman, loc. cit.: דאכל פרוטגמיא אכיל משתותא, 'wer von der Vorfeier ass, isst auch von der Hochzeit', Shebi. 35*c*; there is an even better one at John 19: 22: *ὃ γέγραφα, γέγραφα.*

In the first clause, line 22 of Enᵍ, the author of the Epistle refers to the incipit of his work: 'And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers', En. 91: 1. Consequently, I restore the first part of this line [די כת[ב ויהב למת]ושלח ברה ולכל אחוהי . . .].

The whole of chapter 91, or more exactly 91: 1–10, 18–19, contains an initial exhortation of Enoch to his sons. In 92: 1 the writer introduces the main bulk of his Epistle (92: 2–105: 2) with a long phrase which stresses its encyclical character, and also underlines the importance of its pseudepigraphical author by a series of epithets of Enoch (lines 22 end–23).

Ll. 22/3. The text of E abridges the beginning of the verse, omitting the mention of Methuselah and his brothers. The Greek text was presumably short, as well. The CM fragment, quoted above, had, in my opinion, the wording [*ἅ*, or *ἅτινα, γεγραμμένα παρ*]*ὰ Ἐνὼχ γρα*[*μματέως τῶν σαφεστάτων*] *ἔργων καὶ σ*[*οφωτάτου τῶν ἀνθρώπων* . . .]; for the recto of this fragment see the note to Enᵍ 1 iii 16–18. The second epithet of the CM fragment verso corresponds exactly to [וח]כים אנשא at the beginning of line 23. A similar wording can be recovered from E, if we suppose a haplography of *ṭĕbab*: ⟨*ṭabib*⟩ *'ĕmkwĕllu sabĕ'ĕ*, 'wiser than all men'.

L. 23. I translate the third epithet of the patriarch, as expressed by E, *sebuḥ makuanĕna* (E[gm]; other manuscripts *wamakuanĕna*) *kwĕllu mĕdĕr*, in this way: 'the praiseworthy judge of all the earth'. En[g] 1 ii preserves only [. . .] בני [ובחי]ר, 'and the chosen one from among the sons [. . .]', which has to be completed by such an expression as [ארעא למדן עבדיהון], '[of the earth to judge their deeds]'. The E translation of בחיר by *sebuḥ* instead of the usual *ḥĕruy* (cf. En. 1: 1, etc.) remains obscure. Compare, however, En. 8: 1 where λίθους ἐκλεκτοὺς has been rendered by *'ĕbĕn kĕbur waḥĕruy*, 'honoured and chosen stones'.

The judiciary role of the patriarch transferred to Paradise, a role analogous to that of God and the angels, is clearly expressed in Jub. 4: 23: 'And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold there he writes down the condemnation and judgement of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men.' For Enoch as celestial scribe, keeper of the Book of Life, and judge of all men in Coptic and Byzantine literature, see pp. 103–7; for his analogous role in the Jewish Medieval Cabbala, see pp. 127–31.

Ll. 23–4. I read [לבני] בנו[הי], as a necessary continuation of 'Methuselah and his brothers' of line 22. Cf. 'to Methuselah thy son . . . and to all his sons' in En. 81: 5 ('thy sons' 81: 6); 'to thee (sc. Methuselah) and to thy sons . . . that they may give to their sons, of generations (to come)' 82: 2.—In E 'to all my children', which anticipates the direct speech of Enoch starting in v. 2 (line 25).

In the following phrase E inverts the two expressions 'for (. . .) those who live on the dry land (*yabĕs* E[g], *mĕdĕr* all other manuscripts)' and 'and for future generations'. The clause לכול יתבי ארעא defines the phrase לדריא אחריא; the repetition of the preposition before the expression in apposition is known elsewhere; cf., e.g., לרפאל לעירא וקדישא in En[e] 1 xxii 5 (En. 22: 6).

Ll. 25–6 (En. 92: 2). This verse is not sufficiently clear in E, in particular for the meaning of 'times' and of 'days'; cf. En[e] 1 xxii 2–3 (En. 22: 4).

L. 25. בהשתא corresponds to normal Aramaic בהתתא, 'shame', from the verb בהת, 'to be ashamed, distressed'. The Shin for the original consonant *ṯ* is regular in Old Aramaic texts and frequent in Imperial Aramaic, but rather exceptional in later dialects. Other Aramaic texts of Qumrân have the usual orthography of these words, e.g. ובהתתא (noun) and ואבהתת (Aphel) in 4QTestLevi[a] 5 ii 18 and 19.—[or ורוחתכון, את̇[ון ורוחכון: E only 'your spirit'.

4QEn[g] 1 iii—En. 92: 5–93: 4 (Pl. XXII)

[ ]

] °[[c]

[⁵ . . . וחטיא יאבד בח[שׁ̊וכא

]לעלם ולא יתחזא עוד מ[ן יומא

[b] ד̊[.]ן ועד כול דרי עלמין 93 1 וכדי יהב אגרתה נסב ח[נ̊וך מתלה

2 אמר̊]על חשבון בני קשטא ועל בחירי עלמא די סלק[ו מן נצבת

יצבתא [וקושטא הא אנה אמלל ואודע לכון ב]ני אנה הוא
חנוך אחזי[ת אנה כלא בחזית שמין ומן] ממר עירין וקדשין
אנה כלא ידעת [ובלוחת שמיא אנה כל]א קר[ית ואתבוננ]ת 3 ות[ב]
נסב חנוך מתלה ואמר אנ[ה הוא חנוך]שביע א[תילדת בשבוע]
קדמי ועד עלי קשטא כב[ר הוה מתקים 4 ומן בתרי יקום שבוע]
תנין די[a] בה שקרא וחמסא יצמח[ ]

[a] Daleth written on Zain.

[. . . 5. . . and sin shall perish in] darkness [forever . . . and shall never be visible again] from this day forth [for all generations forever. 93 1And when he was transmitting his Epistle], Enoch [took up] his discourse, 2saying: ['Concerning the children of righteousness and about the elect of the world who have grown] up from a plant of truth [and of justice, behold, I will speak and will make (it) known unto you], my sons. I Enoch, I have been shown [everything in a heavenly vision, and from] the word of the Watchers and Holy Ones I have known everything; [and in the heavenly tablets I] have read everything [and understoo]d'. 3And Enoch took up his discourse again and said: 'I [Enoch], the seventh I [was born in the] first [Week], and until my time justice was still [enduring. 4And after me will arise] the second [Week] in which lying and violence will have sprung up [. . .]

Texts for comparison: E and Coptic fragment, recto, col. i.

More than two-thirds of this column, seventeen lines and a half, correspond only to verses 3 to 5 of En. 92. There was a very long piece of text on the reward of the just at the end of time. Verse 3 is fairly similar to 91: 10: 'and the just will arise from sleep' on the one hand, 'then the just will arise from their sleep' on the other; cf. above, 1 ii 13, note. The part missing from our column probably contained a description analogous to that of the three last Weeks, En. 91: 11–17 = En[g] 1 iv 14–26. Thus 92: 5 echoes the end of the tenth Week: 'and sin will be lost in the darkness for ever, and will not be visible any more from this day forth unto eternity'; 'and sin will not be mentioned again by name until eternity' (91: 17).

Ll. 16–18 (En. 92: 5). E (quoted immediately above) is too short for the lacuna.

According to my calculation, the recto of a small fragment of the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus, the verso of which has been discussed above in the note to 1 ii 22, should be placed at lines 16–17 of this column. Only a few letters are preserved:

]ηρα[
]ησκ[
]· ει[

Reading an aorist or a perfect form of *καταρῶμαι*, 'to curse', in line 1 and [. . . *τ*]*ῆς κ*[*ακίας* . . .] in line 2, one obtains the same context as that of En. 92: 5.

L. 18 (En. 93: 1). To [יהב], restored in line with *wahabani* of E, I add א(י)גרתה or כתב ידה; for both substantives see the title of the Epistle of Enoch to Šemîḥazah in 4QEnGiants[a]: פרגשן לוחא תנינא די אי[גרתא . . .] בכתב יד חנוך ספר פרשא (below, p. 314).—At the beginning of the verse, instead of ובתר די = *wa'ĕmdĕḥrazĕ* of E, I restore כדי, which fits better into the syntax of this passage: 'and when he was transmitting his Epistle, Enoch took up his discourse, saying'.—The expression נסב מתלה, lines 18 and 23 (93: 1 and 3), translated by 'he began to speak from the books' in E, has already been encountered in En. 1: 2 = En[a] 1 i 2: נסב מתלוהי; see also p. 89.

Ll. 19–22 (En. 92: 2). אמר in line 19 is the participle; 'and said' E.

Ll. 19/20. The passage 'and concerning the elect of the world, and concerning the plant of equity (E[q] justice, E[β] justice and equity)' was worded differently in the Aramaic original, which read approximately '[and concerning the elect of the world who had grown up (סלקו as in Dan. 7: 8, 20, or a synonym)] from the plant of truth [and of justice]'.

L. 20. *'Ĕllonta*, 'these (things)' in E, before *'ĕbĕlakĕmmu*, 'I will speak unto you', is probably the result of the misreading of הא as הוא by the Greek translator.

Ll. 21–2. All three כלא are omitted in E.—At line 21, עירין וקדישין = 'the holy angels' E; see En[a] 1 i 3 note.—At line 22, E omits the first verb from קרית ואתבוננת.

Ll. 22–4 (En. 93: 3). The description of the first Week and of the beginning of the second Week (lines 24–5) is more accurate in the Coptic fragment than in the Ethiopic text. E omits 'Enoch' after 'I', replaces ועד עלי with 'while', and duplicates קשטא (ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ Coptic) by 'judgement and righteousness' (but in *PO* vi, 3, p. 430 [172], 14 only *ṣĕdĕq*). For the expression עד עלי, faithfully preserved in Coptic, see p. 82. The preposition על in its meaning 'during the life (of past kings, etc.)' is discussed on p. 216.

Ll. 24–5 (En. 93: 4). 'And after me will arise the second Week (ἑβδομάς)' En[g] and Coptic, as against 'after me, in the second Week' in E (except E[n] which omits 'in'). The Weeks that follow are introduced by the phrase 'and after that, will arise the *n*th Week'; see En[g] iv 15 and the Coptic fragment for the 3rd and 5th Weeks, whilst E always has 'and after that, in the *n*th Week'.

L. 25. The phrase די בה שקרא וחמסא יצמח is reworked in E: 'will arise great wickedness, and deceit will have sprung up'. Note that the pronoun די is rewritten from זי. The scribe was thus modernizing the orthography of his model, which was fairly old, dating approximately from around the year 100 B.C.

4QEn[g] 1 iv—En. 93: 9–10 + 91: 11–17 (Pl. XXII)

[ ] 1–10

[וכול עבד]והי בט[עותא]

[10 ועם סופה י]תבחרון ב[חירי]ן לשהדי[a] קשט מן נ[צבת]

קשט על[מ]א די שבעה פ[עמי]ן[b] חכמה ומדע[b] תתיה[ב להון]

11 91 ולהון עקרין אשי חמסא[c] ועבד שקרא[d] בה למעבד [דין]

[12] ומן בתרה יקום שבוע[e] תמיני ‹ד›[e] קשוט דבה תתיה[ב חרב]
לכול קשיטין[f] למעבד[g] דין קשוט מן כול רשיעין
ויתיהבון בידהון [13] ועם סופה יקנון נכסין בקשוט
ויתבנא היכל [מ]ל[כ]ות רבא ברבות[d] זוה לכול דרי עלמין
[14] ומן בתרה שבוע תשעי וק[שוט ו]ד[ין קשוט בה]יתגלא
לכול בני ארעא כלה וכול עב[די רשעיא יעברו]ן מן כול
ארעא כולה וירמון לבור[עלם ויחזון אנושא]כלהון
[h]לארח קשט[h] עלמא [15] ומן [בתרה שבוע עשרי דבשבי]עה
דין עלמא וקץ דינא רבא[יתנקם במציע קדישיא] [16] ושמין
קדמין בה יעברון ושמ[ין חדתין יתחזון וכול שלטני] שמיא
צ[הר]ין ודנחין לכול עלמי[ן שבעה פעמין [17] ומן בתרה ש]בעין שגי
[די לא] איתי סוף לכול מ[נינהון לעלם דבהון טבא וקש]טא יעבדון

margin

[a] The scribe first, it would appear, wrote שהדוהי, 'his witnesses (sc. of God),' then he deleted the Yod entirely and the He partially.

[b–b] The scribe first wrote ומדע יתיהב; thus he thought, absent-mindedly, that חכמה came before די שבעה פעמים.

[c] חמסא is written on עולא.

[d] The scribe had begun to write עול, for עולא or עולתא.

[e–e] The scribe seems first to have written שביעי ד, which he then carefully deleted (with the exception of the Beth) and replaced with תמיני; however, he forgot to write ד again before קשוט, 'that of justice'.

[f] Above the Qoph one can detect a small 'Ain. No doubt the scribe wished to correct קשיטין to עבדי קשט, but he gave up the idea.

[g] למעבד is followed by דינא, struck out.

[h–h] לארח קשט is formed from בארח קשיטין.

[[93] 9. . . and all] its [deeds shall be (done)] in a[postasy. [10]And with its end] there shall be chosen the elect, for witnesses to righteousness, from the eternal plant of righteousness, [to whom] shall be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge. [91] [11]And they will have rooted out the foundations of violence and the structure of falsehood therein, to execute [judgement]. [12]And thereafter shall arise the eighth Week, that of righteousness, in which [a sword] shall be given to all the righteous, to exact a righteous judgement from all the

wicked, and they shall be delivered into their hands. 13 And with its end they shall acquire riches in righteousness, and there shall be built the royal Temple of the Great One in His glorious splendour, for all generations forever. 14 And thereafter the ninth Week, and righteousness [and right] judgement will be revealed [in it] for all the children of the whole earth; and all the workers [of impiety] shall entirely pass away from the whole earth, and they will be cast into the [eternal] Pit, [and] all [men shall see] the right, eternal way. 15 And thereafter [the tenth Week], in the seventh part [of which] an eternal Judgement and the (fixed) time of the Great Judgement [shall be executed in vengeance, in the midst of the Holy Ones]. 16 And the first heaven in it (end of the tenth Week) shall pass away, and [a new] heaven [shall appear, and all the powers] of heaven shall rise for all eternity [with sevenfold] brightness. [17 And after this] there will be many weeks [to whose] number there shall be no end [forever, in which] they shall work [good and] righteousness [. . .]

The placing of the small fragment *d* on lines 18–19, ד̇/ר̇ב̊ו̇ת ז̇ו̇, seems to me to be beyond doubt; one can see here the lower tip of the final Nun of יקנון in line 17 encroaching on the Zain.

Only E to be compared. En. 91: 12–13, 15–17 is quoted in *CSCO* 221/*Aeth.* 41 (cf. En^{e} 4 iii). See also *PO* vi, 3, pp. 432–3 [174–5].

Ll. 12–13 (En. 93: 10). The expression ועם סופה, at line 12, is restored in accordance with line 17 (En. 91: 13).—'The elect just', *ḫĕruyân ṣâdĕqân*, in E (better 'the elect of justice', *ḫĕruyâna sĕdĕq*, in the manuscripts *gdylo*$_1$*a* $_1$*b*) shortens the original phrase 'the elect to be witnesses of justice'. The Ethiopic version thus lost the important theological idea of the testimony of the just at the end of time, which was to become so essential in the writings of the New Testament.

L. 13. חכמה ומדע: E kept only 'the knowledge', *tĕmhĕrĕt* (cf. above note on the reading $^{b-b}$) and added 'of all his creation (E^{gq} possession)'.

Ll. 14–26. The description of the three last Weeks (En. 91: 12–17) followed in the original the description of the seven first Weeks (93: 3–10), a sequence which was generally recognized by editors of the Ethiopic Enoch. Dillmann, however, was mistaken in suggesting that En. 93: 11–14 followed immediately on v. 10 of the same chapter; see below, En^{g} 1 v 14 ff. The end of the description of the seventh Week, line 14 of our column, calls to mind certain phrases of 91: 5, 7, 8, and 11.

L. 14 (En. 91: 11). 'And they (sc. the elect) will be rooting out the foundations of violence'; E in the passive, 'and after that the roots of injustice will be cut'. Note that 'injustice' corresponds well to עולא in the uncorrected text of En^{g} (note on the reading ^{c}). The same phrase found in E occurs in 91: 5: 'all injustice will come to an end and be cut from its roots'. The beginning of 91: 8 is closer to our text: 'in these days violence will be cut from its roots', which is followed by a mention of 'injustice' and 'deceit'. This last term translates שקרא which recurs in the second part of our line 14, where it is rewritten moreover on עולא, hence 'injustice,

impiety'.—The term עבד, 'work', is parallel to אשי, 'foundations'; one must thus see in this the architectonic use of עבד, 'structure, building', the meaning which the corresponding Greek word ἔργον often has. The text of 91: 5 in E, 'all injustice will come to an end and will be cut from its roots and all its structure will perish', is relatively close to our text of line 14 in its original state (אשי עולא and עבד עולא). However, the reference to 'execution [of judgement]' at the end of line 14 recalls rather 91: 7: 'and when, in every deed sin and injustice and blasphemy and violence will have increased . . . the holy Lord will come forth . . . to make a judgement on earth'.

Ll. 15–17 (En. 91: 12). L. 15. On the phrase ומן בתרה יקום see the note to 1 iii 24–5; here E has *tĕkawĕn*, 'shall be'.—שבוע תמיני: the same order in E[β], *sanbat sâmĕnit*: E[α] and *Aeth.* 41, pp. 34, 9 and 53, 18/19 *sâmĕnit sanbat*. Before this phrase all manuscripts of E, except *Aeth.* 41, locc. citt., add 'another, (the eighth Week)'; E[m] omits 'Week' and E[u] omits 'eighth'.—The proposition דבה תתיהב חרב, 'during which (sc. the eighth Week) a sword will be given', was misunderstood by E: 'and a sword will be given to it'.

L. 16. The expression לכול קשיטין is omitted in E, but *laṣâdĕqân* is taken up at the end of the verse.—The phrase למעבד דין קשוט is faithfully preserved in E[gd]: 'so that the judgement of justice may be made'; other manuscripts of E have 'judgement and justice', which seems to correspond to the uncorrected text of Enᵍ: ⟨וקושטא⟩ דינא.—The words מן כול רשיעין are paraphrased in E: *'ĕm'ĕlla yĕgafĕ'u*, 'on those who oppress' (omitted in E[u]).

L. 17. The proposition ויתיהבון בידהון is again paraphrased in E: 'and will be delivered, the sinners, into the hands of the just'; the end is duplicated in E[y]: 'before them and into their hands'.

Ll. 17–18 (En. 91: 13). In line 17, the preposition ועם = *waba* E[qbcefhnx] and *Aeth.* 41, pp. 34, 11 and 53, 21; other manuscripts omit *wa*.—'Riches' Enᵍ: 'the houses' E.—After בקשוט = *'ĕmṣĕdĕqa*, E adds *zi'ahomu* 'their'.

L. 18. In the expression היכל מלכות רבא, 'the temple of kingship of the Great One', the adjective 'the great' by itself is a substitute for the name of God. It occurs again in En. 14: 2; 103: 1; 104: 1 (twice); see above, p. 237. E translates 'a house for the great king'; E[g] 'the house of the great king'; *PO* vi, 3, p. 433 [175], 5 'the house of the great kingship', *beta mangĕśĕt 'abiy*.—The long expression ברבות זוה לכול דרי עלמין is abridged in E[gm] to 'in splendour until eternity', *basĕbḥat 'ĕska la'âlam*; other manuscripts *la-* (*Aeth.* 41 *wala-*), E[oy1b] omit the preposition.

The second part of v. 13, our line 18, is obviously drawn from Zech. 6: 13 והוא יבנה את היכל יהוה והוא ישא הוד וישב ומשל על כסאו (where the Targum translates הוד by זיו). The author of Enoch, however, applies it to God and not to a king or to a high priest of Israel. Similarly, the reference to an individual Branch in Zech. 6: 12 (הנה איש צמח שמו ומתחתיו יצמח ובנה את היכל יהוה) is transferred by the author of Enoch to 'the plant of righteousness,' the elect and just of the last days; see lines 12–13 of this column (= En. 93: 10), iii 19–20 (En. 93: 2), Enᶜ 1 v 4 (En. 10: 16). Individuals as plants of righteousness: Noah (En. 84: 6), Abraham and Israel (93: 5).

Ll. 19–22 (En. 91: 14). L. 19. Here, and probably in the following verse (line 22), the verb יקום is omitted before שבוע. Perhaps this is subtly intended by the author, who may have wished in this way to make the reader understand the continuity of the three last Weeks which

constitute a single period without sharply delimited successive phases.—E omits the first 'justice' in 'justice and judgement of justice' of the Aramaic original.

L. 20. 'To all the world' in E corresponds inaccurately to 'to all the sons of the whole earth' in En[g]—וכול עב[די רשעיא] should be translated 'and all those who commit impieties' because of the second predicate, ירמון (line 21). The Greek translator understood this expression as a defective form of עובדי רשיעיא, hence in E we find 'and all the works of the ungodly' (E[g] 'and all the ungodly').

L. 21. The proposition וירמון לבור [עלם], 'and they will be thrown into the eternal pit', was mistranslated in E[gov1b]: 'and (they, sc. works) will be written down for eternal perdition', *wayĕṣhaf lahaguĕla 'âlam*. Since the Greek translator of the Epistle of Enoch translated עבדי רשעיא by 'the works of the ungodly' he had to look for an impersonal translation, here also, for the verb ירמון. He found it in the special use of רמה, namely 'to decide, to declare', discussed above in the notes to En[e] 1 xxvii 19–20 and 4 i 10–13. He translated, by an abstract once more, 'the pit' by 'perdition', thereby following the method of the Greek and Aramaic interpreters of the Bible, e.g. ᾅδης for בור in Isa. 14: 19 and 38: 18, גוב בית אבדנא for the same word in the Targum of Isa. 14: 15, 19 and 38: 18.

L. 22. 'The ways of uprightness', *lafĕnâwâta* (singular E[β]) *rĕtĕ'ĕ* (*ṣĕdĕq* E[q]), in E abridges 'the way of eternal justice' in En[g].

Ll. 22–3 (En. 91: 15). The long expression of line 23, דין עלמא וקץ דינא רבא, is shortened in E to 'the great eternal judgement', *kwĕnane 'ĕnta la'âlam 'abiy* (last word omitted in *Aeth.* 41, p. 54, 3, 5, 9). Before *'abiy* all manuscripts (except E[a–t] and *Aeth.* 41, p. 64, 5, which preserve the original text of this verse) insert the phrase 'and it shall be executed on the Watchers of the eternal heaven', which is a gloss on the next hemistich, lost in the lacuna of En[g].

Ll. 23–5 (En. 91: 16). L. 24. בה omitted in E.—יעברון duplicated in E: 'will pass away and depart'.

L. 25. E translates צהרין ודנחין by *yâbarĕhu*, 'will give light'.—To 'for all ages' of En[g] corresponds *la'âlam* in E[mqtβ–ahk] (other manuscripts omit it).

Ll. 25–6 (En. 91: 17). At line 26 I restore דבהון, omitted in E, which is, however, necessary in Aramaic syntax.—יעבדון, with 'men' implied tacitly; all E manuscripts (and *Aeth.* 41, p. 64, 9) impersonally, '(it) will be in goodness and in justice', *baḥirut wabaṣĕdĕq yĕkawĕn*; E[g] adds *wakwĕllomu* at the beginning of this phrase.

4QEn[g] 1 v—En. 93: 11–94: 2 (Pl. XXIV)

[ ]

[ ]°[c] [או מנו הוא מן כול אנוש]

[די יכ]ל̇ ינדע מה ב̇ט̇ע̇ם̇ [אלהא 11 ומנו הוא מן כול בני אנוש]

[ד]י יכל ישמע מ̇ל̇י קדשא̇] ולא יתבהל או יכל יחשב מחשבתה]

או מ̇נו הוא כול אנוש[e] ד̇י̇[a] [יכל יחזה כול עבדי שמיא 12 או עמודי]

זויא די אנ[ון]ע̇[ליהו]ן̇ ית̇נח̇[ון ודי יחזא נפש או רוח ויכל]

למתב למת̊[ניה או יסק ויחזה כול קצותהן ויחשב או יעבד כאנן]
[13] או מנו הוא [מן כול בני א]נוש די יכל [וינדע וימשח מה הוא]
אורכה ופתיה̊ די ארעא כולה או [מנו הוא די תחזה לה כול . . . .ה]
וצרתה [14] ומנו הוא כול אנוש די יכ̊[ל ינדע מה ארך שמיא ומה]
הוא רומהון והיכה אנון סמכי[ן וכמה רב מנין כוכבין]
[94 1] וכען לכון אנה אמר בנ̊י̊ [רחמו לקשטא והלכו בה בדיל די]
ארחת ק̊שט̊[א חזין למנסבהן וארחת עולא יבדן ויחסרן [2] ולבני]
א]נושא [

[a] די seems to be written on זי.

[. . . who is the man who] can understand the command [of God? [11]And who is there of all the children of men] who can hear the words of the Holy One [and not be troubled, or can think His thoughts]? Or who is the man who [can behold all the works of heaven, [12]or] the corner-[pillars] upon which it (the heaven) rests; [and who (can) see a soul or a spirit and can] return (from there) to tell [it, or ascend and see the whole community of (spirits) and think and act like them]? [13]Or who is there [from the children of] men who is able [to know and measure what is] the length and the breadth of the whole earth; or [who is there to whom is shown all its . . .] and its shape? [14]Or what man is there who can [know the length of the heaven and what] is its height, or how it is supported; [and how great is the number of the stars]?

[94] [1]And now to you I say, my sons, [love righteousness, and walk in it, for] the ways of righteousness [are worthy to be accepted, but the ways of wickedness shall be destroyed and vanish. [2]And to the sons] of men [. . .]

The placing of a small fragment at lines 17–18 is a little doubtful; see the note ad loc.

The end of En. 91: 17 (see above, iv 25–6) did not even fill the first line of this column. Then there came next a section which is not preserved in the Ethiopic text. The end of this part which has disappeared in this version can be read in the first half of line 15: '[. . .] who can understand what is the command [of God?]'. This phrase is entirely analogous to those of lines 15–23 = En. 93: 11–14. I assume, therefore, that this series of rhetorical questions which describe the transcendence of God in a way similar to that of the Book of Job and of several sapiential writings from Qumrân, a series which was very long in the Aramaic original, was reduced to almost a third in the Ethiopic version. Besides, this passage constitutes a eulogy of Enoch (delivered by himself!) who had just accomplished things inaccessible to simple mortals, in particular the journeys described in En. 1 to 36.

The text of verses 11c to 14 is composed of two tetrastichs, the first of which (verses 11c and 12) describes the heavenly abode and its inhabitants, whilst the second (verses 13 and 14) calls for admiration of the expanse of the earth and of heaven and also the incalculable number of heavenly bodies.

Ll. 14–15. Towards the end of line 14 began the second colon of a tetrastich which expressed the inscrutability of God to human intelligence.

L. 15. Probably read בטעם, followed by a name of God, or else בטעמ[ה]: the lower left-hand angle of the Ṭeth is very thick, just like the Ṭeth which is found at line 22 of the preceding column.

Ll. 15–17 (En. 93: 11). The third phrase of this verse in E, 'and who is there that can behold all the works (plural with E^t) of heaven', is more or less repeated in the two first phrases of the following verse, 93: 12: 'and how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could understand the work of heaven'. Note, moreover, that E^q omits 'behold ⟨. . . behold⟩' of verses 11c–12a, whilst E^{uβ} omits 'could ⟨behold . . . could⟩ understand' in v. 12. E does not, on the other hand, have the phrase of our lines 17 end–18 first part. One may assume that En^g omitted these two phrases by homoeoteleuton. Seeing, however, their repetitious and superfluous character I suppose that Abyssinian copyists were trying, in various ways, to account for an insertion-mark, traced on the margin of ancient exemplars, which indicated that a phrase had been omitted. This phrase was actually inserted further on in a wrong place; see the note to line 23.

Ll. 17–18. The letters ד̊י̊ of line 17 and ן̊ יתנ̊ח̊ of line 18 are found on the small fragment *e*; the Daleth which is retraced on the Zain, just as in 1 iii 25, is more legible on an earlier photograph, PAM 42. 458.

Ll. 17–19 (En. 93: 12). For the first half of v. 12 in E see the note to lines 15–17.—The text of En^g, line 17 end–line 18 first part, is missing in E, but see the note to line 23.

L. 18. The term זויא, 'the angles', should have been preceded by a noun like 'stones' (אבן פנתה Job 38: 6; τὸν λίθον τῆς γωνίας En. 18: 2) or like 'corners' (קרן זוית in Mishnaic Hebrew) or even, the most likely solution, we must supply the term 'pillars', drawing on En. 18: 2–3 (the four winds which are 'the pillars of heaven') and on Job 26: 11 (עמודי שמים).

L. 19. למתב למת[ניה], 'to return (from there) to tell it': an allusion to the ultra-terrestrial journeys of Enoch, in particular to that in the abode of souls, En. 22. E has only 'to tell thereof'. —The end of the verse falls in the lacuna of En^g. In the text of E, 'or ascend and see all their extremities (*'aknâfihomu*), and think them or act like them', there is an unmistakable reference to the final translation of Enoch and to his sojourn in the community of the angels. I restore קצותהון in line with Sir. 16: 17: ומה נפשי בקצות רוחות כל בני אדם (omit כל בני אדם with the ancient versions and a quotation from Sa'adya). See further the note to En^a 1 i 6–8.

Ll. 20–2 (En. 93: 13). At line 20, to 'who can know' in E there corresponded perhaps in the Aramaic 'who can know and measure'.

L. 21. 'The length and the breadth' inverted in E.

L. 22. צרתה is the defective spelling of צורתה, 'its shape, form, figure'; omitted in E.

Ll. 22–3 (En. 93: 14). At line 23 there is no space at all in the lacuna for the phrase of E, 'and where all the luminaries rest'. I think that we find here the reduced text of lines 17 end–18 first part, with 'all the luminaries' replacing 'the corner-pillars (of heaven)'. This phrase

may have been omitted in a Greek or Ethiopic manuscript, added in the margin of another manuscript, and finally inserted in the wrong place by the copyist of a third manuscript. See the note to lines 15–17.

Ll. 24–5 (En. 94: 1). At line 25 *yĕdalu yĕtwakafĕwomu* of E^{β} (*y. yĕtwakafĕwo* E^{t}) translates *ἄξιαι ἀποδοχῆς*; cf. Charles, i, p. 197 note 18, and ii, p. 234 note ad loc. where he quotes 1 Tim. 1: 15.—I omit 'suddenly', following E^{q}.

Ll. 25–6 (En. 94: 2). בני אנשא = *sabĕ'ĕ*, as often.

THE ASTRONOMICAL BOOK OF ENOCH

(4QEnastr[a, b, c, d], Pls. XXV–XXX)

TO the third part of the Ethiopic Enoch, En. 72 to 82, which bears the title 'Book of the revolution of the luminaries of heaven', there correspond four Aramaic manuscripts from Qumrân, all out of Cave 4. The scrolls of which these fragments formed a part circulated independently of the other Enochic writings. I introduce them here in a preliminary form, less complete than the edition of 4QEn[a] to 4QEn[g] which has been given above. In particular, the numbering of the fragments, and of the lines of text preserved on these fragments, remains provisional.

The first example (4QEnastr[a], formerly Enastr[b]) is represented by thirty-six fragments which belonged to several columns of the first leaves of the scroll. As a matter of fact, these fragments contain only the 'synchronistic calendar', i.e. the writer's 'synchronizing' of the movements of the sun and moon (see below, p. 278). The résumé of this calendar is found in En. 73: 1–74: 9. The skin is glazed white (blackened in places), thick and taut, very damaged, and flakes easily; the text on it is often scarcely legible because of the rubbing of the surface. The handwriting of Enastr[a] is rather unusual, but fairly archaic; it resembles 'an archaic or early Hasmonaean semi-formal script of *ca.* 175–125 B.C.' (Cross, p. 137, fig. 1, line 6; cf. ibid., line 7 and p. 138, fig. 2, line 1). It seems to me, however, to be older than the alphabets discussed by Cross, and to be related, by many a detail, to the writings of fig. 1, lines 2–5. As a result, I would date 4QEnastr[a] to the end of the third century or else to the beginning of the second century B.C. The scribe never used final forms of letters, e.g. תרינ, מנ, דנ, יממ. His orthography is extremely variable and unusual, thus יממא, but also ימימא, יממ, and יומׄמ. Given the date of this manuscript, one may ask whether it represents the oldest form of the Astronomical Book, which may have contained only a broad introduction (approximately equivalent to En. 72) and the synchronistic calendar. This would have made a respectable scroll of about twenty or thirty columns.

The second copy (4QEnastr[b], formerly Enastr[a]) is written in the same beautiful Herodian script as 1QIs[b], 1QM, 1QGenAp, and the original hand of 1QH, on a cream skin (bluish, or brown, or even purplish-blue in places),

moderately thick, finely granular, and fairly smooth. It preserves a good part of the astronomical document, more than the other manuscripts. The fragments mostly belong to the synchronistic calendar, but some are from the final part of the work, En. 76 to 79 and 82. Number of lines per column, approximately 40; number of letters per line, varying from 52 to 80.

The third copy (4QEnastr[c]), cream or dark brown skin, moderately thick, taut and smooth, has preserved only three passages of the text, from En. 76 to 78. The writing is in a fine hand of the late Hasmonaean period, probably from the middle of the first century B.C.

The fourth copy (Enastr[d]), dark blue skin and fairly thick, is preserved practically only in a single fragment, a horizontal strip containing from six to two lines of the text, which comes from three successive columns placed towards the end of the scroll. Column i contains a description of winter; so it should be placed after the existing conclusion of the Astronomical Book in the Ethiopic Enoch, where we have the description of the two first seasons only, spring (En. 82: 15–17) and summer (82: 18–20). The writing of 4QEnastr[d] dates from the second half of the first century B.C.

THE SYNCHRONISTIC CALENDAR

At the beginning of the Astronomical Book the Jewish author describes the movements of the sun and the moon (En. 72–5), calculated within the framework of his special calendar composed of 364 days, i.e. 12 months of 30 days, with intercalary days at the end of the 3rd, 6th, 9th, and 12th months (72: 32; 74: 10; 75: 2). Not one fragment of 4Q corresponds to this section. We find there, on the other hand, a calendar in which, day after day and month after month, he describes scrupulously and in a very stereotyped way the phases of the moon, the waxing and waning of which are expressed by the successive fractions of the fourteenth parts of its light, or more precisely by the $7\frac{1}{2}$ parts. He synchronizes the conjunctions and the oppositions of two stars by reference to 'gates' from which they rise and in which they set. The synchronism of a lunar year of 354 days (alternately 6 months of 30 days and 6 months of 29 days) and of a solar year of 364 days is effected in a triennial cycle by the addition of an intercalary month: $364 \times 3 = 354 \times 3 + 30$. Now the description of 12 lunar months occupied, at the very least, twenty-seven columns of Enastr[b]. It does not seem to me very likely that the author would have continued in the same detailed way the description of the second and

third lunar years. He must have confined himself to some kind of summary, the remains of which, mishandled by the translators, are contained in En. 74: 10–17 and 79: 3–5. Was this calendar simply omitted by the Greek translator of the astronomical Enoch, or is the résumé of it to be found in En. 73: 1–74: 9, or only in 74: 3–9?

We should note, finally, that the description of a lunar year synchronized with a solar year of 364 days was valid, and even then only in theory, merely for the single, first year of a great cycle, at the time when the New Year, 1/I, coincided with the 1st day of the 1st lunation, the 1st Nisân. Consequently there was an inevitable alteration in relation to the astronomical year of 365¼ days.[1]

We have suggested that the Greek translator of the Astronomical Book of Enoch in Aramaic omitted, or at the very most summarized very briefly, the full calendar describing in detail the movements of the moon in relation to those of the sun. None the less, it seems to me that this complicated Aramaic calendar did not disappear completely from Graeco-Jewish literature or from the Christian literatures which depend on it. Indeed, I find traces of it in Ethiopic literature.

MS. 64 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a collection of chronological and astronomical tables, contains a short treatise on celestial physics and on the calendar, containing a development and application of the data from En. 72–6. The title of this part as it appears at the beginning of fol. 34^r is an approximate repetition of the title of En. 72: 1: 'of Enoch the prophet: book of the revolution of the lights of heaven according to their order, their time, their classes, their names, their origins, and their months, composed by Enoch, son of Yared, the prophet, which the angel Uriel showed to him'.[2]

In fol. 37^r–38^r can be read the table of the variations of the duration of days and nights for each month of the year (Grébaut, loc. cit., pp. 429–32);

'In Miyâzyâ (8th month of the Abyssinian calendar corresponding to the 1st month, Nisân, of the Jewish calendar), 10 parts day and 8 parts night.

'In Gênbot, 11 parts day and 7 parts night. . . .

'In the month of Magâbit there are 9 parts day and 9 parts night. (There is) equality.'

[1] For this problem, and for the astronomical and astrological calendars and texts of Qumrân in general, see Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, pp. 170–3 and p. 152 note 5.

[2] Edited in part by S. Grébaut, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, xxi (1919–20), 422–32. Other extracts from the same manuscript, ibid. 323–30 and xxii (1920–1), 212–20. For the Weeks of Enoch see above, p. 258.

One recognizes without difficulty in this table the summary of En 72: 8–12 in which the duration of days–nights, reckoned in 18 'hours', is described within the framework of the year composed of 364 days.

A more interesting table is given in fols. 40v–43r of the same manuscript (Grébaut, loc. cit., pp. 422–8):

'(Consult) also (this table), if you wish to know, for each month, how the moon rises every night and changes by turn (its) rising through six gates of the east.

'I. Risings (of the moon) in Miyâzyâ: through the fourth gate, 2 (days); through the fifth gate, 2; through the sixth gate, 8; through the fifth gate, 1; through the fourth gate, 1; through the third gate, 2; through the second gate, 2; through the first gate, 8; through the second gate, 2; through the third gate, 1; through the fourth gate, 1. (Total): 30 days. The month of Miyâzyâ is finished.

[and so on until]

'IX. Risings (of the moon) in the month of Tâḫśâś: through the first gate, 4 (days); through the second gate, 2; through the third gate, 2; through the fourth gate, 1; through the fifth gate, 1; through the sixth gate, 8; through the fifth gate, 2; through the fourth gate, 2; through the third gate, 2; through the second gate, 2; through the first gate, 4. (Total): 30 days. The month of Tâḫśâś is finished.

'X. Risings (of the moon) in the month of Têr: through the first gate, 4 (days); through the second gate, 2; through the third gate, 2; through the fourth gate, 1; through the fifth gate, 1; through the sixth gate, 7; through the fifth gate, 2; through the fourth gate, 2; through the third gate, 2; through the second gate, 2; through the first gate, 4. (Total): 29 days. The month of Têr is finished', etc.

Now it seems to me altogether out of the question that such an accurate table of the movements of the moon across its 'gates' could ever be deduced from the fragmentary and confused data which the Ethiopic book of Enoch contains. Everything is easily explained, however, if one assumes that a Greek translator of the Astronomical Book of Enoch, no doubt in Alexandria, abridged to simple tables the data concerning the movements of the moon and of the sun contained in the synchronistic calendar of our Aramaic manuscripts from Qumrân.

Thanks to a recent study by O. Neugebauer, 'Notes on Ethiopic Astronomy', which has appeared in *Orientalia*, N.S. 33 (1964), 49–71, we now understand much better the astronomical ideas which form the basis of computations and observations of this kind.

On the subject of En. 72 (cf. the first table of MS. 64, quoted above) Neugebauer emphasizes the purely schematic character of the description of the 'gates' of the sun (which have nothing to do with the signs of the Zodiac), as also 'the primitivity of the methods' used in the description of the 'hours' of the days and nights. He notes (loc. cit., p. 60): 'It is amusing to see modern authors looking for geographical regions where a ratio 2:1 for the extremal daylight would be correct, ignoring the fact that nowhere on earth can the scheme as a whole be based on reality. The fact that linear schemes are common in ancient astronomy and that the ratio 2:1 is also attested in Babylonia[1] seems to me not to constitute a sufficient basis for the assumption of mutual contacts. Very primitive methods offer only little freedom of choice.'

He discusses the text of MS. 64 of the Bibl. Nat. on the subject of the 'gates' of the moon (to which he points out a parallel in the Ethiopic MS. 84 in Berlin, fol. 30ʳ–31ʳ) and explains it, in terms of mathematical astronomy, by the idea of 'fixed arcs of the horizon divided into six parts, related in a very simple way with the rising- and setting-amplitude of the sun during the course of one year'. He concludes finally (p. 58) that it was 'an extremely primitive level of astronomy which shows no relation to the sophisticated Babylonian astronomy of the Seleucid period nor to its Hellenistic Greek sequel. Of course no chronological conclusion should be based on such negative evidence for procedures which might well be of local Palestinian origin, uninfluenced by contemporary scientific achievements elsewhere.'

For our practical purposes, namely for the interpretation of the fragments of the synchronistic calendar of 4QEnastr, we cite Neugebauer's table I (p. 53), which schematizes the Ethiopic text on the risings of the moon in the successive gates in the course of the year of 354 days (see p. 278).

For reasons which will soon be evident, it does not seem to me at all easy to assign the majority of the fragments of Enastrᵇ and Enastrᵃ belonging to the synchronistic calendar to their exact place on the successive columns of the original scrolls. Suffice it here to quote in its entirety the largest fragment of Enastrᵇ, fr. 7, and to give a partial quotation of fr. 6 of the same manuscript.

[1] Neugebauer, 'The History of Ancient Astronomy, Problems and Methods', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 4 (1945), 13.

Gate	I month	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Gate
4	2 days												4
5	2	2											5
6	8	8	4	4									6
5	1	1	2	2									5
4	1	2	2	2	1	2							4
3	2	2	2	2	1	2	2					2	3
2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2				2	2
1	8	6	8	7	8	6	8	8	4	4		8	1
2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2
3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	3
4	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	4
5		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	5
6			4	4	8	8	8	7	8	7	8	7	6
5					2	2	2	2	2	2	2		5
4						1	1	2	2	2	2		4
3							1	2	2	2	2		3
2								1	2	2	2		2
1									4	4	8	1	1
2											2	1	2
3												1	3
4													4
Total	30 days	29	30	29	30	29	30	29	30	29	30	29	Total

4QEnastr[b] 7 i–iii

i. This column retains only two letters, [ופ]לג 'and a half', at the end of line 8.

ii (Pl. XXV)

[ואניר בשאר ליליא דן שביעין תלתא]

[וקוי ביממא דן שביעין ארבעה ופלג ובאדין ערב ועל וכסא שאר] יממא דן שביעין

[תרין ופלג *vacat* ובליליא ארבעה ועשרי]ן בׄה כסה שביעין ארבעה ופלג ובציר מנהורה

[שביעין ארבעה ופלג וב]אׄדין נפק ואניר בשאׄר ליליא דן שביעין תרין ופלג וקוי

[בי]מ̇מא דן שביעין חמשה ובאדין ערב ועל וכסה שאר יממא דן שביעין תרין *vacat*
ובלילא חמשה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה̇[a] ובציר מנהורה שביעין חמשה
ובאדין נפק ואניר בשאר ליליא דן שביעין תרין וקוי ביממא דן שביעין חמשה ופלג
ובאדין ערב [ו]ע̇ל לת̇רעא תנינא וכסה שאר יממא דן שביע חד ופלג *vacat*
ובלילא שתה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה̇[a] ופלג ובציר מנהורה שביעין חמשה
ופלג ובאדין נפק מן תרעא תנינא ואניר בשאר ליליא דן שביע חד ופלג וקוי ביממא
דן שביעין שתה ובאדין ערב ועל וכסה שאר יממא דן שביע חד *vacat* ובלילא שבעה
[ועש]ר̇ין בה כסה שביעין שתה ובציר מ[נ]ה̇ו̇רה שב̇[יעין שתה ובאדין נפק ואניר]
[שא]ר̇ ליליא דן שביע חד וקוי ביממא דן [שביעין שתה ופלג ובאדין ערב ועל]

margin

[a] He is written over Aleph.

iii (Pl. XXVI)

[*vacat* ואניר בלילא תמניה ב]ה̇[a] [ש]ב̇[יעין] א̇ר̇ב̇ע̇ה ובאדין ערב ועל בליליא דן אשל̇[מת]
שמשא למהך כל חרתיה די בתרעא קדמיא ומשרה למתב למתה ולמפק בחרתיה [ובאדין שהרא]
ערב ועל וקבל שאר ליליא דן שביעין תלתה וקוי ביממא דן שביעין ארבעה ו[פלג ובאדין]
נפק ושלט בשאר יממא דן שביעין תרן ופ[ל]ג̇ *vacat* ואניר בלילא תשעה ב̇[ה שביעין]
ארבעה ופלג ובאדין ערב ועל בליליא דן ש̇ר̇י[a] שמשא למתב ולמתא בחרת̇[יה ולמערב]

בהון ובאדין [שה]ר̇א̇[b] ערב ועל לתרעא חמישיא וקבל שאר ליליא דן שבי[עין תרין]

ופלג וקוי ביממא ד̇[ן שביעין] ח̇משה ושוי ב̇ה̇ נ̇הו[ר] שביעין חמשה[c] שלמ̇ [ובאדין נפק]

מן ת̇רעא [ח]מ̇י̇[שיא ושלט בשאר יממא דן שביעין תרין *vacat* ואניר בלילא עשרה בה]

[שביעין חמשה ובאדין ערב ועל וקבל שאר ליליא דן שביעין תרין וקוי ביממא דן]

שב[יעין חמשה ופלג]

[ ]

[a] One can see only the lower part of a down-stroke of the He on the edge of the fragment; the other down-stroke has disappeared through wear and tear of the surface, which has also led to the virtual disappearance of the Shin of שרי at line 5, and has partially obliterated the ink from several other letters.

[b] Remains of the Resh, of the Aleph, and perhaps of the Shin, but rather doubtful.

[c] The upper bar of the He is inordinately extended to the left and it touches the Shin of שלם; this is a *lapsus calami* rather than the remains of a Waw.

ii

[[1]. . . And it (sc. the moon) shines during the rest of this night with three seventh (parts); [2]and it waxes during this day up to four sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters (the same gate as before), and it is covered, the rest] of this day, to [two][3] sevenths [and a half. And in night] twenty-[four] of this (month) it is covered by four sevenths and a half; and there is subtracted from its light [4][four sevenths and a half]. And then it emerges (from the same gate) and shines during the rest of this night with two sevenths and a half; it waxes [5][during] this day up to five sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the same gate) and it is covered, the rest of this day, to two sevenths (of its light).

[6]And at the (beginning of) night twenty-five of this (month, the moon) is covered to five seventh (parts of its light, i.e.) five seventh (parts) are subtracted from its light. [7]And then it emerges (from the same gate as on the preceding days) and shines during the rest of this night with two seventh (parts of its light); and it waxes during this day up to five sevenths and a half (of its light). [8]And then it sets [and] enters the second gate and it is covered during the rest of this day to one seventh (part) and a half (of its light).

[9]And during night twenty-six of this (month) it is covered to five sevenths and a half; and there is subtracted from its light five sevenths [10]and a half. And then it emerges from the second gate, and it shines during the rest of this night with a seventh and a half, and it waxes during this [11]day up to six sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the second gate) and it is covered, the rest of this day, to one seventh.

And during night twenty-[12]seven of this (month) it is covered to six sevenths; there is subtracted from its light [six] sev[enths. And then it emerges (from the second gate) and it shines, [13]the res]t of this night, with one seventh. And it waxes during this day up to [six sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters . . .]

iii

[[1]And (the moon) shines in night eight of] this (month) with four sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the same gate as before). During this night the sun [2]completes the passage (across) all the sections of the first gate, and it begins again to go and to come out through these sections (i.e. of the first gate). [And then the moon] [3]sets and enters (the same gate). And it wanes (during) the rest of this night by three sevenths. And it waxes during this day up to four sevenths and [a half. And then] [4]it emerges (from the same gate as before) and it keeps during the rest of this day two seventh (parts of its light) and a half.

And it shines during night nine of this (month) with four [5][sevenths] and a half. And then it sets and enters (the gate). During this night the sun begins again to move away through [its] sections [(i.e. of the first gate) and to set] [6]through these (sections). And then the moon sets and enters the fifth gate and it wanes during the rest of this night by [two] sevenths [7]and a half. And it waxes during this day up to five sevenths, and its light is equivalent exactly (?) to five sevenths. [And then it emerges] [8]from the fifth gate [and it keeps, during the rest of this day, two sevenths.

And it shines in night ten of this (month) [9]with five sevenths. And then it sets and enters (the fifth gate). And it wanes the rest of this night, by two sevenths. And it waxes during this day] [10]up to [five] sevenths [and a half . . .]

ii

The translation of lines 6–8, on 'night twenty-five', is more of a paraphrase than that of the other lines.

Ll. [2], 4, 7, 10, 13. The verb קוי is the Pael, derivative of the unused Peal קוה*, in Syriac 'mansit, permansit, moratus est'. It seems to me, however, that in the description of the phases

of the moon this verb has the same meaning as the Arabic *qawī* 'to be strong, to become stronger, to gather strength', for it is during the day that the moon increases its visibility by a fourteenth part of its light.

Ll. [2], 5, 8, 11, [13]. ועל, 'and (the moon) enters' one of the twelve gates of the sun, six in the east and six in the west; see En. 72: 2–31 and Charles's note, not quite exact, to verse 8 of this chapter (pp. 152–3 of the 1912 edition). The table of the gates of the moon according to an Ethiopic manuscript is given above, p. 278.

Ll. 3, 6, 9, 12. The verb בציר is the Peal passive of בצר, 'to subtract, to reduce'.—מנהורה should be separated into מן נהורה, as the copyist of Enastr[a] wrote it: מנ נהורה. The phrase ... ובציר is a simple repetition of the formula which precedes it.

iii

L. 2. In the word חרתיה I see a nominal derivative of the verb חרת, 'to hollow out, to carve, to cut' (Judaeo-Aramaic, Syriac, Hebrew, Mishnaic Hebrew; *ḫrt* in Ugaritic and in Arabic), no doubt equivalent to the Syriac *ḥᵉrâtâ*, 'fraction'. The phrase of lines 1 end–2 is found in En. 72: 27 where I add between ⟨...⟩ the part omitted in E: 'and the sun has completed (the circuit of) its sections, *'ar'ěšětihu*, ⟨which are in the first gate (literal translation of the Aramaic expression כל חרתיה די בתרעא קדמיא)⟩, and again it turns on these sections and it enters through this gate during thirty mornings'.—Note that the grammatical gender of שמשא is ambivalent: feminine in the pronominal suffix of חרתיה and in the verbal form of עלת שמשא (on another fragment of Enastr[b]), masculine in the forms משרה (line 2 of our fragment) and שרי (line 5).

Ll. 2/3. At the end of line 2 I add שהרא to correspond with line 6. The phrase ובאדין שהרא ערב ועל repeats and takes up ובאדין ערב ועל in line 1. The same stylistic arrangement at lines 5 and 6.

Ll. 3, 6, [9]. The verb קבל signifies here 'to darken (itself)' and not 'to receive, to take', as wrongly understood by the Greek translator of this astronomical document in En. 73: 6 and 7.

Ll. 3, 7, [9]. וקוי: see the note to ii 2.

Ll. 4 and [8]. ושלט, lit. 'and it reigns (over such and such a fraction of its light)'. The author imagines that during the day the moon presents the inverse image of its nocturnal phase, but increased by a fourteenth fraction of its light. Thus on the 24th of the preceding month (col. ii, lines 3–5) it appears in the night with $4\frac{1}{2}$ (= 9/14) parts of its surface invisible and with $2\frac{1}{2}$ (= 5/14) visible; after it sets, in the course of the following day, it waxes to 5/7 of its light, in other words it is covered by 2/7 of its surface. At iii 1–4, on the other hand, the moon is 4/7 clear and 3/7 dark during the night; the morning after, it increases its covered surface to $4\frac{1}{2}$ (= 9/14), whilst it 'reigns' over only $2\frac{1}{2}$ (= 5/14) parts of its light.

L. 7. ושוי, 'and is equivalent'; this phrase repeats the formula which precedes it; cf. the note to ii 3.—שלם: the translation 'exactly', lit. '(light ...) complete', remains uncertain.

L. 10. I do not know whether the text here, and in the description of the following days, must have contained the clause .... ושוי (cf. line 7) or not (cf. line 3).

The key to the correct interpretation of the calendar detailed in Enastr[a and b] is found at iii 1–2 (and 5–6). We read here that on the eighth of a month,

not otherwise specified, the sun completes its movements on the 'sections' of the first gate and the morning after it rises again from the first gate. This is thus a reference to the end of the 9th solar month and the beginning of the 10th; see En. 72: 25–7. Now, the first day of the 10th solar month, in a year made up of 364 days, falls exactly on the eighth day of the 10th lunar month (the 8th Tebeth) in a lunar year composed alternately of months of 30 and of 29 days. Our author described tirelessly, day after day, the phases of the moon during the 12 lunar months. His plan, which is evident from fr. 7 of Enastr[b] (to be completed by partial data which come from other fragments of the same manuscript and from those of Enastr[a]), is as follows. During the first 14 days of each lunar month, the moon waxes from one half of the seventh part of its light up to the full moon, thus from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $7 = \frac{1}{14}$ to $\frac{14}{14}$. In the second half of each month, on the other hand, it wanes from $\frac{1}{14}$ to $\frac{14}{14}$ (= astronomical new moon) between the 16th and the 29th of each month composed of 30 days, and between the 15th and the 28th day of each month composed of 29 days. Each new month (new moon, חדש; see below, p. 293) starts with $\frac{1}{14}$ of the lunar light, borrowed, moreover, from the sun (En. 78: 4).

According to our fragment of Enastr[a] 7 ii 8, the moon sets ('enters') in the second gate in the morning of the 25th of the month, which we have just fixed as the 9th lunar month of the Jewish year. It rises, however, during the night of the same day, from the gate which is not specified (line 7), which means that it was mentioned above as 'the third gate'. During the 26th night of the 9th month the moon 'comes out of the second gate' (line 10). This scarcely tallies with the Ethiopic table of lunar risings (above, p. 278), according to which the moon rises from the second gate on the 25th and 26th of the 9th month. According to column iii of the same fragment the moon sets in the fifth gate during the night of the 9th of the 10th month; on the morning of the same day it rises from the same fifth gate (lines 6 and 8). Now, according to the Ethiopic table the moon rises from the fifth gate on the 10th of the 10th month. These variations of one day between the data of our Aramaic text and the data of the Ethiopic text imply alterations to the table of the risings of the moon, either in its Greek or in its Ethiopic form, alterations the reason for which completely escapes me.

Not one fragment of 4QEnastr contains a complete description of days 15 and 30 for the months of 30 days and of day 29 for the months containing 29 days. Thus it is not certain whether the author interposed a fraction of $\frac{1}{28}$ of the lunar light, as Charles suggests (note to En. 73: 5–8, p. 157 of II),

drawing in part on En. 78: 8; cf. below, pp. 292–3. A fragment of Enastr[b] contains the description of the 28th day of a month of 30 days (Enastr[b] fr. 6, lines 7–9):

4QEnastr[b] 6 7–9 (Pl. XXVII)

[ובלילא] תׄמנית ועשרין בה כסה שביעין שתה ופלג ובציר מנהׄ[ורה]

8 [שביעין שתה ופלג ובאדין נפק ואניר ב]שׄאר ליליא דן פלג שביע חד וקוי בימּמא דן כלה ובאדין ערב ועל

[לתרעא . . . יא וכסה שאר ימ]מׄא דן כלה ולקיח כל שאר נהורה ונפק גלגלה ריקן מן כל נהור מטמר עם שׄ[משא]

[7. . . And in night] twenty-eight of this (month, the moon) is covered by six sevenths and a half, and there is subtracted from its light 8[six sevenths and a half. And then it emerges (from the same door as before) and it shines during] the rest of this night with a half of a seventh (part). And it waxes during this day to its entirety. And then it sets and enters 9[the . . . gate and it is covered during the rest of] this day in its entirety and all the rest of its light is removed and its disc emerges, devoid of all light, hidden by the s[un . . .]

L. 9. Cf. En. 73: 5 and 78: 14: 'and (all) its disc is empty, without light'.

FRAGMENTS CORRESPONDING TO EN. 76–9 AND 82

Several fragments of Enastr[b] and Enastr[c] correspond in an approximate fashion to certain passages of En. 76–9 and 82.

4QEnastr[c] 1 ii 1–10—En. 76: 3–10 (Pl. XXVIII)

Upper right fragment of one sheet of the scroll and a piece of the preceding sheet (trace of one letter): guide-marks for the lines of writing on the left and right hand margins of two sheets. Written surface worn away by rubbing; seventy-five letters per line on average.

margin

ותלתת די בׄתריהון על שמאל *vacat* [ותלתת די בתריהון על מערב *vacat*
[4]ובארבעא מנהון נפקן רוחיא די]
להין לרפיא[a] ארעא ולאחיתה[b] *vacat* וׄ[בתמניא מנהון נפקן רוחי נזקא כדי
שליחו להין למבד כל ארעא]
ומיא וכל מה די בהן די רבין וצמחין ורחש]ין במיא ועל יבשתא וכל די
דברין בה *vacat* [5]ולקדמין]
בתרעא קדמיא נפקא רוח קדים די בׄ[מדנחא ופנה לדרומא ונפק מנה אבדן
ויבש וחמימו וחרבן *vacat*]
[6]ובתרעא תנינא נפקאׄ רוח קדׄים[c] קדׄ[ימה די במצעתהון מטר ופרי ואחיא
וטל *vacat* ובתרעא תליתיא נפקא רוח]
קדים גׄרבה די קריב לרוח גריׄ[בי קרירו ויבש *vacat* [7]ובתריהון מן תלתת
תרעיא די על דרום שמיא]
נפק לקדמין בתרעא קדמיא [רוח דרום די בדרומא ופנה למדנחא שרב(?)
vacat [8]ובתרעא תנינא נפק רוח דרום]
די קרין לה נגבה טׄל [ומטר ושלם ואחיא *vacat* [9]ובתרעא תליתיא נפק
רוח דרום מערבה טל ומטר וקמץ ואבדן *vacat*]
[10][ו]בׄתרה נפק רוחא גׄ[ריביתא]
[ואב]דׄןׄ *vacat* [11][ ]

[a] Aleph written on He.

[b] He corrected from Yod+He; the *scriptio plena* of the Aphel infinitive+pronominal suffix of the 3rd person sing. fem. would be לאחיותה, against the defective writing לאחיתה of our text.

[c] Final Mem written on final Nun. This is a phonetic error; on the alternation of *-m* and of *-n* at the end of words, see Milik, *DJD* iii, p. 229 no. 12.

[3]. . . and three (gates) after those on the north, [and three after those on the west. [4]And through four of these come forth winds which] are for the healing of the earth, and for its revival. And [through eight of these come forth harmful winds; when they are sent, they destroy all the earth] and the waters and all that is in them which grows and flourishes and creeps [in the waters and on the dry land, and all (men) who live in it. [5]And first of all,] the east

wind comes through the first gate which is in [the east, and it inclines to the south; and from it comes destruction, drought, heat, and desolation.] [6]And through the second gate, [the middle one], comes forth the east-east wind: [rain and fruitfulness and revival and dew. And through the third gate comes forth] the east-north [wind] which is nigh the north wind; [cold and drought. [7]And after them from three gates which are towards the south of the heavens]; there comes forth, first of all, through the first gate [a south wind which is in the south, inclining to the east: a hot wind.] [8]And through the second gate comes forth a south wind] which they call the South, (bringing) dew [and rain, well-being and revival. [9]And by the third gate comes forth a south-west wind, (bringing) dew and rain and locusts and destruction]. [10][And] after it comes forth a [north wind . . . and] destruction. [[11]. . .]

L. 1 (En. 76: 3). The enumeration of the twelve doors of the winds at the four cardinal points is made in order [ES]N[W], just as in verses 5 to 13. At v. 3, the Ethiopic follows the order ENSW; see Martin's explanations, p. 117, and Charles's (1912), p. 163.

Ll. 1–3 (En. 76: 4). Ll. 1/2. '[The winds which] are (להין: imperfect, 3rd pers. pl. fem.) for the healing of the earth and for its revival (lit. in order to make it live)'; E shorter, 'the winds of benediction and of prosperity'.

Ll. 2/3. ומיא וכל . . . are the direct objects; thus they require a transitive or causative infinitive, hence our restoration (להין imperfect of הוה, just as in the preceding phrase: להין למ(א)בד כל ארעא); 'which bring ruination to all the earth', *yĕdamasĕswâ* (lit. 'they ruin it'), E. This verb and the substantive *dĕmsâsê* correspond to the Aramaic אבד and אבדן, while *ḥaguĕl* translates חרבן; see the following fragment, Enastr[c] 1 ii 14 (En. 76: 13).

L. 3. E is shorter and inverts the order of the phrases: 'and to the water which is on it, and to all those who inhabit it, and to all those who are in the water and on the barren land'. After the reference to waters, the Aramaic writer enumerates three categories of living beings: animals (די רבין), plants (וצמחין), and reptiles (ורחשין); fish are included in the last category or else mentioned explicitly. Cf. En. 7: 5, where the term also recurs: [רחש]יא די רחשין, En[b] 1 ii 24. Finally there came without doubt a reference to men, 'all those who live on it', דברין בה, in line with Enastr[b] fr. 23, line 8 (below, p. 289), rather than יתבין עליה.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 76: 5). L. 3. At the beginning of this verse I restore only ולקדמין, 'and first of all', the expression which contrasts well with that of 'and after these', or 'and after this one', verses 3 (בתריהון, line 1), 7, 10 (ובתרה, line 9), 12. E seems to have expanded the beginning of this verse: 'The first wind (which comes) from these gates, called the East wind, comes out through the first gate which is in the east and which inclines towards the south.' 'The first' in E translates לקדמין at verse 7; see the note to line 7.

L. 4. The term 'south' should be retranslated by דרום rather than by תימן; see below, Enastr[c] ii 15 and Enastr[b] 23 3; נגבה, however, at line 8 of our fragment.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 76: 6). L. 5. If my reading קד̊[ימה] is correct, the author will have called the east wind which comes out of the middle eastern gate 'the east-east wind', just as he calls the

wind which comes out of the third eastern gate, gate ENE., 'the east-north wind', line 6. The crux of verse 6 in the Ethiopic text, the word *rĕtĕʻĕ*, translates without doubt, in an inadequate way, our קדימה; cf. Charles's note (1912), p. 164. I assume that the author was no longer repeating the phrase 'comes out through it', just as at line 8 (verse 8).

Ll. 5–6. The description of the activity of the wind which comes out of the third eastern gate is abridged in E.—גרי[בי], fem. sing. absolute: the Yod is certain; in the other Aramaic languages גרביתא is used.

Ll. 6–7 (En. 76: 7). The Ethiopic version is slightly altered, but on the whole it is fairly close to the original.

L. 7. נפק here and at line 9 is in the masculine, as against the feminine נפקא at lines 4 and 6. The term רוחא is thus ambivalent as to grammatical gender, just like the word שמשא; see the notes to Enastr[b] 7 iii 2 (above, p. 282) and to fr. 23, line 3, of the same manuscript (below, p. 290). The adverb לקדמין is translated by the adjective 'the first' in E (preserved in E[gmtβ], omitted in the other manscripts); cf. the note to line 3. For the remainder of the description of the SES. wind I draw on the text at line 4. For the terms denoting the 'South' see the note to line 4.

Ll. 7–8 (En. 76: 8). The phrase די קרין לה נגבה, 'which is called the South', is translated in E by 'which is beside it, come pleasant smells (*maʻazâ sanây*)'. The Greek translator of the Astronomical Book may thus have read קריב instead of קרין, and he translated נגבה by εὐοδία, 'good route, good journey'. This Greek term was understood as εὐωδία, 'pleasant smell', by the Abyssinian translator. On the privileged character of the south side, in other words the right side, see En. 77: 1 and Enastr[b] 23, lines 3–4; (below, p. 290). For the Greeks, however, the side of good omen, εὐώνυμος, is that of the north, and it is by the same term that the LXX usually translates שמאל and צפון. It is thus possible that the first Greek translator read נובה instead of נגבה, and translated it by εὐωδία, just as the Hebrew Polel of נוב, 'to prosper', is translated by εὐωδιάζων in Zech. 9: 17.

L. 8 (En. 76: 9). Restoration according to lines 5/6, but omitting [די קריב לרוח מערבי].

Ll. 9–10 (En 76: 10). The Ethiopic text of this verse varies a lot from one manuscript to another.

L. 10. The top of two final letters favours the reading אבדן rather than חרבן; see the note to line 4.

4QEnastr[c] 1 ii 13–20 and 4QEnastr[b] 23—En. 76:13–77:4

A passage common to these two fragments has already been published in *RB* lxv (1958), 76.

Enastr[c] 1 ii 13–20 (Pl. XXVIII)

This fragment is placed at the bottom of the same column as that from which the preceding fragment comes, with a space between of three or four lines. Here is visible also the seam of two sheets.

[ ]

[ ]°[ ]

וחרבן [14] ושלמו תרי עשר תרעי ארבע רוחי שמ̊[יא שלמהון ופרשהון אחזית לך ברי מתושלח [77] [1] וקרין לקדימא קדים]

בדי הוא קדמיא וקרין לדרומא דרום בד[י לתמן דאר רבא ובה דאר מן עלמא [2] ולרוחא רבא רוח מערבא בדי תמן אתין כוכבי]

שמיא מנאין[a] ערבין ומנאן[b] על̊[לין וכולהון] כ̊וכביא בדיל כ[ן קרין מערבא [3] וקרין לצפונא צפון בדי בה צפנין]

ומתכ〈נ〉סין וסחרין {ו}כל ערבי [שמיא ואזלין] למדנח שמיא ו̊[למדנחא מדנח בדי מן תמן דנחין מאני שמיא ואף מזרח בדיל]

די מנאין[c] דרחין[d] ירחין בהשת̊ל̊[מותהון[e] בכל יום וי]ו̊ם̊ לאתחזיא ע̊[ל ארעא [

[וחזית תלת . . . ת ארעה חד מנהן למדבר בה בני אנשא *vac*[*at* וחד מנהן [[

[[4] וחזית שב]ע̊ת ט̊[וריא [

[a] The copyist first wrote מאיאן (pronounced *mêyên*), which he corrected to מנאין, scratching out the Yod and adding a Nun above the line (above the Yod) and a Yod (above the second Aleph), but he forgot to delete the first Aleph.

[b] *Prima manu* ומיאן, corrected to ומנאן by the supralinear addition of medial Nun (of which only the foot is preserved) above the Aleph, and perhaps by the deletion of the Yod.

[c] מאין corrected to מנאין by the supralinear addition of the medial Nun above the Yod.

[d] שרחין corrected to דרחין by the shaping of the Shin into Daleth and, in addition, by the supralinear tracing of the Daleth.

[e] Aleph doubly corrected to He; first by the reshaping of the Aleph into the He, and then by the supralinear addition of the He. The traces of two letters, on both sides of the lacuna, are very doubtful; I read them, and I restore the whole phrase, by drawing on Enastr[c] 1 iii 3–5 (below, p. 292): בהשת̊ל̊[מותהון בכל יום וי]ו̊ם̊. See further the note to the following fragment, line 7.

Enastr[b] 23 (Pl. XXVII)

Lower part of the last column of a sheet of the scroll; 55 letters per line on average. The placing of a tiny fragment at the beginning of lines 4–5 is not altogether certain.

] יבש וא[בׄדׄן [ו]מׄוׄת ו[חמימו וחרבן [14] ושלמו

[תרי עשר תרעי ארבע רוחי] שׄמיא שלמהון ופרשהון אחׄ[זית לך ברי מתושלח]

[[77 1] וקרין לקדימא קדים בדי הוא] קדמיה וקרין לדרומא דרום בדיל לתמן דׄאׄר רבא ובׄ[ה]

דׄאר [ברי]ךׄ עלמא *vacat* [2] ולרוחא רבא רוח[a] מערבא בדי תמן

אׄתׄ[ין כו]כׄבי שמיא מאין ערבין ומאין עללין וכלהון כוכבין ובדכן קרין מערׄבא

[[3] ולצפונא צפון] בדי בה צפנין ומתכנסין וסחרין כל ערבי שמיא ואזלין למדנחי שׄמׄיא

[ולמדנחא מ]דׄנח בדי מן תׄמן דנחין מאני שמיא ואף מזרח בדי מאׄ[י]ןׄ זרחיןׄ *vacat*

[וחזית תלת . . .]תׄ ארעא חד מנהון למדבר בהׄ בני אנשא וחד מנהון [לכ]לׄ [ימין]

[ולנהרין וחד מנהון] למדברין ולשׄ[ב]עׄ [ו]לׄ[פרד]סׄ קושטא *vacat*

[4] [וחזית שבעת טוריא רמין מן כ]ל טׄ[ורין די על תב]לׄ[א ונ]חת עליהון תלגאׄ[ ]

margin

[a] The copyist started to write מא⟨רבא⟩, but he at once deleted the Mem and the Aleph by erasure. On phonetic, and consequently orthographic, confusion of the laryngals, see Milik, *Biblica*, 31 (1950), 204–5 and *DJD* iii, p. 229.

Translation of the combined texts Enastr[b] 23 and Enastr[c] 1 ii 13–20

[[13]. . . drought and] destruction and death and [heat] and desolation. [14]And the twelve gates of the four quarters of heaven are completely (described); their complete explanation I have shown [to you, my son Methuselah. [77 1]And they call the east East] because it is the first; and they call the south South (*darôm*), because the Great One dwells (*dā'er rabbâ*) there, and in it dwells [. . .] blessed forever. [2]And the great quarter (they call) the West quarter, because there go the stars of heaven; there they set and there all stars enter. And for this reason they call it West. [3][And the north (they call) North], because in it all the bodies (lit. vessels) of the heavens hide and

gather together and revolve, and proceed to the east of the heavens. [And the east (they call)] East (*midnaḥ*) because from there arise (*d*ᵉ*naḥ*) the bodies of the heavens; and also (they call it) *mizraḥ* because thence they arise (*z*ᵉ*raḥ*). [And I saw three sections] of the earth: one of them was for the dwelling of the sons of men in it; and one of them for all [the seas, and the rivers; and one of them] for the deserts and for the Seven and for the Paradise of righteousness. 4[And I saw] seven mountains, [higher than] all the mountains [which are on the] earth; and snow comes down upon them [. . .]

L. 1 (En. 76: 13). [וא]בדן: small but definite traces of three letters; on the correspondence between the Ethiopic *dĕmsâsê* and the Aramaic אבדן see above, p. 286, note to Enastr[c] 1 ii 2/3.—ומות reading fairly certain; E omits 'and death', but in 76: 5 some Ethiopic manuscripts have *wamot* instead of *wamoq* 'and heat'.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 76: 14). The first part of this verse has been preserved in Enastr[c].

L. 2. רוחי שמיא: 'gates of heaven' E; correctly surmised by Charles, p. 165: 'MSS. read "portals", i.e. θυρῶν corrupt for μερῶν, a rendering of רוחות'; cf. Martin, p. 178. שלמהון ופרשהון: a kind of hendiadys, 'complete explanation concerning them'; E 'all their laws, and all their punishments, and all their benefactions'. 'Their laws' translates פרשהון (cf. Syriac *pûršân*, 'definitio, iudicium, discrimen') and 'their benefactions' translates שלמהון; 'their punishments' has been added in the Ethiopic version (or even previously in the Greek translation), recalling the punishments of the angel-stars described in the Book of Watchers and the Book of Dreams.

Ll. 3–4 (En. 77: 1). L. 3. Note the masculine gender of רוחא in this verse (קדמיא Enastr[c], קדמיה Enastr[b]) and at verse 2 (רבא, line 4 of our fragment), whilst in En. 76: 14 it is feminine (ארבע רוחי, Enastr[c] 1 ii 14; above, p. 288); see the note to line 2 of Enastr[b] 7 iii (above, p. 282).—בדיל: but בדי at lines 4, 6, 7. A similar alternation is found in Enastr[c] 1 ii: בדי at line 15, but בדיל כ[ן] at line 16 (= ובדכן in our fragment, line 5).—The popular etymology of the name of the southern region, דרומא, is דאר רבא, 'the Great One dwells (there)', *darômâ* being close to *dār-robbâ*. It is in terms of such an etymological explanation that Charles corrects the reading *yĕwarĕd*, 'he descends', to *yahadĕr*, 'he dwells' (p. 147 note 2); see his edition of 1912, p. 165 (where he keeps 'he descends' and etymologizes ירד רם); Martin, p. 178, explains *darôm* alternatively by *yarad ram* or by *dar ram*. I see in this passage an unmistakable reference to Mount Sinai (cf. En. 1: 4) and not to the mountain-throne of God in En. 25: 3, as Charles suggests, because the latter was situated in the north. See also Jub. 4: 26, where 'Mount Sinai' is quoted.

L. 4. דאר, and את[ין] in line 5, can be read on a tiny fragment which has become detached from the large fragment. In the lacuna we need two or three words, from eleven to thirteen letters, which correspond to *fadfâda* ('in quite a special sense', Charles; 'surtout', Martin) of the Ethiopic text.—[ברי]ך עלמא or [בריך מ]ן עלמא: *buruk la'âlam* E; neither of these restorations corresponds exactly with the well-known epithet of Yahweh, ברוך לעולם; cf. *bryk šmh l'lm'* in Palmyrene. In Enastr[c] this phrase must have been shorter, perhaps only ובה דאר מן עלמא, since otherwise the line would become too long.

Ll. 4–5 (En. 77: 2). This verse is much shorter in E. The translations מערבא, 'reduced', ערבין, 'are reduced', עללין, '(they) descend', seem inexplicable to me.

L. 5. מאין (twice): Hebrew form of the Aramaic מנ(א)ין, 'whence?', locative interrogative adverb, used here in its relative function 'whence'; see further notes a to c on the readings for the parallel passage in Enastr^c—כוכבין ובדכן Enastr^b: כוכביא בדיל כ[ן] Enastr^c.

Ll. 6–9 (En. 77: 3). This verse has been drastically shortened in the Ethiopic version, where the long passage בדי בה צפנין . . זרחין (lines 6–7) is simply omitted, with the result that the division into three parts is represented as applying to the North alone, and not to the whole earth.

L. 6. In Enastr^b only ולצפונא צפון can be restored, whilst in Enastr^c we must without doubt supply a more complete phrase וקרין לצפונא צפון; alternatively, we could substitute וקרין by a *vacat* in Enastr^c, which has plenty of them.—ומתכנסין: Enastr^c, inadvertently, ומתכסין; moreover, correct וכל of Enastr^c to כל.

L. 7. We have here the 'etymological' explanation of the term מדנח, which thus forms a double usage with that of קדים at verse 1.—בדי, as against [בדיל] די in Enastr^c.—After זרחין, Enastr^c (which wrote, *secunda manu*, דרחין) had a long passage which is omitted in Enastr^b, perhaps by homoeoteleuton, if we add בכל ירחין after ארעא, at the end of my restoration of Enastr^c 1 ii 18. The Aramaic author may thus have played on the double meaning of ירח: 'lunation, lunar month' and 'daily phase of the moon'; for this second meaning see the note to Enastr^c 1 iii 6 (below, p. 293).

L. 8. The short paragraph, lines 8–9, delimited by the blank spaces, must have begun with 'and I have seen', like the analogous passages at verses 4, 5, 8. I do not know what Aramaic noun corresponded to '(three) sections' in E; nor is it certain whether it was feminine or masculine, in spite of the termination ת׳, for Enastr^b refers to this substantive by the masculine suffix, מנהון, while Enastr^c refers to it by the fem. suffix, מנהן.—למדבר should be understood according to the Syriac intransitive Pael, 'vagatus est', rather than according to one of the transitive uses of the Syriac *d^ebar*, 'aravit'; 'for the dwelling (of men)' E. The Ethiopic version puts too many geographical entities in its second section of the North (read: of the earth), but on the other hand it reduces its third section to the single 'paradise of righteousness'.

Ll. 8/9. To four entities of the Ethiopic text, 'in the seas of waters, and in the abysses, and in the forests, and in the rivers', there probably corresponded only two in the original text: 'for all the seas and for the rivers'.

L. 9. E omits 'for the deserts', למדברין; cf. שהוין מדברא רבא (a manuscript of 4QGiants, below, p. 306), which have to be crossed before arrival in Paradise. Next should come mention of darkness; cf. חשוכא which is situated in front of Paradise according to En^e 1 xxvi 21; the Ethiopic version has 'and in the darkness and in the cloud', a secondary duplicate reading. However, the term which describes this geographical and mythological entity in Enastr^b cannot be read לח̊[שו]ך. The trace of the letter which follows the Lamed is small and could represent any letter whatsoever, but the trace of the last letter, more visible on an earlier photograph (PAM 41. 369), is that of an 'Ain; I read confidently ש̇[ב]ע̊, 'seven (ultra-terrestrial regions)'. On this passage, lines 8–9, see already Milik, *RB* lxv (1958), 76, and Grelot, ibid., pp. 34–5; above, pp. 15–16 and Fig. 3; *Harvard Theological Review*, 64 (1971), 342–3; *Chronique d'Égypte*, xlvi, no. 92 (1971), 336–7.

4QEnastr[c] 1 iii 3–9—En. 78:6–8 (Pl. XXX)

This fragment, which has shrunk very considerably as a result of the disintegration of the skin, presents the same outline as the lower part of fragment i ii 1–10; whence my numbering of the lines.

[ ] 1–2

] [6]ובמדנח שהרא פלג שביע חד די נהורה אנ]ירֿ בֿשמיא לאתֿחֿ[זיא על ארעה]

] ומשל]מין בכל יום ויום[a] עד יום ארבעת עשר ומשׁ[למין]

[בה כל נהורה [7]וקוי נהורה חד מן חמשת עשריא ומשלמין בכול יום ויום[a] עד יום] חמשת עשר ומשלמין בה כל נהורהֿ 5

] ו]דבר ירחיא בפלגי שביעין *vacat*]

[8]ובמכסיה בציר שהרא מן נהורה *vacat* ביומא קדמיא חד מן ארבעת עשי]רֿיא וביומא תנינא חד מן תל[תת]

] עשריא *vacat* וביומא תליתיא חד מן תרין עשריא *vacat* וביומא רב]יֿעיא חד מן חד עשֿ[ריא *vacat*]

]]°°[[9

[a] ויום has been added twice above the line, between יום and עד; first יום and then the Waw above this יום, between Yod and Waw; only the bottom of this Waw, added 'on the second storey', is preserved on the edge of the fragment. We must assume a similar addition of ויום in the lacuna of line 5.

[[6]And when the moon rises, the half of one seventh part of its light] shines in the heavens, to appear [above the earth; . . . and] (its light) is more and more complete each day until the fourteenth day, and [in it all its light] is complete. [7][And its light waxes by fifteen parts, and (its light) is more and more complete each day until the] fifteenth [day], and in it all its light is complete . . . and it accomplishes (lit. guides) (its) phases by halves of sevenths. [8][And in her waning the moon decreases from its light. On the first day (it has) four]teen (parts), and on the second day thirteen (parts), [and on the third day twelve (parts), and on the] fourth [day] eleven (parts) [. . .]

The restorations at lines 3, 5, and 7 are drawn from terms and formulas used in fragment Enastr[b] 7 (see above, pp. 278–83). Note that there the author speaks of seventh parts of the light of the moon, splitting them up on occasion into halves: 'a seventh', 'a seventh and a half', etc. Here, at lines 1 (verse 6) and 6 (verse 7 end) he uses the same fractions, but at lines 5 and 7–8 (verses 7 beginning and 8) he speaks of fourteenth parts of the lunar light. Verses 6 and 7 were more detailed in the original text than in the Ethiopic version, to judge by the length of the lacunae in lines 2 and 4.

L. 1. The expression לאתחזיא ע[ל ארעא] is found again at Enastr[c] 1 ii 18 (above, p. 288).

L. 6. The term ירחיא is used here with the meaning of 'phases of the moon, changeable from one day to the next'. Cf. above, note to Enastr[b] 23, line 7 (p. 291).

Ll. 7–8 (En. 78: 8). For a part of this long verse in Greek, Pap. Oxyrhynchus 2069, fragment 3^r, see *Chronique d'Égypte*, xlvi, no. 92 (1971), 339–41.—Fractions: $\frac{15}{14}$ (line 5), $\frac{14}{14}$, $\frac{13}{14}$, etc. (lines 7–8).

4QEnastr[b] 25—En. 78: 9–12 (Pl. XXVII)

[ ]שניא לׄ°[

[ ] *vacat* [

[10 ואחויני אוריאל ח]שׁבון אחרן אחזית לה די אזל וׄ[

4 [נהורה בשמיא 12 וליומיא קדמיא קרין] ל[הון] חׄדׄשׁין עׄ[ל די

[9. . .] years for [. . .

10And 'Ûrî'el demonstrated to me] a further calculation, by having shown it unto me that . . . [its light in heaven. 12And the first days they are called] new moons, because [. . .]

L. 1. שניא, 'the years', is not found in verse 9 of the Ethiopic version. Charles sees in this verse a reference to the cycle of 76 years of Callippus, in correction of the cycle of 19 years of Meton (ed. 1912, p. 168). If this reference is really to be found in this passage, it is no doubt due to the Greek translator; perhaps the Aramaic author was speaking there of only the cycle of 3 years, well attested by other astronomical documents from Qumrân: $364\times3 = 354\times3+30$.

L. 3 (En. 78: 10). The syntax of the phrase preserved is not at all clear to me. I assume לה takes up the direct object, חשבון אחרן, whilst אחזית, which is asyndetic, should be understood as the predicate of a subordinate adverbial phrase: '[and 'Ûrî'el demonstrated to me] a further calculation ('law' E), by having shown it unto me, (namely) that . . .'. It is unlikely that the verb, אזל, probably followed by another verb, [. . .]ו, has here its real meaning 'to go away'; more probably it is used syntactically, modifying the main verb which is missing in our fragment: 'that [the light is placed, *or* transferred] progressively [to the moon] . . .'

L. 4 (En. 78: 12). Note the Hebrew word חדשין 'new moons'; on the special meaning of ירח ('new moon' in Aramaic) see above, note to Enastr[c] 1 iii 6.

4QEnastr^b 26—En. 79: 3–5 + 78: 17–79: 2 (Pl. XXVII)

[ ] . . . [ ]
]]בׄתרעא שתיתיא בהׄ[אשלם נהורה [
] שבוען חמש ועשרין וי]ומין תרן [5] ומחסר מן דבר שמשאׄ[[
] ת]קׄןׄ בה כדמות חזו דמי כדי נהורה בה האחׄ[ר [
[[17 78] בליליא מן]קׄצׄת דמי חזוא דן כדמות אנשׁ וׄבימּמא מןׄ[קצת דמי חזוא
דן כדמות שמש בשמיא [
[להן נהור]ה בלחודהי [79 1] וכען מחוא אנה לך ברי] [
]]חׄשבון אחׄרׄןׄ[[

[[3]And (as for) the waning of the moon which takes place] through the sixth gate, through it [its light is accomplished . . .[4]. . . twenty-five weeks and] two days. [5]And she falls behind the sun . . . is restored in it. It looks (then) as an image of vision. When its light is retarded in it [. . . [78] [17]In the night] this appearance looks a little as if it was the image of a man; and in the day this appearance [looks a little like the sun in the sky, and there is nothing else in her save] her light only. [79] [1]And now I show to you, my son [. . .] another calculation [. . .]

To the Ethiopic evidence add the quotation of 78: 15–17 in *CSCO* 221/*Aeth.* 41, p. 63 (222/42, p. 56).

This fragment belongs to the same column as the preceding fragment. 'A further calculation' mentioned there, line 3 (En. 78: 10), seems to merge into a single description the passages En. 78: 15–17 and 79: 3–6. In this case, what 'other calculation', חׄשבון אחׄרׄןׄ (if *vera lectio* of the second word), could have begun from line 7 of our fragment, since 79: 2 is already recapitulatory: 'He has thus shown me all their laws . . .'? Do we have to assume that the Greek translator, having—for obscure reasons—divided a single description of the original into two sections, likewise duplicated a single recapitulatory passage in two passages, En. 79: 1–2 and 80: 1? In the strict sense of the word, however, the term חשבון could head only the final section of the Astronomical Book, that which begins with 82: 7.

L. 2 (En. 79: 3). The preposition בה begins the second part of the verse asyndetically, where I would eliminate the conjunction 'for' in the Ethiopic version: '[and the waning of the moon, which takes place] through the sixth gate; {for} through it [its light is accomplished] . . .' בה [אשלם נהורה].

L. 4. The expression כדמות חזו דמי, word for word 'it (sc. the moon) resembles (דמי Pael or Pual perfect), or appears, like an image of vision' (exact meaning?), recurs in a slightly different form in the following line (En. 78: 17). It corresponds approximately to '(such are) the vision

and the image' of En. 79: 6, but the reference to retardation, האח[ר] (Haphel or Hophal perfect), of the moon on the course of the sun and the stars suggests that this phrase of line 4 of our fragment belongs at 79: 5. Two initial letters of this line, damaged at the top, have long shafts. I restore [ת]קׄןׄ, rather than [ת]קׄףׄ 'to be strong'. The first verb means, among other things, 'to restore, to correct' (cf. Palmyrene *mtqnn'* = *restitutor* = ἐπανορθωτής, *CIS* ii 3946 = *Inv.* iii 19, and *CIS* ii 3971), an unmistakable reference to the synchronism of the lunar and solar years: retardation of 5 days during the half-year period (En. 79: 5), thus 10 days per year, and 30 days, an intercalary month, at the end of 3 lunar years.

Ll. 5–6 (En. 78: 17). L. 5. To the simple words 'it appears . . . like a man' of the Ethiopic text there corresponded in the original '. . . [in the night], this vision (sc. the appearance of the moon) looks a little (lit. 'in part', מן קצת) as (if it was) the image of a man'.—'And in the day like the sky' E; add 'like ⟨the sun in⟩ the sky'?

L. 6. [להן נהור]ה בלחודהי, 'but only its light'; E similar. Note the defective form of the last word, instead of בלחודוהי.

4QEnastr^{b} 28—En. 82: 9–13 (Pl. XXX)

This fragment, to judge by the quality of the skin, belonged to a different leaf from that of fragments 25 and 26.

ל]מעדיהון לחדשיהון לדגליהון 10 וׄ[אלן שמהת
וכש]לטנהון לכל מסרתהון 11 ארׄ[בעת
]ן ראשין דׄ[א]לׄ[פין
מפ]רשין בי[ומין
13 וא[לן שמהתׄ]

[[9]. . . with regard] to their Zodiacal periods, their new moons, their (daily) signs. [10]And [these are the names . . . and according to] their authority with regard to all their stations. [11]Four [leaders . . . and for three hundred and sixty-four days there are] chiefs of thousands [. . . .] dividing the days [. . . . [13]And] these are the names [. . . .]

To the Ethiopic evidence add the quotation of 82: 9 in *CSCO* 221/*Aeth.* 41, p. 63 (222/42, p. 56).

L. 1 (En. 82: 9). למעדיהון: 'in their festivals' E; on the probable meaning of מעדין, namely 'signs of the Zodiac', see the note to En^{c} 1 i 19 (there too on מסרתהון of our line 2), above, pp. 187–8.—לדגליהון: omitted in E; on this term see the note to En^{a} 1 ii 2.

Ll. 1–2 (En. 82: 10). L. 2. וכשלטנהון לכל מסרתהין: 'and according to their power and in their stations' E.

Ll. 2–4 (En. 82: 11). L. 3. Restore without doubt [ולתלת מאה ושתין וארבעת יומי]ן [ראשין ד[א]ל[פין] or else [ד[י] ל[אלפין . . ; it is thus the reading of E[tβ] which is preferable: 'who separate the months and the year (into) three hundred and sixty-four (days) with the chiefs of a thousand'.

L. 4. The phrase מפרשין ביומין belongs to verse 11 rather than to verse 12. We are dealing again, just as at the beginning of verse 11, with four 'guides' who preside over the four supplementary days (31/III, 31/VI, 31/IX and 31/XII of the year composed of 364 days) and who in turn separate the four seasons of the year.

4QEnastr[d] 1 i–iii—after En. 82: 20 (Pl. XXIX)

On this manuscript see the introduction, p. 274.

i

[ ]א ◦מ֯ . . . .
[טל]ו֯מטר מחתין [ע]ל ארעא וזרע
[ ]עשב ארעא ועא ונפ֯ק ועל
[שמשא]ת֯ ושתוא הוה ועלי כל אילניא
[מתיבשין ומתנפלין ברא מן ארבעת]ע֯שר אילנין די לא חזה להון
[ ]ל֯ ◦[ע]ל[יהו]ן֯ מתקימין

ii

[ ]
דן מן משחתה ◦[ ]
מעשר תשיע ח֯[ד]
תשיע חד וכוכ[בין] נזחו ב֯[תרעי] שמיא֯ קד[מיא ובאדין] נ֯פ֯קו
ביומא קדמיא [חד] מעשר֯[בשתי]ת חד ותנינ֯א חד מן חמשת
עשר בשתית ח֯[ד ו]ת֯לתיא ח[ד מ]ן תלתין בשתית חד *vacat*
[ ]ל֯ [ ]ל֯[ ]

iii

[ ]
ב֯[יום חמ]ש֯ת ע֯[שר]◦[ ]ובאותה בימ֯[מא]
אן֯[ב]ל֯י֯ל֯יא דן מן ל[. . ת]לת תשיע ו֯ח֯מש֯[ת]
ומעשר תשיע *vacat* [ ]
[ ]ל֯[ ]

i

[[2]. . . the clouds which make dew] and rain falling upon the earth; and seed [[3]. . .] herbs of the earth and trees. And [the sun] rises and sets [[4]. . .] and winter comes. And leaves of all the trees [[5]wither and fall down except four]teen trees for which it is not fitting [[6]. . .] their leaves remain [. . . .]

ii

[. . .][2] this [. . .] from its measure [. . .][3] a tenth (part) of a ninth (part) [. . . a tenth (part)][4] of a ninth (part). And the stars move through the first [gates] of the heavens; [and then] they come forth. [5]On first days, one tenth by one sixth; on second (days), one fif[6]teenth by one sixth; on third (days), one thirtieth by one sixth [. . .]

iii

[. . .] [4]On the fifteenth day [. . .] in the same day [. . . .] [5]only in this night from [. . .] a third (part) of a ninth (part). And five [. . .] [6]and a tenth (part) of a ninth (part). [. . .]

The Greek translator of the Astronomical Book had at his disposal only a single manuscript, the last part of which, probably a whole sheet composed of four or five columns, was mutilated. Alternatively, it was perhaps the Ethiopic translator who had at his disposal a mutilated copy of the Greek version. After the description of the spring (En. 82: 15–17) and of the summer (82: 18–20) there must inevitably have come, in the Aramaic original, the description of autumn and of winter. Now, the description of winter is found in Enastr^d 1 i. After this section, concerning the four seasons of the year, came the final part in which the author briefly outlined the movements of the stars on the celestial sphere divided into 360 degrees.

Indeed, at ii 4 it is said that 'the stars move about (lit. vacillate)'. At lines 5–6 of the same column three fractions are mentioned: 'a tenth by a sixth'; thus $1/60 = 6°$; 'a fifteenth by a sixth', thus $1/90 = 4°$; 'a thirtieth by a sixth', thus $1/180 = 2°$. This reckoning of the astral evolutions covered only one month; in other words the author was synchronizing the movements of the stars and the movement of the sun. As a result he speaks of 'first days, second, etc. (of each month)'. At ii 5 the singular תנינא is distinctly corrected to תניניא; the copyist, however, forgot to make an identical correction for ביומא at the beginning of this line, and perhaps for 'day fifteen' of iii 4.

However, the state of preservation of the fragments of Enastr^d does not seem to me at all adequate to support any more detailed restoration of the text.

THE BOOK OF GIANTS

THE edition of a dozen fragments—all except one fairly small—which belong to the Enochic document 4QEnGiants[a], demands a rather long introduction. We shall be dealing here with other copies of the same work which come from Cave 4 at Qumrân and are still unpublished, and also with some fragments already published which likewise form part of the Book of Giants.[1]

PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION FROM VARIOUS SOURCES

Among the seven canonical books composed by Mani himself there figures one work which is entitled the 'Book of Giants'. Beyond this title which appears in several Manichaean and anti-Manichaean documents scattered throughout Europe and through Africa as far as Asia Minor and Chinese Turkistan, almost nothing was known of the contents of this document before the appearance of the remarkable article by W. B. Henning, 'The Book of Giants', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xi (1943–6), 52–74. That eminent scholar there published, or republished, numerous fragments and passages, written in Middle Persian, in Sogdian, in Parthian, in Uigur, and in Coptic, which actually belong to the Book of Giants, or else are extracts, quotations from, and allusions to it.

That the Book of Giants is related to the Book of Enoch has been suspected since the time of Isaac de Beausobre, the eighteenth-century Huguenot author of one of the best studies on Manichaeism ever written. Indeed, the Book of Giants does no more than develop, with a considerable number of details, the story of the fallen angels told in the first part of the Ethiopic Enoch (En. 1 to 36). The latter, if we are to believe Syncellus, bore an analogous title, 'Book of Watchers'. En. 6: 7 contains a list of the names of twenty Watchers. They are the chiefs of ten of the two hundred angels who had come down from heaven to earth in the days of Yared, father of Enoch. This list, terribly corrupt in the Greek and Ethiopic texts, has come down to us in its original state, and (apart from the name of the fifth angel)

[1] A preliminary, and more circumscribed, version of this chapter appeared in the *Festgabe K. G. Kuhn* under the title 'Turfan et Qumran, Livre des Géants juif et manichéen', Göttingen 1971, pp. 117–27 and pl. I.

complete, through Aramaic fragments of the Book of Enoch coming from Cave 4 of Qumrân and published above, pp. 150–60.

The Book of Watchers speaks only in generic terms of the progeny of the Sons of Heaven and the Daughters of Man, the giants (גבריא) and the nephilim (נפיליא), (En. 7: 2–5; 9: 9–11; 10: 9–15; etc.). The Book of Giants, on the other hand, gave personal names to the sons of the Watchers, related their exploits with a profusion of detail, and finally foretold their future extermination by the waters of the flood and by eternal fire.

A Sogdian text, in a chapter entitled 'The Coming of the two hundred Demons (*'δw C δywty*)', relates briefly the teaching activity of the Watchers and mentions by name the two sons of the chief of the two hundred angels (Henning, loc. cit., pp. 69–70):

'. . . and what they had seen in the heavens among the gods, and also what they had seen in hell, their native land, and furthermore what they had seen on earth,—all that they began to teach to men [cf. En. 7: 1; 8: 1–3; 9: 6–7; 10: 7–8].

'To Šahmîzâd (*šymyz'ty*) two(?) sons were borne by . . . One of them he named 'Ohyâ (['wγ]*y'*); in Sogdian he is called "Sâhm, the giant" (*s'γm kw'y*). And again a second son [was born] to him. He named him 'Ahyâ (*'γy'*); its Sogdian (equivalent) is "Pât-Sâhm" (*p'ts'γm*). As for the remaining giants, they were born to the other demons and Yakṣas (*δywty ZY ykšyšty*).'

In the name of the father Henning recognized without difficulty *Σεμιαζας*, the name of the chief of the Watchers according to En. 6: 7, שמיחזה in 4QEn (above, p. 152), *Šmḥyz'* on a Manichaean magical bowl (J. A. Montgomery, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 32 (1912), 435 and pl. I, line 9). The name of his first son recurs in the title of a heretical work condemned by the Gelasian Decree, ***Liber de Ogia gigante qui post*** (read *ante*) ***diluvium cum dracone ab hereticis pugnasse perhibetur apocryphus.*** Here then is a precious piece of evidence for the existence of a Latin version of the Manichaean Book of Giants. Thanks to a Parthian fragment, we know the name of this dragon: '(the fight in which) 'Ohyâ, Leviathan, and Raphael (*'why' lwy'tyn 'wd rwf'yl*; in a second copy of the same text *'hy'*) lacerated each other, and they vanished' (Henning, pp. 71–2). In Middle Persian the names of the two brothers are written *'why'* and *'hy'* (Henning, pp. 57 and 61).

As is well known, the Manichaean missionaries, in translating the religious works of their founder and his disciples into numerous languages of three

continents, as a rule adapted every word of the text—even the names of months, of persons and of divinities, of countries, etc.,—to the language, to the mentality and to the geographical, social, and mythological horizons of their future disciples. Thus, in the Iranian world, 'Ohyâ and 'Ahyâ become Sâm and Narîmân (*s'm* and *nrym'n*); for Sâm-Krsâsp was, like 'Ohyâ, one of the immortals and a famous slayer of dragons.

'Ohyâ, son of Šemîḥazah, was frequently in contention with another giant who was called Mahawai (*m'hw'y*, *m'hwy* in Middle Persian, *m'h'wy* in Sogdian; Henning, pp. 56, 57, 66) and was the son of Virôgdâd (*wrwgd'd* in Persian, *wrwkd'd* in Uigur). This last name signifies 'Given by the lightning', and Henning has ingeniously recognized here the name of the ninth fallen angel, *Baraq'el*, ברקאל in 4QEn (above, p. 153).[1]

These few elements, mainly onomastic, drawn from the Manichaean Book of Giants and known essentially through the manuscripts discovered in Turfan and in Chotsko, are amply sufficient to identify correctly an Aramaic fragment coming from Cave 6 of Qumrân and published in 1962 by M. Baillet in *DJD* iii, p. 117, 6Q8 1. According to Cross this papyrus manuscript dates from around the years 50–1 B.C. (p. 149, fig. 4, line 6). My reading, made from the photograph PAM 41.736 and from that of plate XXIV of *DJD* iii, differs in only a few letters from the decipherment given by the first editor:

]◦[
]◦ אוהיא ואמר לׄמהוי ◦[
]ולא מרתת מן אחזיך כלא אחׄ[וי
] ◦ ברקאל אבי עמי הוה *vacat*]
]ל[עד] לא [ש]יצי מהוי [לא]שׄתעיה מה די[
ל]ה ארו תמהין שמעת הן ילדת סׄריׄ]קה

'[. . .][2] 'Ohyâ and he said to Mahawai: "[. . .] [3]and (I?) do not tremble. Who showed you all (that), tell [us (?) . . .". And Mahawai said: ". . .] [4]Baraq'el, my father, was with me".

[1] Cf. Henning, *BSOAS* viii (1935–7), 583, and *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 90 (1936), 4.

'[. . .] [5]scarcely had Mahawai finished relating what [. . . 'Ohyâ [6]said to] him: "Well, I have heard (tell) of wonders. If an unpregnant (woman) (lit. empty) could give birth [. . ."].'

The context of this passage is thus that of a vision seen by Mahawai, in which his father Baraq'el participated in one way or another. 'Ohyah remains incredulous of the threats that this dream predicted, and he makes fun of his adversary by a series of comparisons: 'If an unpregnant woman could bear children, [if..., I would have believed you].' It is by a similar figure of speech that Esau expresses to Jacob the impossibility of there being brotherly love and true peace between them and between their descendants: 'If the pig could change his skin and have his bristle as soft as wool . . . , if the wolves..., if the lion..., if the crows . . .', Jub. 37: 20–3. A very long series of analogous phrases is found in the Middle Persian *Kawân* or 'Book of Giants' (Henning, pp. 61–2).

The text of 6Q8 1 is slightly reminiscent of that of fragment *c* of the Kawân (Henning, pp. 56–7 and 60):

(*page* 1) '. . . hard . . . arrow . . . bow, he that . . . Sâm (read 'Ohyah) said: "Blessed be . . . had [he?] seen this, he would not have died." Then Shahmîzâd (read: Šemîḥazah) said to Sâm, his [son]: "All that Mâhawai . . . , is spoilt(?)." Thereupon he said to . . .: "We are . . . until . . . and . . ."

(*page* 2) '. . . that are in(?) the fiery hell(?) . . . As my father, Virôgdâd (read: Baraq'el), was . . .". Shahmîzâd said: "It is true what he says. He says one of thousands (to be understood: he says much less than he could say). For one of thousands . . ." Sâm thereupon began . . . Mâhawai, too, in many places . . . until to that place . . . he might escape(?) and . . .'.

In another fragment of the same manuscript of the Middle Persian Kawân, Enoch ([*hwn*]*wx*) foretells the fertility of the earth in Messianic times, amplifying the description of En. 10: 19 (cf. En[c] 1 v 7–10, above, pp. 189–92). See Henning, pp. 57 and 61, fragment *l*, p. 2:

'. . . wild ass, ibex, . . . , ram, goat, gazelle, . . . , oryx, of each two hundred, a pair . . . the other wild beasts, birds, and animals . . . and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs . . . irritation(?) of water(?) . . . and their oil . . .'

I have no doubt at all that this passage overlaps with another Aramaic fragment from Qumrân published by me in *DJD* i, p. 97 and pl. XIX,

1Q23 1. Here is my transcription and restoration (I add to it a small piece, fr. 6, which is unquestionably to be placed at lines 1–2 of fr. 1):

]]וב[מאתין[
חמרין מאתין ערדין מאת[ין יעלין מאתין . . . מאתין דכרין די]
ען מאתין תישין מאת[ין חות]
ברא מן כל חוה מן כ[ל עוף ומן כל]
על מזג ∘] [

'[. . . two hundred] [2]asses, two hundred wild asses, two hundred [ibexes, two hundred . . . , two hundred rams of] the [3]flock, two hundred he-goats, two hundred [gazelles, two hundred . . . , two hundred oryxes. (As for) the wild animals], [4]of each animal, of each [bird and of each . . .] [5]for a pitcher(?) [. . .]'.

The term in line 5, if it is properly deciphered, signifies 'bowl, pitcher (of wine)'.

At lines 4–6 of the same fragment, 1Q23 1+6, should probably be placed fragment 22:

]ן[
א]לפין מן ע[
] ∘ באדין [

Here '[. . .] thousand', line 2, refers to the fertility of the vine, or of the olive tree, or even of seeds. The giants, גברין, are mentioned on fragments 9 and 11 of 1Q23, whilst the name of Mahawai, מהוי, appears on fragment 27, line 2.

Without prejudice to any future verification from the original, preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Amman (Jordan), I propose here to put together fragments 9+14+15 of 1Q23, which would give the following:

]ן[
]וידעו ר[זי
]∘ה רבה בארעא[
]בה וקטלו לשגי[א
]גברין מ[ ]ה[ ]ל די[
]∘∘ל ל[

Here there are fairly distinct references to knowledge of mysteries (line 2), to great impiety(?) on the earth (line 3), to the massacre of men committed by the giants (lines 4–5)—themes well known from the Jewish Enoch and from the Manichaean Book of Giants.

The end of fragment *j* of the Middle Persian Kawân contains the account of a vision which had been seen by 'Ahyah, the second son of Šemiḥazah (Henning, pp. 57 and 60). In the note, the editor suggests that another Persian fragment should be inserted after fragment *j*, the fragment which he himself had published in 1934 under the title 'Ein manichäisches Henochbuch'.[1] Here is the text of these two fragments:

'Narîmân (read: 'Ahyâ) saw a gar[den full of] trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees . . .

(*page* 1) . . . outside . . . and . . . left . . . (*col. ii*) . . . explain the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch (*hwnwx*) thus . . .

(*page* 2) . . . and the trees that came out, those are the Watchers (*'yr*) and the giants (*q'w*) that came out of the women. And . . . (*col. ii*) . . . over . . . pulled out . . . over . . .'.

Note that the Persian text faithfully preserves the Aramaic term *'îr*, 'Watcher', known through the Book of Daniel, 4QEnoch, QEnGiants, etc., but also through Syriac literature. It is well known that Mani, with one exception, wrote his treatises in an eastern Aramaic dialect relatively close to Syriac. This may also be an indication, it is true a rather slight one, that Mani knew the Jewish Book of Giants through an Aramaic text, rather than through a Greek version.

Now this dream of 'Ahyâ and Enoch's explanation of it appear in a much more detailed context that I have discovered in an Aramaic manuscript from Cave 4 of Qumrân, the editing of which was entrusted to abbé Jean Starcky. With his kind permission and having his transcriptions at my disposal, I take the liberty here of quoting several passages which belong to three successive columns. This group is composed of six fragments which I have already put together; their linking up seems to me fairly certain. The reading of this manuscript is rather difficult, as much on account of the deterioration of the written surface as through the fading of the ink and the writing, a semi-cursive of small dimensions and spidery appearance. There

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Berlin 1934, pp. 27–35 (cf. *BSOAS* xi, p. 66).

is thus a good chance of progressively improving the decipherment, and of being better able to connect up the fragments. We count forty-two to forty-eight letters per line. According to Cross this manuscript dates from around the years 100–50 B.C. (p. 149, fig. 4, line 3).

The section of 4QEnGiants[b] which interests us here begins towards the end of line 3 of column ii:

באדין חלמו תריהון חלמין
ונדת שנת עיניהון מנהון ו[קמו
ואתו על [שמיחזה אבוהון ואחויו לה] חלמיהון
[. . . ב]חלמי הוית חזא בליליא דן

'Then the two of them dreamed dreams [4]and the sleep of their eyes fled from them and [they arose . . .].' Awake, they come to their father: 'and they came to [Šemîḥazah, their father, and told him] their dreams' (line 5). The father sends them into the assembly of the giants, their companions, and of the nephilim. There, one of the two, 'Ahyâ without a doubt (see below), recounts his dream in detail: "[. . . in] my dream, I have seen during this night' (line 6).

Of the account of the dream there does not remain much at all in our manuscript, and what does remain is not easy to read. However, it certainly deals with a vision of a garden full of trees which symbolize men, and the Watchers and the giants in particular:

[. . . גננין והוא משקין
ושר]שין רברבין נפקו מן עקרהן
]חזית עד די לעינין שכיר מן
[. . . כל מיא ונורא דלק בכל

'[7. . .] gardeners and they were irrigating [8. . . and] numerous shoots sprang from their trunk [9. . .] I watched until the sources had been closed by [10. . .] all the waters; and the fire burned in all [. . .].'

L. 7. 'Gardeners', גננין, occurs again on an isolated fragment of 4QGiants[b]; likewise on a fragment of papyrus, 6Q8 5: [. . .]ן כל גנניא. The gardeners, guardian angels, and bailiffs of the world-garden, are matched by the shepherds in the Book of Dreams, En. 89: 59, etc.; 90: 1, etc.

At line 8 we read what is, in my opinion, a fairly clear reference to the birth of the giants issuing from the union of the women and the two hundred Watchers, the two hundred trees of the Persian fragment.

The following three lines recounted the misdeeds of the trees and their extermination by water and by fire.

Once the dream has ended (. . . . עד כא סוף חלמא, ‘. . . here the dream ends”, line 12), the giants, very anxious, wonder who might be able to explain this dream, and their choice falls on Enoch, the distinguished scribe:

[ ]השכחו גבריא לחויא לה[ון]
חלמא[לחנוך] לספר פרשא ויפשור לנא
חלמא *vacat* באדׄיׄן [הו]ה הודה אחוהי אׄוהיא ואמר קדם גבריא אף
אנה חזית בחלמי בליליא דן גברוא הׄא שלטן שמיא לארעא נחת

‘[[13]. . .] The giants were looking for (someone) who might explain to them [14][the dream . . . “. . . to Enoch], the distinguished scribe, so that he may interpret [15]the dream for us”.

‘Then his brother, ’Ohyah, acknowledged and said before the giants: “I too [16]have seen in my dream during this night an extraordinary thing: lo, the Emperor of heaven descended on to the earth [. . .].’ There follows the description of the Judgement, which is drawn from Dan. 7: 9–10. The continuation is in the following terms (some readings and supplements remain doubtful):

[ ] . . . עד כא סוף חלמא [*vacat* באדין] דׄחלו כל גבריא
[ונפיליא ו]קׄ[ר]יו מהוי ואתה להׄ[ון] ובׄ[עו לה] גבריא ושלחוהו על חנוך
[ספר פרש]אׄ ואמרו לה אזל[ ] . . . ומׄוׄתא לכה די
[ו]שׄמעתה קלה ואמר לה דׄיׄ יחו[ינך ו]יׄפׄשׁׄ[ו]ר חלמיא . . .

‘[[20]. . .] here the dream ends”.

[Thereupon] all the giants [21][and the nephilim] took fright and they summoned Mahawai and he came to them. And the giants asked him and sent him to Enoch, [22][the distinguish]ed [scribe], saying to him: “Go then [. . .], and under pain of death you must [23][. . .] and listen to his voice; and tell him that he is to explain to you and to interpret the dreams [. . .].”

Mahawai goes off, holding in one hand the letter granting full powers on behalf of the giants, and in the other, no doubt, the tablet with the description of the dreams: [. . . ובאחת] באחת ארכֿת גבריא (iii 3).

The continuation of the text narrates the journey of the messenger and his meeting with Enoch:

כֿעלעולין ופרח בידוהי {וּבֿעֿלוֿ} כנש[ר בעל כנפין [
חלד וחלף לשהוין מדברא רבא] [
וֿ[ח]זה חנוך וזעקה ואמר לה מחוי ◦] [
לתנא ולכה תנינות למחוי בעֿ[א אנה [
ל[מ]ליך וכל נפילי ארעא הן הובֿל] [
מן יוֿמ[י . . .]תהון ויתיס[רון ע]ל] [
] נ]נֿדע מנך פשרה̊[ו]ן [*vacat* באדין כדן אמר חנוך . . .]
[מאתין איל]נין די מן שמין נ]פקו [

'[. . . he rose up into the air] [4]like the whirlwinds, and he flew with the help of his hands like [winged] eagle [. . .; he flew over] [5]the cultivated lands and crossed Solitude, the great desert, [. . .]. [6]And he caught sight of Enoch and he called to him and said to him: "An oracle [I have come to ask you . . .] [7]here. From you, a second time, [I] ask for the oracle, [. . . we shall listen to] [8]your words, all the nephilim of the earth also. If (God?) is going to take away [. . .] [9]from the days of their [. . .] and that they may be punished [. . . [10]. . . we] should like to know from you their explanation."

[Thereupon Enoch spoke thus . . .: "Two hundred tr]ees which have come out (or come down, נחתו)] from heaven, [these are the two hundred Watchers . . ."].'

L. 5. On the (great) deserts which surround the oikoumene see above, p. 291, note to Enastr[b] 23, line 9.

L. 11. The theme of 'two hundred demons' recurs often in Manichaean literature. See *BSOAS* xi, pp. 68–9: two leaves in Sogdian, one of which contains a 'Discourse on the Nephîlîm-demons' and the other an 'Explanation about the four angels and the two hundred demons'; pp. 70–1: 'The two hundred demons (*CC dywṯ*) came down'; p. 70 (in Middle Persian): 'the coming of the two hundred demons (*dwysd dyw'n*)'; another passage is quoted above, p. 299.

We should point out in passing that this is the second time that Mahawai goes to look for Enoch (line 7), who lived in a paradise situated in the extreme

east, beyond the oikoumene, the outer deserts and darkness.[1] We find again here the account of this first journey, rather charming in my opinion, in a Manichaean fragment of the Book of Giants written in Uigur. There, too, the means of transport of the son of Baraq'el is that of the birds; and he escapes clear here of the danger which had been the end of Icarus (Henning, loc. cit., page 65):

(*page* 1) '. . . fire was going to come out. And [I saw] that the sun was at the point of rising, and that [his?] centre without increasing(?) above was going to start rolling. Then came a voice from the air above. Calling me, it spoke thus: "O son of Virôgdâd, your affairs are lamentable(?). More than this you shall [not] see. Do not die now prematurely, but turn quickly back from here." And again, besides this (voice), I heard the voice of Enoch, the apostle, from the south (cf. Jub. 4: 25–6), without, however, seeing him at all. Speaking my name very lovingly, he called. And downwards from . . . then . . .

(*page* 2) '. . . for the closed door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die", said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . . , with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kögmön mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, son of Virôgdâd, . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . .'

The following passage comes from a second manuscript of the Book of Giants belonging to the Starcky batch, 4QEnGiants[c]; in it, after a speech by Šemîḥazah, his son 'Ohyah intervenes again:

מת]גבר ובתקוף חיל דרעי ובחסן גבורתי
כ]ול בשר ועבדת עמהון קרב ברם לא
מה]שכח אנה עמן לאשתררה דבעלי דיני
בשמי]א יתבין ובקדשיא אנון שרין ולא
דאנו]ן תקיפין מני *vacat*
גע]רה די חיות ברא אתה ואוש ברא קרין
]וכדן אמר לה אוהיה חלמי אנס[י]
נדת ש]נת עיני למחזא [חז]וה ארו ידע אנה די על

[1] Cf. a fragment of 4QEn[e] published by me in *Revue Biblique*, lxv (1958), 71–2 and 75–7, and above, p. 232.

'[3. . . I have shown myself more] powerful. And by the might of my sturdy arm and by the strength of my power,4 [I had attacked] all flesh and I have made war with them. But [I] not 5[. . . and] I do not find any support(?) to strengthen (me), for my accusers 6[. . .] they dwell in [heaven]s and they live in the holy abodes, and [I 7will] not [win my cause(?)], for they are more powerful than I." 8[Thereupon . . .] the roaring of the wild beasts came and the multitude of the wild animals began to cry out 9[. . .]. And 'Ohyah spoke to him thus: "My dream has overwhelmed(?) [me]10 [. . . and the s]leep of my eyes [has fled], when I have seen a [vi]sion. To be sure, I know that [. . .].'

And here is a second fragment of 4QGiants[c], which must come from the beginning of the scroll:

[ן אטמיו]
[גברין ונפילין ו֯]
[אולדו ואלו כו֯ל]
[ב֯דמה ועל יד מה֯]
גברי]ן די לא שפק להון ול֯[בניהון
[ובעין למאכל שגיא מל]
[*vacat*]
[מ֯חוה נפיליא]

'[. . .] 1they defiled themselves [. . .] 2the giants and the nephilim and [. . .] 3they begat. And if all [. . .] 4in his blood(?) and according to the power [. . . 5. . . the giant]s that it did not suffice them and [their children . . .]6 they demanded much to eat [. . .]7 the nephilim smote it (*sc.* the earth)(?) [. . .].'

We find again here the subjects well known from En. 7: 1–5 (En[a] 1 iii 13–21 and En[b] 1 ii 18–25); 9: 8–9; 15: 4 and 8–11; 106: 14 and 17 (En[c] 5 ii 18–19 and 21–2). The theme of the subjugation of men by the demons was developed more picturesquely in the Manichaean Book of Giants, to judge by fragment *i* of the Middle Persian Kawân (Henning, pp. 58 and 62):

(*page* 1) '. . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . . And the angels moved out of sight of Enoch. *Electae et auditrices* . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful [women], and demanded them in marriage. Sordid . . .

(*page* 2) . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were ordered to serve the . . . Mesenians [were directed] to prepare, the Khûzians to sweep and water, the Persians to . . .'

To the story of the dream of 'Ahyâ about the world-garden destroyed by water and fire (above, p. 304) undoubtedly belongs the small scrap of papyrus 6Q8 2:

תלתת שרשוהי [. . . וחזא]
הוית עד די אתו̊[
פרדסא דן כלא ול̊[א]

'[. . .] [1]his three shoots [. . . and I was looking] [2]until there came [. . .] [3]this whole garden and no[thing of it remained . . .]'.

The reference to 'his three shoots', doubtless three sons of Noah, is significant. It seems to me highly probable that the end of the Book of Giants contained a detailed reference to the birth and the future saving action of Noah.

Up to the present I have located six copies of the Book of Giants among the manuscripts of Qumrân: the four manuscripts cited above (1Q23, 6Q8, 4QEnGiants^{b},^{c}), a third manuscript from the Starcky collection, and 4QEnGiants^{a} published below. There are also five other manuscripts too poorly represented to allow a sufficiently certain identification of the fragments: En^{e} 2–3 (above, pp. 236–8), 1Q24 (*DJD* i, p. 99 and pl. IX), 2Q26 (*DJD* iii, pp. 90–1 and pl. XVII; see below, pp. 334–5), and two groups of small fragments entrusted to the Starcky edition. The Book of Giants would thus have enjoyed a fairly wide popularity in the Jewish–Essene milieu, greater than that of any other Enochic documents that we know of also through the Greek and Ethiopic versions, a popularity equal to that of the book of Jubilees and several Hebrew books canonized later by the Pharisees. The existence of its text in the various literary languages of the Roman and Byzantine empires shows that it was widely known and read in those areas too (see below, pp. 317 ff.). It must also have been greatly appreciated amongst other nations who lived in the northern parts of the Near East, in other words in the Arsacid and Sassanid empires, although its language must have been adapted to only a limited extent to the particular characteristics of the various Aramaic dialects spoken in the lands of Two Rivers and beyond them.

This Jewish work fell into the hands of a young Parthian aristocrat, a member of a strict Christian sect. Delighted with its narrative charm and moved by some underlying metaphysical truths, Mani decided to give it a place among his own literary works. He confined himself to an adaptation which seems to me not very thoroughgoing: in places a word-for-word translation, in places résumés of the narrative sections, in places slight elaborations. The terminology peculiar to the Manichaean system appears fairly unobtrusively in it. Enoch is not 'the distinguished scribe' but 'the apostle'; the young women, no doubt the daughters of the Sethites ravished by the giants, are called 'electae et auditrices'; in a list of peoples are found names such as Mesenians and Khûzians.

The extraordinary missionary zeal of the Manichaeans carried the knowledge of the Book of Giants from the shores of the Atlantic as far as the plains of China. The Syriac original has been translated into numerous languages of Asia, of Europe, of Africa. We have today the remains of the *Kawân* in Middle Persian, in Sogdian, in Uigur. Extracts, quotations, allusions, are evidence of the existence of Parthian, Coptic, Greek, Latin, and Arabic versions. Some versions must have existed in other languages used by the Manichaeans, such as Chinese or Tokharian B (Kushan.) No religion of the Byzantine era and the early Middle Ages had such a large ethnic and linguistic expansion as Manichaeism. No work of ancient Jewish literature had in antiquity a circulation comparable with that of the Book of Giants.

FIRST COPY (4QEnGiants[a], Pls. XXX–XXXII)

The first copy of the Book of Giants from Cave 4 of Qumrân (4QGiants[a]) was written by the same scribe as the important scroll which is the third copy of the Book of Enoch (4QEn[c]), edited above, pp. 178–217. Furthermore, the quality of the skin and its state of preservation, the arrangement of the text and its orthography (e.g. superfluous Aleph in שרוא, fr. 8, line 14) are likewise identical in the two manuscripts. It is thus quite certain that 4QEnGiants[a] formed part of the same scroll as that of En[c]. We have established that this scroll contained the original text of three parts of the Ethiopic Enoch: the first (En. 1 to 36, 'the Book of Watchers'), the fourth (En. 83–90, 'the Book of Dreams' or the zoomorphic history of the world), and the fifth (En. 91–107, 'the Epistle of Enoch'); our copy of the Book of Giants would have come after the first part; see pp. 181–4.

4QEnGiants[a] 1, 2, 3 (Pl. XXX)

3	2	1
[. . .]ה̇[	עליהון ◦[	כ̊די אקו̊[ם ?
חברוה[י	vacat [	ברקאל [
חובבש ואדכ ◦[	[וענ]ה̇ מהו[י	אנפי עוד[
ומה תתנונ̊י לק[טלה ?		אנה קא̊ם̊[
margin		

Fr. 1. [1]When I shall ri[se(?) . . .] [2]Baraq'el [. . .] [3]my face still [. . .][4] I am rising [. . .]

Fr. 2. [1]on them [. . .] [2][and] Mahaw[ai replied(?) . . .]

Fr. 3. [1][. . .] [2]his fellows [. . .] [3]Ḥôbabeš and Adk.[. . .] [4]and what will you give me in order to k[ill(?) . . .]

These three fragments perhaps belong to the same column; fr. 3 very probably joins fr. 2, the linking being effected in the letter He of 2 3 and 3 1.

Fr. 1, l. 1. The last letter, of which only the lower part remains, may be read Waw, Yod, Daleth, Resh.

L. 2. *Baraq'el*, 'Lightning of God', the name of the ninth fallen Watcher; in the Manichaean Book of Giants he bears the name Virôgdâd, 'Gift of the lightning'. His son was called *Mahawai*. See above, p. 300.

Fr. 2, l. 3. מהו[י], the name of the son of ברקאל.

Fr. 3, l. 2. 'His fellows', sc. of Šemîḥazah, chief of the two hundred Watchers; see below, fr. 8, line 5.

L. 3. The last letter, damaged at the top, is a Waw rather than a Daleth or a Resh.

The names of two giants which can be read in line 3 of fr. 3 are found on p. 1 of fragment *j* which forms part of the Middle Persian Book of Giants (*Kawân*), published by Henning in *BSOAS* xi, pp. 57 and 60. Here mention is also made of Baraq'el, or rather his son Mahawai, and also of the two sons of Šemîḥazah, 'Ohyâ and his brother ['Ahyâ], whom we shall see cited by the fragments of 4QEnGiants[a]. Text of fr. *j*, p. 1:

'. . . Virôgdâd (read: Baraq'el) . . . Hôbâbîš (*hwb'byš*) robbed *'hr*.[. .] of [.]*nxtg*, his wife. Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and [to abduct their wives]. The creatures, too, began to kill each other. Sâm (read: 'Ohyâ) . . . before the sun, one hand in the air, the other . . . whatever he obtained, to his brother [Narîmân (read: 'Ahyâ)] . . . imprisoned. . . .'

Henning (loc. cit., p. 57 note 24) enumerates possible readings of the name of the second giant: *'hrm*[, *'hrq*[, *'hrb*[, *'hrn*[. If one recalls that in Manichaean writing, just as in the majority of Aramaic alphabets of the Graeco-Roman period, Resh and Daleth can have almost identical forms, one will have no hesitation in choosing his second reading, correcting it to *'hdq*[. .], which is thus equivalent to אדכ ◦[. .] of our Aramaic fragment.

4QEnGiants^a 4, 5, 6 (Pl. XXX)

4

]]בֿהון ◦[
] vacat [
[באדי]ן֯ אמר אוהיה לה֯[היה אחוהי
] ◦[מ֯ן עלוי ארעא ושׁ◦[
] אר[עא vacat כ֯[די
]]שויו ובכו קו֯ד[ם חנוך
]]ל[

5

]א֯ . . [
]חמס אנו֯[שא
]ק֯טילו֯ ◦[

6

] ◦ [
]]הוה לנא
]]ל . . [

Fr. 4. [1][. . .] in them [. . .] [3][Thereupo]n ’Ôhyah said to Ha[hyah, his brother . . .] [4][. . .] above the earth and [. . .] [5][. . . the ea]rth. Wh[en . . .] [6][. . .] they prostrated themselves and began to weep before [Enoch(?) . . .]

Fr. 5. [1][. . .] [2]the violence (inflicted) on me[n (or, and he exerted violence towards men) . . .] [3]they were killed [. . .]

Fr. 6. [1][. . .] [2]was to us [. . .]

Fr. 5 should perhaps be placed in the lacuna of fr. 7, col. i, at lines 5–7.

At 4 3, and more completely at 7 i 5, [ה]הי[ה], we have the correct form of the name of the second son of Šemîḥazah, *Hahyah*. It is only slightly modified in the Manichaean texts: ’Ahyâ, written *’hy* and *’yy*. On the names of the two brothers and their equivalent Iranian forms, Sâm and Narîmân in Middle Persian (from there into other languages, right up to Arabic), Sâhm and Pât-Sâhm in Sogdian, see above, pp. 299–300.

The beginning of the second paragraph of fr. 4, which begins after the *vacat* of line 5, is reminiscent of the context of a Sogdian fragment of the *Kawân* (Henning, p. 66; cf. En. 13: 9 and 4QEn^c 1 vi 6, above, p. 193):

‘. . . [when] they saw the apostle (sc. Enoch), . . . before the apostle . . . those demons that were [timid], were very, very glad at seeing the apostle. All of them assembled before him. Also, of those that were tyrants and criminals, they were [worried] and much afraid. Then . . .’

4QEnGiants^a 7 i (Pl. XXXI)

]]כ֯ ◦[[
]]ל֯ו ◦[[
ותוקפ֯[כ]ה֯]] ◦ [[
vacat] [vacat

באד̊[ין אמר] אוהיה לההי[ה אחוהי
לנא [אל]ה̇ לעזא̊[ז]ל ועבד ל̇[ה
גבריא ול[ו]א יתנשון כול חב̇[יביהון

margin

]אדין עני ולוא
בני] ע̇ירין
] ∘ לה עגננא ותקף לכ̇[ה]

margin

[. . .] [3]and your power [. . .]. [5]Then 'Ôhyah [said] to Hahya[h, his brother . . .]. Then, he (sc. God?) punished, not [6]us, but ʿAzâzel, and has made him [. . . , the sons] of the Watchers, [7]the giants, and all [their] beloved ones will not be spared [. . .] . . . he has imprisoned us and you he has subdued.

L. 5. On the sons of Šemîḥazah see immediately above, note to fr. 4, line 3.

Ll. 5 and 7. לוא, instead of לא (7 ii 7), is a little surprising. However, it probably does not refer to the emphatic particle *lû*(').

L. 6. ʿAzâzel appears here in his expiatory role (Lev. 16: 8, 10, 26), for he seems to be punished for the sins of the giants. He was evidently not a simple he-goat, but a giant who combined goat-like characteristics with those of man. We have seen (p. 306) that Mahawai had bird-like characteristics. 'Ohyah and Hahyah too could have been bird-men, if an expression of the Persian Kawân, 'in their nest(?)', is correctly translated by Henning (p. 61, fr. *k, page* 1). The giant *Ḥôbabiš*, if his name is composite, *ḥôbab*-(')*îš*, may have united in his person human characteristics with those of the monster *Ḫu(m)bab*, the guardian of the Forest of Cedars and the adversary of Gilgamesh. The name of this last was borne by another giant, גלגמיס in 4QEnGiants[b], [ג]לגמ̇יש in 4QEnGiants[c] (l. 12 of the fragment quoted on p. 307), incidentally the only mention of Gilgamesh outside the cuneiform literature. A giant and a sage in the account of Berossus, named Oannes, was part man, part fish; his six successors were also ichthyomorphic; cf. P. Schnabel, *Berossos*, 1923, 253–4 and 261 ff. As a matter of fact the antediluvian sages (abgal = *apkallu* or *adapu*) of the Sumerian and Babylonian literature were half-men, half-fish, the *kulullu*-fish who in primeval times rose up from the sea in order to bring culture to men; see R. Borger, 'Die Beschwörungsserie *bīt mēseri* und die Himmelfahrt Henochs', *JNES*, 33(1974), 183–196. In the third tablet of the series *bīt mēseri*, 'house of imprisonment', the first invocation enumerates seven sages (p. 192): 'Invocation. (1) U-Anna, who completed the plans of heaven and earth . . . (7) Utuabzu ('Born-in-the-sweet-water-sea'; *Anodaphos* in Berossus' account), who ascended to heaven; the pure *purādu*-fish, *purādu*-fish of the sea, seven of them, seven sages who were born in the River, who have the plans of heaven and earth worked out'; similar text in the next invocation, p. 193. Thus, the seventh Sumerian sage (contemporary of the seventh king, Enmeduranki of Sippar) performed the same exploit as Enoch, the seventh patriarch; 'Henoch ist demnach, neben Noah [= ninth king, Ziusudra of Shuruppak; see our p. 13], die zweite letzten Endes sumerische Gestalt' (p. 194). In another invocation (p. 193) we find, among others, 'Utuaabba ('Born-in-sea'; = *adapu* in a vocabulary), who descended from heaven'. Here I detect a confused allusion to the celestial counterpart of the seventh sea–earth's sage, ʿAśa'el (and/or Šemîḥazah) in Enoch books.

Later 'Azâzel will supplant Šemîḥazah, or else 'Aśa'el (above, p. 131), in his capacity as chief of the fallen angels. This tradition, well known through later Christian and Jewish sources, already appears in a Hebrew text from Qumrân, 4Q**180** 1 7–8 (*DJD* v, p. 78 and pl. XXVII). I restore the missing part, in agreement with Strugnell, drawing on Gen. 6: 4 and on 4Q**181** 2 2: [ו]פ̊שר על עזאל והמלאכים אש]ר באו על בנות האדם [⁸[וי]לדו להם גברים ועל עזאזל '[And] explanation concerning 'Azaz'el and the angels who [went in to [. . .] the daughters of men ⁸and] they bore them giants, and concerning 'Azaz'el [. . .].' Cf. above, pp. 249–51. Note that our fragment already uses the Biblical orthography עזאזל, whilst the Hebrew manuscript of 4Q writes more correctly עזזאל, 'God is powerful'.

L. 7. חב[יב]יהון[: for this term see En^c 1 vi 16 (En. 14: 6), above, p. 193, and En. 10: 12 (cf. En^b 1 iv 10, above, p. 177).—The end of the line makes an allusion to the eternal imprisonment of the Watchers but also, it would seem, to that of the giants (cf. En. 10: 11–15). This would have been followed by an allusion, uncertain however, to the combat between Michael and Šemîḥazah, the chief of the demons, the oldest—if I am not mistaken—of the long series of Jewish and Christian attestations of the combat between the archangel and Satan.

4QEnGiants^a 7 ii (Plate XXXI)

1–4]

5 (   ) לכה מה̊[וי

לתרי (   ) לוחיא]

ותנינא עד כען לא קר̊י̊[

margin

[. . .] ⁵to you, Mah[awai . . .] ⁶the two tablets [. . .] ⁷and the second has not been read up till now [. . .].

The first tablet written by Enoch to the Watchers is without any doubt ספר מלי קושט[א ואוכחות עיריא] of En. 14: 1 (En^c 1 vi 9, above, p. 193). The second tablet will be read in part in fragment 8 of our manuscript. According to 7 ii it was through Mahawai, messenger of the giants and the nephilim (whose father was very appropriately named Lightning of God, Baraq'el), that Enoch, from his dwelling in Paradise, transmitted his epistles to the demons. On the repeated visits of Mahawai to Enoch, see above, pp. 306–7.

The brackets (   ), at 7 ii 5–6, mark a flaw in the parchment which the scribe's calamus had to jump while he was penning the text.

4QEnGiants^a 8 (Pl. XXXII)

ס̊פ̊[ר [

vacat] [

פרשגן לוחא ת̊נ̊י̊[נ]א די א̊י̊[גרתא [

בכתב יד חנוך ספר פרשא [עירא]
וקדישא לשמיחזה ולכול ח[ברוהי]
ידיע להוא לכון ד[י]ל[א]
ועובדכון ודי נשיכון [ ]
אנון [ו]בנ[הו]ן ונשיא ד[י בניהון]
בזנות[כ]ון ב[א]רעא והוה [ע]ליכ[ון וארעא מזעקה]
וקבלה עליכון ועל עובד בניכון [וקלה סלק עד תרעי שמיא מזעק וקבל על]
חבלא די חבלתון בה *vacat* [ ]
עד רפאל מטה ארו אבדנ[א]
ודי במדבריא וד[י] בימיא ופשר צבות[כון]
עליכון לבאיש וכען שרוא אסורכון מח[בל]
וצלו *vacat* [ ]

[1]The boo[k of . . .].

[3]The copy of the second tablet of the E[pistle . . . written] [4]by Enoch, the distinguished scribe's own hand [. . . . , the Watcher] [5]and the Holy One, to Šemîḥazah and to all [his] com[panions . . .]:

[6]'Let it be known to you that [you] n[ot . . .] [7]and your works and those of your wives [. . .] [8]themselves [and their] children and the wives of [their children . . .] [9]by your prostitution on the earth. And it befell you [. . . And the earth complains] [10]and accuses you, and the works of your children too, [and its voice rises right to the portals of heaven, complaining and accusing (you) of][11] the corruption by which you have corrupted it.

[. . .] [12]until the coming of Raphael. Lo, a destruction [. . . on men and on animals: the birds which fly on the face of heaven, and the animals which live on the earth], [13]and those which (live) in the deserts, and those which (live) in the seas. And the interpretation of [your?] affa[ir? . . .] [14]on you for the worst. And now, loosen your bonds which tie [you] up [. . .] [15]and begin to pray.'

This fragment should almost certainly be placed in the upper part of the column which followed 7 ii; it can therefore be given the siglum 7 iii.

Line 1 bore the title of one section of the Book of Giants, comparable with that of En 14: 1, quoted above.

L. 4 contained epithets of Enoch, comparable with those of En[g] ii 22–3 (above, pp. 260–3).

L. 5. The epithet וקדישא certainly does not refer to Enoch and probably not to God either, but to an angel, 'the Watcher and the Holy One' (see above, p. 144, note to En[a] 1 i 3), who no doubt dictated to Enoch the text of his Epistle.

L. 6. Epistolary formula of introduction, well known from the texts of the Second Jewish War, e.g. *DJD* ii, p. 156 (Mur **42** 2–3).

L. 9. Prostitution of the Watchers who defiled themselves with women, En. 7: 1; 8: 2; 9: 8; etc. The giants are 'sons of prostitution', En. 10: 9 (cf. En[b] 1 iv 5).

Ll. 9–11. Supplements *exempli gratia*, in line with En. 7: 6 (En[a] 1 iii 22); 8: 4 (En[a] 1 iv 5–6 and En[b] 1 iii 5–6); 9: 2–3 (En[a] 1 iv 9–11 and En[b] 1 iii 9–11); 9: 10; 22: 5 (En[e] 1 xxii 4–5 and 7); a passage of 4QGiants[b] quoted above, p. 230.

L. 12. The archangel Raphael was charged by God to bind 'Aśa'el hand and foot, and to heal the earth which the angels had corrupted, En. 10: 4–8. Note the word-play on the double meaning of the verb *rafa'*, 'to tie' and 'to heal'; it appears already in the Ugaritic poems on the subject of Repha'im. In the Manichaean Book of Giants, Raphael is the conqueror of 'Ohyah (above, p. 299) and, without doubt, of all the other giants and of their sons. According to the same work all four archangels were engaged in the struggle with the two hundred Watchers and their offspring: 'and those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the four angels, until the angels used fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . .' (Henning, p. 69). The names of the four archangels recur frequently in the Manichaean prayers and amulets: *rwp'yl, myx'yl, gbr'yl, sr'yl* (Henning, p. 54); *myx'yl, rwf'yl, gbr'yl* (Henning, *BSOAS* xii (1947–8), 40); *myh'yl, sr'yl, rwf'yl, gbr'yl* (ibid., p. 50). Note that Manichaean tradition, drawing on the Book of Giants, preserved the name of the archangel *Śarî'el* more faithfully than Greek and Ethiopic tradition (cf. above, pp. 172–4).

Ll. 12–13. There doubtless came here the enumeration of living beings 'which are found on the face of heaven, on the earth, in the deserts, and in the sea'; cf. En. 7: 5 (En[a] 1 iii 19–21 and En[b] 1 ii 23–5).

L. 14. The Watchers seem to be already chained up by the angels; in order to be able to pray, to lift their arms in the gesture of suppliants, they have to have their bonds loosened.

4QEnGiants[a] 9 and 10 (Pl. XXXII)

9

[◦לׄ◦ וכול]
[עׄלין מן קודם הדר יקׄ]רך
[רך די כול רזיא יד]ע אנתה
[וכול צבו לא תקפתכה]
ק]ודמיכה *vacat* וכען קׄ[דישי שמיא (?)
[מלכות רבותכה לש]ני עלמיא
[◦וׄם *vacat*]
[ין ◦]

10

ו]כען מראׄ[י
[◦שגית ו◦◦]
[תצבא וכ]
[◦]

Fr. 9. [1][. . .] and all [. . .] [2]. . . -s before the splendour of [Thy] glo[ry . . .] [3][of] Thy [glo]ry, since [Thou] understandest all mysteries [. . .][4] and nothing is stronger than Thou [. . .][5] before Thee. And now, the H[oly Ones of heaven(?) . . .] [6]Thy kingship of glory unto [everlasting] y[ears . . .]

Fr. 10. [1][. . . And] now, my Lord [. . .] [2]Thou hast multiplied and [. . .] [3]Thou dost wish and [. . .]

These two fragments belong to a prayer of Enoch; cf. similar prayers at En. 9: 4–11 and En. 84: 2–6; also in the Christian Book of Parables, En. 63: 2–4.

Fr. 9. l. 3. At the beginning read [יק]רך or [הד]רך. On the omniscience of God see En. 8: 5, 11; 84: 3.

L. 4. Cf. En. 83: 3: 'and there is no work which Thou findest difficult (and Thou hast made everything firm, Eg); there is not one of them'. The term צבו means 'thing' as in Syriac and in Palmyrene; see fr. 8, line 13.

L. 5. Cf. En. 84: 4 and 5.

L. 6. Cf. 84: 2.

Fr. 10. l. 1. Read מרא̊[י] or מרי̊. Cf. En 84: 6.

4QEnGiants[a] 11, 12, 13 (Pl. XXXII)

13	12	11 col. ii	11 col. i
[ושו]יו מן [ק]ו̇ד̇[ם חנוך	ועד[		
[באד]ין אמר לה̇[	*vacat*	]	]א̇
[די לא] איתי לכה ש̇[לם	אד[ן	וטלא וכ̇פו̇[רא	]ר̇
]]למ̇ה̇וה[		*margin*	

Fr. 11 ii. [1][. . .] [2]and the dew and the hoar-frost . . .

Fr. 13. [1][and prostra]ted themselves before [Enoch(?) . . .] [2][The]n he said to him (or: to them) "[. . . [3]pea]ce will [not] be to you [. . .] [4][. . .] in order to be [. . .].

Fr. 11 ii should perhaps be placed below fr. 8, in other words 11 i = 7 ii, and 8+11 ii = 7 iii.

Fr. 13, line 1. Cf. fr. 4, line 6.

L. 3. Enoch speaks to Šemîḥazah; cf. En. 13: 1, where Enoch says to 'Aśa'el, the second chief of the Watchers: 'there will be no peace at all for you.'

LATER HISTORY

The dew and the hoar-frost (fr. 11 ii 2) are mentioned in En. 34: 2 and 76: 12 but the actual combination, 'the dew and the hoar-frost', recurs only in a quotation from George Syncellus. Here is his wording which I have

verified on the Greek manuscript 1711 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, p. 17, lines 7–18 (cf. Dindorf edn., i (1829), 47); variant readings of the MS. Vatican, Barberini Gr. 227, ff. 23[r], 21–3[v], 16:

Καὶ αὖθις: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους· ἐν ὧι ὤμοσαν καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν· πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτῶν· ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· οὐ μὴ ἀποστῆι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ψύχος. καὶ χιών. καὶ πάχνη· καὶ δρόσος. οὐ μὴ καταβῇ εἰς αὐτό· εἰ μὴ εἰς κατάραν καταβήσεται· ἐπ' αὐτό· μέχρις ἡμέρας κρίσεως. τῆς μεγάλης. ἐν τῶι καιρῶι ἐκείνωι κατακαυθήσεται· καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται· καί ἔσται κατακαιόμενον· καὶ τηκόμενον ὡς κηρὸς. ἀπὸ πυρὸς, οὕτως[a] κατακαήσεται περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν. υἱοῖς ἀνων· ὀργὴ μεγάλη καθ' ὑμῶν· κατὰ τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν. [b]καὶ οὐ παύσεται ἡ ὀργὴ αὕτη ἀφ' ὑμῶν μέχρι καιροῦ σφαγῆς τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν.[b] καὶ ἀπολοῦνται οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ ὑμῶν· καὶ ἀποθανοῦνται οἱ ἔντιμοι ὑμῶν· ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς· ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐ μὴ ἔσονται πλείω τῶν ρκ ἐτῶν· καὶ μὴ δόξητε[c] ἔτι ζῆσαι ἐπὶ πλείονα ἔτη· οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα ὁδὸς ἐκφεύξεως. ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν· ἣν ὠργίσθη ὑμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντων τῶν αἰώνων· μὴ νομίσητε· ὅτι ἐκφεύξησθε ταῦτα· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ [d]ᾱ βιβλίου[d] Ἐνὼχ· περὶ τῶν ἐγρηγόρων·

[a] *οὕτω* Vat. [b–b] in margine in Par., om. in Vat. [c] *δοξάσητε* Vat. [d–d] *βιβλίου ᾱ* Vat.

And again, concerning the mountain, on which they swore and bound themselves by oath, the one to the other, not to withdraw from it for all eternity: 'There will descend on it neither cold, nor snow, nor frost, nor dew, unless they descend on it in malediction, until the day of the Great Judgement. At that time it will be burned and brought low, it will be consumed and melted down, like wax by fire. Thus it will be burned as a result of all its works.

And now to you, sons of men, I say that great anger is against you, against your sons, and this anger will not abate against you until the time of the massacre of your sons; your beloved ones will be annihilated, and those who are precious to you will die from off all the earth; for all the days of their life from now on will not be more than 120 years. And do not think that they will live any years over and above this: for henceforth there is for them no way of escape because of the anger with which the King of all the ages is aroused against you: do not think that you will avoid these things!'

And all this is drawn from the first Book of Enoch on the subject of the Watchers.

In the context of our Book of Giants one would expect that the cursing of the Watchers, pronounced by Enoch in his letter (fr. 8), would be followed by

the cursing of their accomplices, first a passive accomplice, Mount Hermon, and then the active accomplices who were the giants, the nephilim, and the men. Now a fragment of the Manichaean Kawân contains a passage which seems to me to be an adaptation of the second part of the Greek quotation (Henning, *BSOAS* xi, pp. 57 and 61: fr. *l*, page 1); in both cases one is tempted to read, or supply, 'Watchers' instead of 'men':

'. . . Enoch, the apostle, . . . [gave] a message to [the men and their] children: To you . . . not peace. The judgement on you is that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed. You shall see the destruction of your children, . . . ruling for a hundred and twenty years. . . .'

Page 2 of this Middle Persian fragment already describes the fertility of the earth which the just will enjoy eternally (above, pp. 301–2). This whole section of the Book of Giants was thus an amplification of the passage En. 10: 11–22, recounting God's message to Michael who is preparing to do battle with 'Šemîḥazah and his companions' (verse 11), but also 'the sons of the Watchers' (verse 15).

It is true that Syncellus expressly identifies this quotation as forming part 'of the first Book of Enoch, on the Watchers'. It will be remembered, however, that he was acquainted with the Enochic writings only through the works of the Alexandrian historians Panodorus and Annianus (around A.D. 400). He could thus combine under the same heading and the same colophon quotations one of which did not come from the first Book of Enoch at all. Syncellus' predecessors were acquainted with various works attributed to Enoch, for instance the Astronomical Book (En. 72–82), the résumé of which is to be read in Syncellus (Dindorf i, p. 60, 12–61, 1; Bibl. Nat. grec 1711, p. 22, 3–10). The same chronographer makes an obscure allusion probably to the final part of the Astronomical Enoch (see above, pp. 296–7, on Enastr[d]) (Bibl. Nat. grec 1711, p. 21, 4–6; cf. Dindorf, p. 57, 16–18): *παραλαβόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου· τῶν ἐγρηγόρων ἄρχοντος. Χωραβιὴλ. τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνακυκλευματικὸν μέτρον εἶναι ἐν ζωδίοις· ιβ̄· μοίραις τξ̄· ἡ δὲ μοῖρα ἐστὶν· ἡμέρα ᾱ· καὶ λεπτὸν ἕν·* '(I share less the opinion of) those who recognize that the annual movement of the sun owes its origin to Chôrabiêl (read: Chôbabiêl), the fourth chief of the Watchers, and that it is effected across the twelve signs of the Zodiac and through 360 degrees; one degree is equal to one day and one minute.'

In conclusion, I suggest that the quotation of Syncellus on the fate of Hermon and of the sons of the men/Watchers comes in fact from the Book

of Giants. In any case, it did not form part of the Book of Watchers, since it is missing in both the Akhmim papyrus and in the Ethiopic version.

A second piece of evidence that the Book of Giants was known in the Greek world is perhaps to be found in an allusion made by Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ch. XXXVI (ed. Ch. H. Beeson, 1906, p. 51):

'Angelorum quidam, mandato Dei non subditi, voluntati eius restiterunt, et aliquis quidem de caelo, tanquam fulgur ignis, cecidit super terram, alii vero in felicitate hominum filiabus admixti, a dracone afflicti, ignis aeterni poenam suscipere meruerunt.'

The phrase 'afflicted by the dragon' is without any parallel in the Book of Watchers. It refers perhaps to Leviathan, who may have dominated the giants, who was to be conquered by 'Ohyah, son of the chief of the Watchers.

On the other hand, two references to the Book of Giants, entirely unquestionable, are to be found in late Jewish Talmudic and Midrashic literature. First an allusion in the Babylonian Talmud, Niddah 61 *a* (ix, 5):

'And the Lord said unto Moses: "Fear him not (Num. 21: 34 and Deut. 3: 2)." Consider: Siḥon and 'Og were brothers, for Master stated, 'Siḥon and 'Og were the sons of Aḥiyah the son of Shemḥazai' (ויאמר ה׳ אל משה אל תירא מכדי סיחון ועוג אחי הוו דאמר מר סיחון ועוג בני אחיה בר שמחזאי הוו). Then why was it that he feared 'Og while he did not fear Siḥon? Joḥanan citing R. Simon b. Yoḥai replied: 'From the answer that was given (by God) to that righteous man (sc. Moses) you may understand what was in his heart. He thought: Peradventure the merit of our father Abraham will stand by him (sc. 'Og), for it is said, "And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram the Hebrew (Gen. 14: 13)", in connection with which R. Joḥanan explained: 'this refers to 'Og who escaped the fate of the generation of the flood' (ואמר רבי יוחנן זה עוג שפלט מדור מבול).'[1]

The second section of the first Semitic passage quoted here is shortened as follows in the famous manuscript of the Talmud preserved in the Munich library, MS. Heb. 95, f. 269ᵛ (facsimile edition by J. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, i, Leiden 1912): מכדי סיחון ועוג בני אחויא (?אחויא or) ושמו חייא. In this version there is first of all a haplography by homoeoarcton, then corruption of the name of the father to אחויא, and finally alteration of שמחזאי to שמו חייא, this last feature constituting an implicit reference to the midrash of Shemḥazai

[1] I. Epstein, *The Babylonian Talmud*, *Seder Toharoth*, 1948, p. 433; Semitic text (from the Bomberg edition, Venice 1520–3) and German translation by L. Goldschmidt, vol. ix, [1934], pp. 918–19.

and ʿAza'el, to whom we shall return presently. Nevertheless, in spite of these errors, the Munich text allows us to work out the original reading of the proper names, namely אוהיא בר שמיחזא, the reading, in fact, of the Qumrân manuscripts of the Book of Giants (pp. 300 and 312–5). In contrast to the names of the two chiefs of the fallen angels in certain rabbinical texts, שמחזי and עזאל, which are simply a retranslation emanating from transcriptions in the Greek version of the Book of Watchers, the Niddah passage refers back to the Aramaic text of the Book of Giants. The original text of this latter work was accordingly still well known and read by the rabbis of the second–third centuries (such as Šimʿôn ben Yôḥai and Yôḥanan ben Nappaḥâ), whilst the Enochic writings, or at the very least the Book of Watchers, were accessible to them only indirectly, via the Greek version.

The Qumrân and Manichaean manuscripts of the Book of Giants, however, are too fragmentary to allow us to decide whether the relationship of ʿÔg and Sîḥôn was already indicated in the Aramaic original or whether it was invented by the rabbis by virtue of a simple assonance, *'Ôhyâ–ʿÔg*, the same phonetic similarity which caused the changing of *Ohia* to *Ogia* in the Gelasian Decree and the placing of the conflict between the dragon and the son of Šemîḥazâ *post diluvium* instead of *ante diluvium* (cf. above, p. 299). This same assonance has led scholars of the present day to find, in this reference in the Gelasian Decree, a history of Og, king of Basan.[1]

More complex, on the other hand, is the literary information from the midrash of Šemḥazai and ʿAza'el, which it is advisable to quote first *in extenso* from four sources:

B Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Heb. d. 11, fol. 21v. Description by A. Neubauer and A. E. Cowley, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, ii, 1906, cols. 208–15, no. 2797, and p. 543: 'a collection of various treatises, compiled by Eleazar son of Asher hal-Levi, about 1325 A.D.', under the title ספר הזכרונות or ס' הזכרון or even ס' אגדות. English translation by M. Gaster, *The Chronicles of Ierahmeel or the Hebrew Bible Historiale*, 1899, pp. 52–4 § XXV.

S *Yalqûṭ Šimʿônî*, ילקוט התורה הנקרא שמעוני והוא מדרש על כל עשרים וארבע ספרים · הלא הוא החבור הגדול שחבר הרב רבינו שמעון ראש הדרשנין זצ״ל מק״ק ורנקבורט. Venice 1566, ff. 12r, 11–12v; i, § 44.[2]

[1] e.g. M. Rh. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, 1936, pp. 40–2. On ʿOg, the only giant to have escaped from the flood, according to Talmudic and Midrashic texts, see, e.g., L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, i, p. 160 (and v, p. 181 note 35), iii, p. 340 (and vi, p. 117 notes 667–8).

[2] The text of Yalqut was reprinted in various

M *Midraš Berešit Rabbati ex libro R. Mosis Haddaršan collectus e codice Pragensi* (in Hebrew) by Ch. Albek, Jerusalem 1940, pp. 29, 14–31, 8 (fol. 10–11). This is a summary of the great commentary on Genesis composed by R. Moses of Narbonne in the first half of the twelfth century.

R Raymundi Martini, O.P., *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos*, Tertia pars, distinctio III, cap. XXII, § XXVI, pp. 937–9 of the Leipzig edition, 1687. Text and Latin translation of the preceding text but taken from a different manuscript.

In the left-hand column I transcribe the text of **B**, with the variants of **S** in the critical apparatus, and in the right-hand column the text of **M**, with the variants of **R** in the apparatus:

B

[a]זהו מדרש שמחזאי ועזאל[a]
שאלו ל[b] רב יוסף [c]בשביל שמחזאי ועזאל מהו[c]

Variants of **S**

a–a (in marg. editionis II et seqq.) מדרש אבכיר || b תלמידיו את || c–c מהו עזאל ||

M

"[a]בני האלהים[a] (Gen. 6: 2)"
רב יוסף אמר [b]ראו המלאכים שהיה

Variants of **R**

a–a "ויראו בני האלהים את בנות האדם כי טובות הנה (Gen. 6: 2)" על הכל הקדוש ברוך הוא מאריך אפו חוץ מן הזונות מה טעם "ויראו בני האלהים את בנות האדם" מה כתוב בתריה "אמחה את האדם (Gen. 6: 7)".

Cf. S, finem § 43 et initium § 44:

על הכל הב״ה מאריך אפו חוץ מן הזנות מה טעם "ויקחו להם נשים מכל אשר בחרו (Gen. 6: 2)" וכתיב בתריה "ויאמר יהוה אמחה את האדם" 44 כל אותה הלילה היה לוט מבקש רחמים על הסדומיים והיו מקבלין מידו כיון שאמרו "איה האנשים הוציאם אלינו ונדעה אותם (Gen. 19: 5)" לתשמיש מיד אמרו לו "עוד מי לך פה (Gen 19: 12)" עד כאן היה לך רשות ללמד סניגוריא מכאן ואילך אין לך רשות שאלו etc. || b אומר ||

collections: A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, iv (1857), ix–xi and 127–8; J. D. Eisenstein, אוצר מדרשים (*Bibliotheca Midraschica*), 1915 [1956], ii, pp. 549–50; Ch. Bialik and Y. Ravnitzky, ספר האגדה, 1960, p. כ § קיג. German translation by A. Wünsche, *Aus Israels Lehrhallen*, i (1907), pp. 7–9; French, B. Heller in *Revue des études juives*, 60 (1910), 205–6; English paraphrase and commentary by L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, i (1913), pp. 147–51 (and v (1925), 169–72 notes 8–13).

I have not had an opportunity to use two other witnesses of Yalqût Šimʿôni, namely the Bodl. MS. Heb. b. 6, fol. 11ᵛ, and the first edition, Salonica 1526–7, fol. 15ʳ.

הקדוש ברוך הוא מתעצב על שברא

בני אדם[c] מיד עמדו שני מלאכים לפני
הקדוש ברוך הוא ששמם שמחזאי[d] ועזאל
ואמרו[e] לפניו רבונו של עולם הלא אמרנו לפניך
בשעה שבראת עולמך אל תברא אדם· כענין
שנאמר "מה אנוש כי תזכרנו וגו'"[f]· אמר
להם הקדוש ברוך הוא ועולם מה תהא עליו·

אמרו לו אנו[g] מסתפקים בו[g]· אמר להם גלוי
וידוע לפני אלו הייתם בעולמם[h] ויצר הרע

שולט בכם כשם ששולט באדם הייתם קשים
מהם· אמרו לו תן לנו רשות ונדור עם
הבריות ותראה [i]איך אנו מקדשים שמך·
אמר להם הקדוש ברוך הוא כבר נתתי לכם
רשות· מיד ירדו והשליט בהם יצר הרע·
כיון שראו בנות האדם שהם[j] יפות תעו
אחריהן ולא יכלו לכבוש ביצרן הדא הוא
דכתיב "ויראו בני האלהים וגו'"· ראה
שמחזאי[d] ריבה[k] אחת ששמה אסטירה[l]

והשיב[d] כיון שעמדו דור [e]אנוש ועבדו
עבודה זרה ועמדו דור המבול וקילקלו את
מעשיהם[e] והיה[f] הקדוש ברוך הוא מתעצב
[g]על שברא את האדם שנאמר "וינחם אלהים
כי עשה את האדם ויתעצב אל לבו
(Gen. 6: 6)"[g] מיד עמדו שני מלאכים ששמם[h]
שמחזאי[i] ועזאל
ואמרו לפניו רבונו של עולם הלא אמרנו לפניך
כשבראת [j]עולמך[k] אל תברא אדם
שנאמר[k] "מה אנוש כי תזכרנו (Ps. 8: 5)" אמר
להם[l] הקדוש ברוך הוא[l] [m]עולם מה [n]תהא עליו
אמרו[o] לפניו
אנו[o] מסתפקין בו· אמר להם גלוי וידוע לפני
[p]אילמלי הייתם אתם בעולם הזה יצר הרע היה
שולט בכם כשם ששולט בבני אדם ואתם
הייתם קשים יותר מהם[p]· אמרו לפניו[q] תן
לנו רשות ונרד[r] עם הבריות ותראה היאך[s]
אנו[t] מקדישים את[t] שמך· אמר להם רדו
ותדורו עמהם[u] מיד[v] השליט הקדוש יצר הרע
בהם· באותו שעה ירדו כיון שראו בנות
האדם שהיו יפות התחילו לקלקל בהן·
שנאמר "ויראו בני האלהים את בנות האדם
(Gen. 6: 2)"[v] ולא יכלו לכבוש ב[w]יצרן מיד ראה
שמחזאי[i] ריבה אחת[x] ששמה איסטירה[x]

c האדם || d שמחוזי || e אמרו || f ובן אדם כי
תפקדנו || g–g מתעסקין || h בעולמן || i היאך ||
j שהן || k רבה || l אסתירא ||

d אמר להם || e–e המבול ועבדו עבודה זרה ||
f היה || g–g om. || h om. || i שמחזי || j add. את ||
k–k om. || l–l om. || m ועולם || n יהא || o–o לו
רבונו של עולם היינו || p–p אם אתם שרוין בארץ
היה שולט בכם יצר הרע והייתם קשים מבני אדם ||
q לו || r ונדור (lectio melior; lege ונגרד ונדור?) ||
s איך || t–t מקדשין || u עמהן || v–v קילקלו עם
בנות האדם שהיו יפות || w את || x–x ושמה איסטהר ||

נתן עיניו בה · אמר לה השמעי[m] לי · אמרה
לו איני שומעת לך עד שתלמדני שם המפורש
שאתה עולה בו לרקיע בשעה שאתה זוכרו ·
מיד למדה[n] והזכירתו
ועלתה[o] לרקיע · אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא הואיל
ופרשה[p] עצמה מעבירה אעשנה דוגמא

שתזכר בעולם[q] · מיד קבעה הקדוש ברוך
הוא בז׳[r] כוכבים של כימה · כיון שראו[s]
כך שמחזאי[d] ועזאל עמדו ונשאו נשים והולידו
בנים · תני[t][u] שמחזאי[d] הוליד ב׳[v] בנים
ושמותם הייא והייא[w] ונשאו נשים והולידו[x]
סיחון ועוג [y]רב יוסף אמר בשעה שנגזרה
גזרה לבוא מבול בעולם שגר הקדוש ברוך הוא
למטטרון שליח לשמחזאי · אמר לו

נתן עיניו בה אמר לה[y] השמיעי[z] לי אמרה
לו איני שומעת לך עד שתלמדיני[a¹] שם
שתעלה[b¹] בו לרקיע בשעה שאתה[c¹] זוכרו
לימדה שם המפורש מה עשתה הזכירתו
ועלתה בו לרקיע אמר הקדוש[c¹] הואיל ופירשה
עצמה מן העבירה לכו וקבעוה בין[d¹] הכוכבים
וזו היא שמאירה בין ז׳ כוכבים של כימה
כדי שתזכר בהן לעולם מיד קבעה הקדוש
בכימה[d¹] · כיון שראו כן[e¹] שמחזאי[i] ועזאל[f¹]
עמדו ונשאו להם[g¹] נשים והולידו בנים ·
[h¹]שמחזאי הוליד שני בנים ושמותם הֵיַּא
וְאַהֵיַּא[h¹] ועזאל היה [i¹]ממונה על כל מיני
צבעונים ועל כל[i¹] מיני תכשיטין של נשים
[j¹]שהיו מפתין בהן[j¹] בני אדם להירהור עבירה ·
מיד שיגר מיטטרון שליח לשמחזאי[i] ואמר לו

[m] השמיעי || [n] למדתה || [o] add. בו || [p] ופירשה || [q] לעולם || [r] בין שבעה || [s] שראה || [t] M et R inserunt hic pericopen sequentem: רב אומר וכי תעלה על דעתך שבשר ודם יכול ליגע אצל המלאכים (R מ׳) והא (R והלה) כתיב ״משרתיו אש לוהט (Ps. 104: 4)״ אלא מלמד כיון (R שכיון) שנפלו המלאכים ממקום קדושתם (R ׳תן) מן השמים שלט בהם (R בהן) יצר הרע כבני אדם וקומתם (R ׳תן) נעשה (om. R) כבני אדם ולבשו גוש עפר שנאמר ״לבש בשרי רמה וגוש עפר וגו׳ (Job 7: 5)״ · אמר רב צדוק מהם (R מהן) נולדו הענקים (R ׳ין) אשר הולכים בזדון (א׳ ה׳ בז׳ loco המ⟨ה⟩לכין כזדנות (R leg. לבם [ובגובהן] ומשלחים (R ׳ליחין) ידיהם (R ׳ין) בכל גזל וחמס ושפיכות דמים שנאמר ״ושם ראינו את הנפילים וגו׳ hic et ultra, om. את, הנפלאים R; Num. 13: 33) ואומר (prosequitur cit. usque ad בעיניהם ״הנפילים היו בארץ״ Gen. 6: 4 || [u] תנו || [v] שני || [w] וחייא || [x] add. בנים ל(ס׳ ולע׳) || y–y om. R pericopen de luctu Šemḥazai et de somniis filiorum eius.

[y] om. || [z] השמעי || [a¹] שתלמדני || [b¹] המפורש שאתה עולה || c¹–c¹ זוכרהו למדה אותו שם הזכירה אותו ועלתה לרקיע ולא קילקלה אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא || d¹–d¹ שבעה כוכבים הללו כדי שתזכי (error) בהן לעולם ונקבעה בכימה || [e¹] om. || [f¹] add. כך || [g¹] om. || h¹–h¹ היווא והייא || i¹–i¹ על מני צבעונים ועל || j¹–j¹ שמפתים את ||

עתיד הקדוש ברוך הוא להחריב העולם·
עמד שמחזאי והרים קולו בבכי ובזעקה והיה
מצטער על העולם ועל בניו

שכל אחד מהם היה אוכל אלף גמלים ואלף
סוסים ואלף מכל מין בהמה עתה ממה יחיו
תני לילה אחד היו ישנים הייא והייא
בני שמחזאי וראו שניהם חלומות·
א׳ מהם ראה בחלום שלו אבן גדולה פרוסה
על הארץ כשלחן והיתה כלה חרותה וכתובה
שטות שטות והיה מלאך יורד מן הרקיע ובידו
כמין סכין והיה גורר ומוחק כל אותן שטות ולא
היה משייר בה אלא שטה אחת של ד׳ תיבות·
ואחד מהם ראה בחלומו פרדס גדול ומשובח
והיה אותו פרדס נטוע מכל מיני אילנות ומכל
מיני מגדים והיו מלאכים באים וקרדומים בידם
והיו קוצרים את האילנות עד שלא נשאר אלא אילן
אחד של ג׳ ענפים· כיון שנערו משנתם עמדו
בבהלה ובאו להם אצל אביהם וסדרו לו
החלומות· אמר להם בני עתיד הקדוש ברוך

עתיד הקדוש[k1] להחריב עולמו ולהביא מבול[l1]
עמד [m1]שמחזאי ונתן קולו[m1] בבכי והיה מצטער
[n1]על בניו ועל העון והיה אומר מה יחיו בניי
ומה יאכלו ואם העולם חרב מה תהא על
בניי[n1] שכל אחד ואחד אוכל בכל יום אלף
גמלים ואלף סוסים ואלף שוורים (in marg. add.
מכל מין ומין)· [o1]לילה אחד ראו בחלום בני
שמחזאי הייא ואהייא וראו[o1] שניהם חלמות
אחד[p1] ראה אבן גדולה פרוסה על הארץ
כשולחן [q1]והייתה כולה כתובה שיטות[q1]· והיה
מלאך יורד מן הרקיע[r1] וסכין בידו[r1] והיה
גורר ומוחק כל[s1] השיטות ולא היה משייר[t1]
אלא[u1] שיטה אחת של[u1] ארבע תיבות· ואחד[v1]
ראה פרדס[w1] כולו נטוע מיני אילנות ומיני
מגדים ומלאך יורד מן הרקיע וקורדום בידו
ומקצץ ולא היה משייר[w1] בו אלא אילן
אחד של שלשה ענפים· כיון שנינערו משנתם[x1]
עמדו בבהלה ובאו אצל אביהם[y1] וסיפרו לו
החלומות[y1] אמר להם עתיד הקדוש[k1] להביא
מבול[y1] לעולם ולהחריבו[y1] ולא ישייר בו[z1]

[k1] add. ברוך הוא || [l1] add. לעולם מיד || [m1–m1] om. || [n1–n1] על העולם ועל בניו מה יעשו בניו ממה יאכלו אם העולם חרב || [o1–o1] בלילה ראו היוא והייא || [p1] add. מהן || [q1–q1] הארץ חרותה וכתובה שיטות שיטות || [r1–r1] ובידו כמין סכין || [s1] add. אותן || [t1] add. בה || [u1–u1] om. || [v1] והאחד || [w1–w1] גדול נטוע משובח מכל מיני אילנות והיו באין מלאכים ובידן קרדומות והיו מקצצין ולא שיירו || [x1] om. || [y1–y1] om. || [z1] om. ||

הוא להביא מבול לעולם ולהחריבו ולא ישייר
בו אלא אדם אחד וג׳ בניו · מיד צעקו ובכו
ואמרו עכשיו מה תהא עלינו או במה
יזכר שמנו · אמר להם אל תחושו ואל תצטערו
ששמותיכם לא יכלו מתוך הבריות לעולם ·
שכל זמן שיגורו ויסתבלו אבנים ועצים וכל
צרכיהם אינם צווחים אלא על שמיכם
היהא והייא · מיד נתקררה דעתן ·[y] אמרו
עליו על שמחזאי[d] שחזר בתשובה ותלה עצמו
בין שמים וארץ ראשו למטה ורגליו למעלה ·
לפי שלא היה לו פתחון פה לפני הדקוש ברוך
הוא ועד היום תלוי בתשובה בין השמים
ו[z] הארץ · אבל עזאל לא חזר בתשובה והוא
ממונה על כל מיני צבעונין[a1] ותכשיטין[b1]
של נשים[c1] שמסיתים[d1] בני אדם לדבר עבירה
ועדיין הוא עומד[e1] בקלקולו · ולכך היו ישראל
מקריבין קרבנות והיו נותנים[f1] גורל אחד ליהוה
שיכפר על כל עונות ישראל וגורל אחד לעזאזל
שיסבול עונותיהם[g1] של ישראל[h1]

ושלם הנמצא כתוב מבראשית רבתי כסדר
בתוך הספר ·

[z] ובין || [a1] צבעונים || [b1] ועל כל מיני תכשיטין || [c1] נשין || [d1] ׳ין || [e1] om. || [f1] ׳ין || [g1] ׳הן || [h1] add. הדא הוא דכתיב "ונתן אהרון etc. usque לעזאזל המדברה (Lev. 16: 8–10)".

אלא[a] אדם אחד ושלשת בניו והיו[a] צועקין
ובוכין[b] ואומרין אנו מה תהא עלינו ובמה

יזכר שמינו[b] אמר להם אל תצטערו[c] עצמיכם
ששמיכם הייא ואהייא לא יספוק מפי הבריות
עד עולם שכל זמן שבני אדם מעלין אבנים
או ספינות או כלום משאוי מיד צועקין
וקוראין שמיכם · מיד נתקררה דעתם מה
עשה שמחזאי[c] חזר בתשובה ותלה עצמו
בין שמים לארץ[d] ראשו למטה ורגליו למעלה
[e]לפי שלא היה לו פתחון פה לפני הקדוש ברוך
הוא[e] ועדין הוא תלוי[f] בין השמים ובין
הארץ[f]: עזאל לא חזר בתשובה[g] והוא ממונה
על כל מיני צבעונים שמסיתין את בני אדם
לדבר עבירה ועדיין עומד בקילקולן · לכך
ישראל היו[g] מקריבין קורבנות ביום
הכיפורים[h] והיו נותנים גורל אחד ליהוה
שיכפר על עונות ישראל וגורל[h] אחד לעזזאל[i]
שיסבול עונותיהם של ישראל וזהו[j] עוזאל
שכתוב[k] בתורה[k]

סליק מדרש

a–a נח ובניו כיון שמעו כך היו || b–b om. || c–c ששמותיכם לא יכלו מן הבריות שכל זמן שגוזר גזירות: או מעלין אבנים או ספינות שמותיכם הן מזכירין היווא והייא מיד נתקררו דעתן שמחזי || d om. || e–e om. || f–f בתשובה בין ארץ לשמים || g–g ועדיין הוא עומד בקילקולו להסית בני אדם לדבר עבירה במיני צבעונין של נשים ולכך היו ישראל || h–h איל א׳ ליהוה שיכפר על ישראל ואיל || i עזאזל || j והוא || k–k שבתורה ||

Translation of the Bodleian MS. Heb. d. 11 (**B**) *according to Gaster* (improved, and with the more important variants from other sources):

The Midrash of Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el[a]

(1) R. Joseph was (once) asked what was the story of Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el,[b] and he replied: 'When the generation of Enosh arose and practised idolatry and when the generation of the flood arose and corrupted their actions, the Holy One—Blessed be He—was grieved that He had created man, as it is said, "And God repented that he created man, and He was grieved at heart." (2) Forthwith arose two angels, whose names were Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el, and said before Him: "O Lord of the universe, did we not say unto Thee when Thou didst create Thy world, 'Do not create man'?", as it is said, "What is man that Thou shouldst remember him?". The Holy One—Blessed be He—said to them: "Then what shall become of the world?" They said before Him: "We will suffice[c] (Thee) instead of it." (3) He said: "It is revealed and (well) known to me that if peradventure you had lived in that (earthly) world, the evil inclination would have ruled you just as much as it rules over the sons of man, but you would be more stubborn than they." They said before Him: "Give us Thy sanction and let us descend ⟨and dwell⟩ among the creatures and then Thou shalt see how we shall sanctify Thy name." He said to them: "Descend and dwell ye among them." (4) Forthwith the Holy One allowed the evil inclination to rule over them, as soon as they descended. When they beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to corrupt themselves with them, as it is said, "When the sons of God saw the daughters of man", they could not restrain their inclination.

(5) Forthwith Šemḥazai beheld a girl whose name was 'Esṭêrah; fixing his eyes at her he said: "Listen to my (request)." But she said to him: "I will not listen to thee until thou teachest me the Name by which thou art enabled to ascend to the firmament, as soon as thou dost mention it." He taught her the Ineffable Name. (6) What did she do? She mentioned It and thereby ascended to the firmament. The Holy One said: "Since she has departed from sin,[d] go and set her among the stars." It is she who shines brightly in the midst of the seven stars of the Pleiades; so that she may always be remembered, forthwith the Holy One fixed her among the Pleiades.

(7) When Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el saw this, they took to them wives, and begat children.[e] [f]Šemḥazai begat two children, whose names were[f] Heyyâ and 'Aheyyâ. [g]And 'Aza'el was appointed chief over all kinds of dyes and

over all kinds of women's ornaments by which they entice men to unclean thoughts of sin. (8) Forthwith Mêṭaṭrôn sent a messenger to Šemḥazai,[g] and said to him: "The Holy One is about to destroy His world, and bring upon it a flood." Šemḥazai stood up and raised his voice and wept aloud, for he was sorely troubled about his sons and (his own) iniquity.[h] And he said: "How shall my children live and what shall become of my children, for each one of them eats daily a thousand camels, a thousand horses, a thousand oxen, and all kinds (of animals)?"

(9) One night the sons of Šemḥazai, Heyyâ and 'Aheyyâ, saw (visions) in dream, and both of them saw dreams. One saw a great stone spread over the earth like a table, the whole of which[i] was written over with lines (of writing). And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with a knife in his hand and he was erasing and obliterating all the lines, save one line with four words upon it. (10) The other (son) saw a garden, [j]planted whole with (many) kinds of trees and (many) kinds of precious stones. And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with an axe in his hand, and he was cutting down all the trees,[j] so that there remained only one tree containing three branches. (11) When they awoke from their sleep they arose in confusion, and, going to their father, they related to him the dreams. He said to them: "The Holy One is about to bring a flood upon the world, and to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons." They (thereupon) cried in anguish and wept, saying: "What shall become of us and how shall our names be perpetuated?" He said to them: "Do not trouble yourselves, for your names, Heyyâ and 'Aheyyâ, will never cease from the mouths of creatures, because every time that men will be raising (heavy) stones or boats, or anything similar,[k] they will shout and call your names." With this their tempers cooled down.

(12) What did Šemḥazai do? He repented and suspended himself between heaven and earth head downwards and feet upwards, [l]because he was not allowed to open his mouth before the Holy One—Blessed be He[l]—, and he still hangs between heaven and earth. (13) 'Aza'el (however) did not repent. And he is appointed chief over all kinds of dyes which entice man to commit sin and he still continues to corrupt them. (14) Therefore, when the Israelites used to bring sacrifices on the day of atonement, they cast one lot[m] for the Lord that it might atone for the iniquities of the Israelites, and one lot[m] for 'Azaz'el that he might bear the burden of Israel's iniquity. This is the 'Azâzel that is mentioned in the Scripture.'

[a] R, after the quotation from Gen. 6: 2, adds: 'The Holy One—Blessed be He—who suffers

every (sin) with the exception of fornication'; same phrase in S, followed by a passage on Lot and the Sodomites.

[b] 'His disciples had asked R. Yoseph who was 'Aza'el' **S**, which omits, moreover, the reference to the idolatrous generation of Enosh; **M** and **R** omit the reference to the two generations, of Enosh and the flood.

[c] **R** replaces מסתפקין בו of **BSM** by מתעסקין 'we will attend to it'. The first verb is not attested in its reflexive forms in Judaeo-Aramaic; it is attested, however, in Syriac and in Christian Palestinian.

[d] **MR** adds: 'I would make an example of her (to follow).'

[e] **M** and **R** insert here a long passage, probably extraneous to the original wording of the midrash, on the physical nature of the fallen angels, on the Nephilim and 'Anaqim (on the latter, see the same phrase in *Pirqê R. Eliezer*, ch. 22).

[f–f] **S** omits this phrase so that as a result the birth of two sons is attributed to the two angels instead of to Šemḥazai alone. **M**, on the other hand, adds after the names of the two children the phrase: 'and they took wives and begat Sîḥôn and 'Ôg', borrowed from other rabbinical texts, the oldest of which is quoted above, p. 320. From here on **R** omits all of the long pericope on the message of God to Šemḥazai and on the dreams of his two sons. This pericope is marked twice, at the beginning and before the account of the dreams by תני, 'it has been transmitted (by extra-canonical tradition)', in **M**.

[g–g] **M** seems to keep an earlier form of this section of the midrash. Firstly, it omits the reference to 'Aza'el, a reference which will recur, in almost identical form, towards the end of the account. Then it makes explicit that it was God who sent Meṭaṭrôn, i.e. Enoch, as a messenger to Šemḥazai. Here is the text of **M**: 'R. Yoseph said: "As soon as the decision was taken to bring the flood upon the world, the Holy One—Blessed be He—sent Meṭaṭrôn as a messenger to Šemḥazai".' In **B** and **S** an anonymous messenger is sent by Meṭaṭrôn himself; for the cabbalistic conception of Meṭaṭrôn as an almost divine being, see above, p. 134.

[h] 'Iniquity' in **B** is more original than 'the world' in **SMR**.

[i] **S**, inadvertently, has the 'earth' inscribed with lines of writing instead of the tablet fallen from heaven (**BMR**).

[j–j] This passage seems to retain its original form better in **M** (and partially in **S**) than in **B**, in particular the reference to the angels and not to a single angel.

[k] משאוי is not 'burden' (Gaster) but 'similar (thing)'; this meaning of the Pael participle of שוא is current in Syriac.

[l–l] This phrase is omitted in **S**.

[m] גורל in **BMR**, איל in **S**, both of them for שעיר in Lev. 16: 8–10 (quoted *in extenso* only by **R**).

Of the four texts above the closest to the original seems to be that of the Bodleian MS. (**B**). The recension of Bereshith Rabbati (**M**), which retains some good readings of the original, is the intermediary between **B** and Yalqut Shimeoni (**S**), the latter constituting a summary and adaptation of **B**. Raymond Martin (**R**) copied our text very faithfully from a manuscript of Gen. Rabbati which was a little better than **M**.

The origin of the 'midrash of Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el' remains very obscure; see, however, below, pp. 338–9. It is not at all certain that it was an excerpt from the Midrash 'Abkîr (which disappeared after the fifteenth century), or that it formed part of the Chronicle of Yeraḥme'el, as Gaster accepts, in my opinion, somewhat arbitrarily. The existing information does not allow us to trace its origin back beyond the eleventh century, when Moses ha-Daršan of Narbonne composed his Genesis Rabba Maior, from which Bereshith Rabbati is derived. A Karaite writer of the tenth century, who was living in Jerusalem, mentions among the rabbinical works popular at that period, 'the book about 'Uzzâ and 'Azi'el, who, according to their mendacious assertions, had come down from heaven'.[1] Another book mentioned by the same author and likewise by a Karaite of the ninth century, namely *Razâ Rabbâ*, 'the Great Mystery', was used in the twelfth century for the composition of the book *Bahîr* which is fundamental to the development of Jewish mysticism in Provence.[2] The two chiefs of the wicked angels, 'Uzzâ and 'Aza'el, are often quoted and described in Talmudic and cabbalistic texts, e.g. in Yoma 67 *b*, Pesiqta Rabbati, ch. 34, and, later, in the Zohar and in the Hebrew book of Enoch. However, they are not, at the very least formally, identical with Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el of our midrash.

It is the motif of the virgin who escaped from the amorous adventures of an angel, or of two angels, and was transformed into a star (most often Venus), whilst the angel or the two angels were punished by hanging upside down, which has particularly attracted the attention of scholars.[3]

In the midrash of Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el the girl is called 'Esṭêrah ('Star' in Greek and Persian; in the latter occasionally 'Venus'), and she becomes a star of the Pleiades. This detail, peculiar to our narrative, is explained by

[1] J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, ii (1935), 82.

[2] Cf. G. Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala*, 1962, pp. 29 ff. and 85 ff.

[3] See especially the works of M. Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, 1910, pp. 59–80 and 442–8 (= *ZDMG* 31 (1877), 224 ff.) and *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 1893, pp. 73–5, 80, 261–2; B. Heller, 'La chute des anges Schemhazai, Ouzza et Azaël', *REJ* 60 (1910), 202–12; L. Jung, *Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature*, 1926 (= *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xvi (1926), 326 ff.); G. Dumézil, 'Les fleurs Haurot-Maurot et les anges Haurvatât-Amĕrĕtât': *Revue des études arméniennes*, vi (1926), 43–69; Sh. Spiegel, 'Heyya and his Brother in Rabbinic and Moslem Legend': *L. Ginzberg Jubilee Volume, English Section*, 1945, pp. 341–55 ('Noah, Danel, and Job. Touching on Canaanite Relics in the Legends of the Jews', pp. 305–55); P. J. de Menasce, 'Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angélologie judéo-musulmane: à propos de Hârût et Mârût', *Asiatische Studien* (*Études Asiatiques*), i (1947), 10–18; B. J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels*, 1952, pp. 113–17, 128–32, 178; S. B. Hoenig: *JQR* lvi (1965–6), 248–53; G. Vajda, 'Hârût wa-Mârût', *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, new edn., iii (1966), 243–4.

Grünbaum (*Ges. Aufsätze*, pp. 65–6) by the influence of Greek mythology: Pleione, the mother of the Pleiad Nymphs pursued by Orion. In the Persian Islamic accounts the virgin has the name Anâhîd, Bîduxt, Zuhra, Istahar, names which seem to be linked to the planet Venus. Islamic tradition, from the Koran onwards (ii, 102/96), denotes the two angels by the names Hârût and Mârût, thus identifying them with Haurvatât and Ameretât, 'Integrity' and 'Immortality', two of the Ameša Spenta archangels of Zoroastrianism. In a Pahlevi–Sogdian glossary (Henning, *Sogdica*, 1940, p. 16), perhaps of Manichaean origin, de Menasce points out the equation: *'mwrd'd hrwd'd* = *hrwwt mrwwt*.[1] The concept of the wicked archangel stretched and suspended on the firmament above the earth is undeniably Manichaean.

In Jewish literature this motif of the virgin-star underwent some transformations, some of which are definitely dependent upon our midrash. Towards the end of Deut. Rabbâ (Wilno 1887) the soul of Moses cried out:

רבונו של עולם מאצל שכינתך ממרום ירדו שני מלאכים עזא ועזאל וחמדו בנות ארצות והשחיתו דרכם על הארץ עד שתלית אותם בין הארץ לרקיע 'Our Lord, Who art forever, from beside Thy Shekhinah, from on high, two angels, 'Azâ and 'Aza'el, descended, and desired the daughters of the earth; and they corrupted their way upon the earth, until Thou didst suspend them betwixt earth and the firmament (of heaven).'

An obvious influence of the midrash of Šemḥazai and 'Aza'el is found again in the Oxford MS. 2340, §§ 17–19 (extract quoted by S. Buber, אגדת בראשית, Wilno 1925, Introduction, pp. 30–1):

בני אלהים זה עוזא ועוזאל שהיו יושבין ברקיע · והורידו עצמן בנסיון לארץ ·

[1] A very interesting variant of the two angels myth is related by a Karaite writer of the second half of the tenth century, Yefet Abû 'Alî, in his Arabic commentaries to the Pentateuch and Isaiah (MSS. 562 and 569 of the Firkovitch collection; see a short note of A. Harkavy in *Otčet Imperat. Publ. Biblioteki za 1912 god*, Petrograd 1917, pp. 125–6). The commentator denounces the 'Sadducaean belief' in two angels, *Sar Masṭema* and *Meṭaṭron*, created by God to rule over the world, to kill men and give life, to make them rich or poor (cf. 1 Sam. 2: 7, etc.). On Meṭaṭron see above, pp. 125–34; 'Prince Mastema' is evidently borrowed from Jub. 11: 5, 11; 17: 16; 18: 9, 12; 48: 2, 9, 12, and 15. Could it be that the Palestinian Karaites possessed an exemplar of the Book of Jubilees in Hebrew from the Qumrân scrolls discovered around A.D. 800 (see *DJD* I, p. 88)? For certainly medieval Jews did not know 'Prince Masṭema' from any other source, and Christians hardly knew *Mastêma* (few Greek and Coptic attestations). The theme itself of the two good angelic world-rulers (later becoming bad ones) derives mainly from the Muslim *Harût wa-Marût* legend, although it goes back as far as Jub. 4: 15 (see p. 29). At the time of Abû 'Alî it became one of the essential tenets of the early Rabbinic Cabbala, labelled 'Sadducaean' by its Karaite opponents, who had probably seen in it some similarity to Essene beliefs = *Benê Ṣaddûq*.

מלמד שכשהיו יושבין ברקיע היו שומעין כשהיה הקדוש ברוך הוא אומר ״אמחה את האדם אשר בראתי מעל פני האדמה״ אמרו לפניו רבונו של עולם ״מה אדם ותדעהו ובן אנוש ותחשבהו״・אמר להם הקדוש ברוך הוא・אם והייתם בארץ כמו שבני אדם אלו תראו נשים יפות שיש ביניהם・מיד נכנס יצר הרע בקרבכם・ והיה מחטיא אתכם・אמרו לו אנו יורדים ואין אנו חוטאים・ירדו מיד・היינו דכתיב ״ויראו בני אלהים את בנות האדם״・כיון שראו בקשו לחזור לרקיע・אמרו לפניו רבונו של עולם דיינו בנסיון זה・אמר להם כבר נטמאתם ואין אתם נטהרין עוד... עוזא ועזאל ״המה הגבורים אשר מעולם אנשי השם״・מתהלה היו אנשי השם・ועכשיו היכן הם・אמר רבי אליעזר ברבי יוסף תלוים היו בשלשלת של ברזל・ותלויין בהרי חושך・וחזרו ממנו כל השנה כלה עד שיכלו באצבע・ וחוזר ועומד כבראשונה ומלמדים כשפים לאותם שיטמאו בהם.

'The "sons of God"—that (is) 'Uzzâ and 'Uzza'el, who were dwelling in the firmament (of heaven), and they let themselves descend to earth, to be put to the test. (It is to be) understood that, as they were dwelling in the firmament (of heaven), they were hearing as the Holy One—blessed be He—was saying: "I shall destroy the man whom I have created from upon the surface of the ground (Gen. 6: 7)." They said before Him: "Our Lord, Who art forever, 'What is man that Thou knowest him, or the son of man that Thou takest account of him (Ps. 8: 5).'" The Holy One—blessed be He—said to them: "If you were on the earth like the sons of men, if you saw the beautiful women who are among them, forthwith the evil inclination would enter into you, and cause you to sin." They said to Him: "We shall descend, and we shall not sin." They descended forthwith. As it is written "And the sons of God saw the daughters of man" (Gen. 6: 2). As soon as they saw (them), they sought to return to the firmament (of heaven). They said before Him: "Our Lord, who art forever, judge us in this testing." He said to them: "Peradventure you have defiled yourselves and you are no longer clean. . . . 'Uzzâ and 'Uzza'el: "They are the mighty ones from of old, men of renown (Gen. 6: 4)." At the beginning they were men of renown. And now, how are they? Rabbi Ele'ezer, son of Rabbi Joseph said: "They were suspended by a chain of iron and they are suspended in the mountains of darkness. They come from there each year until they shrink to the size of little fingers; and (then) they grow once more to (their) former (size). And they teach sorceries to those who consort with them." '[1]

[1] For the obscure and slightly corrupted passage at the end of this text see L. Ginzberg, *Hozofeh*, iv (1915), 30.

The narrative of our midrash is recounted on two occasions, *ad* Gen. 6: 2 and 28: 12, in *Sefer Hadar Zeqenim* (Leghorn edition 1840), but there the virgin is transformed into the sign of the zodiac Virgo. Here is the second text from Jellinek's edition, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, v (1873), p. 156 no. 4 (his erroneous reference to Yalqut has been corrected by Ginzberg, *The Legends*, v, p. 169):

"מלאכי אלהים עולים ויורדים בו" · אותם מלאכים שירדו כאשר ראו בנות האדם היפות לא עלו עד עתה כי כשירדו מצאו בתולה אחת אמרו לה שמעי לנו · אמרה להן ומה תתנו לי · אמרו לה כנפים שלנו ונלמדך שם המפורש · וילמדו לה שם המפורש ויתנו לה כנפים · מיד פרחה בשמים · אמר לה הקדוש ברוך הוא הואיל וברחת מן העבירה אקבע לך שם במזלות · והיינו מזל בתולה · והמלאכים שנתנו לה כנפים לא יכלו לעלות עד עתה שמצאו סולם לעלות.

' "The angels of God ascending and descending on it" (Gen. 28: 12). Those are the angels who descended: as they beheld the beautiful daughters of men, they did not ascend until now; for, when they descended, they found a maiden. They said to her, "Hear us!" She said to them, "And what will you give me?" They said to her, "Wings like ours, and we shall teach you the Ineffable Name." And they taught her the Ineffable Name, and gave her wings. Forthwith she flew to heaven. The Holy One—blessed be He—said to her, "Since you have fled from sin, I shall place you (as) a name among the constellations. This is the (Zodiac) constellation Virgo. And the angels who gave her wings were not able to ascend (to heaven) until now that they have found a ladder to ascend.'

In other texts the legend of 'Uzzâ and 'Aza'el is linked to the woman Na'amah (*Yalqut* § 161; *Gen. R.* 24; Rashi, *Yoma* 67).

On the other hand, there does not seem to exist any study of the second part of our midrash, which recounts the mission of Enoch to Šemḥazai, and in particular the dreams of his two sons. We must reject as totally unsuccessful the attempt of Spiegel (*Ginzberg Jubilee Volume*, *English Section*, pp. 341 ff.) to link their names, Hiwâ and Hiyâ, with that of a Ugaritic god, *Hyn*. Now, it seems beyond question to me that these narratives are derived directly from the Book of Giants in its Manichaean form. Although greatly corrupted (הייא ואהייא **B**; היוא והייא, היווא והייא **S**; הייא, היהא והייא **M**; הייא וחייא, והייא **R**), the names of the two sons of Šemḥazai are certainly אוהיה and ההיה, which we find in QEnGiants, *'why'* (occasionally *'hy'*) and

'*hy*' which are found in the Manichaean Kawân (above, p. 299). We have examined above (pp. 303–9) the dream of the second son, 'Ahyâ, about the destruction of the paradisiac garden by the angels, with the exception of '[one tree with] its three roots' (6Q8 2), or 'one tree with three branches' according to the midrash of Šemḥazai.

The dream of 'Ohyah, the first son of this fallen archangel, about the tablet of stone covered with writing, fallen on to the earth and wiped out by an angel 'apart from four words', as our midrash recounts it, allows us to correct a passage of the Manichaean text and to join to it an Aramaic fragment from Qumrân. Fragment *j* of the Middle Persian Kawân speaks first of Sâm (= 'Ohyâ) and of his brother (above, p. 303); then, on the second page, it describes a first dream—dreamt no doubt by the same 'Ohyâ—and finally it recounts the second dream, that of Narîmân (= 'Ahyâ) about the 'garden full of trees in rows' (Henning, *BSOAS* xi (1943–6), 57 and 60). What remains of the first dream is translated by Henning as follows:

'. . . over Taxtag. To the angels . . . from heaven. Taxtag to . . . Taxtag threw (*or* was thrown) into the water. Finally (?) . . . in his sleep Taxtag saw three signs (one portending . . .), one woe and flight, and one . . . annihilation.'

In note 7 the editor notes that '*txtg* might be appellative = "a board". This would fit in three of the passages, but hardly in the fourth.' In the light of the midrash of Šemḥazai *txtg* must necessarily be translated by 'board, tablet', and the phrase 'in his sleep Taxtag saw three signs' should be corrected to something like 'and in his sleep ('Ohyâ) saw a tablet with three signs'. The Manichaean text thus talks first of a tablet which the angels had [obliterated] and thrown into the water, then of another(?) tablet containing three signs of the disasters to come, no doubt drawing on the *mené teqel fares* of the Book of Daniel.

A small fragment from Qumrân, dating from the Herodian era, 2Q26 1, certainly seems to belong to the description of the same dream (*DJD* iii, pp. 90–1 and pl. XVII). I correct and add a little to the transcription of the first editor, M. Baillet:

ו]הׄדׄיחו לוחא למׄ]חק
]וסלקו מיא עלא מן [לו]חׄא [
]א ונטלו לוחא מן מיא לוחא דבׄ]ה
[∘הׄרׄ∘]∘[להן כׄוׄל∘]

'[1][. . .] and they rinsed the tablet in order to de[lete . . .] [2]and the water rose above the tablet [. . . [3]the angel]s(?), and they lifted the tablet from the water, (the tablet) in whi[ch(?) . . .][4]. . . to them all [. . .].'

The tablet mentioned in line 1 of this fragment is conceived as being of wood (therefore like the 'board' of the Kawân), since [its writing] is effaced by washing; the midrash transforms it into an engraved stone slab. The tablet, which symbolizes the generation of the flood, is submerged by the waters of the flood, just as in the Manichaean fragment the board is thrown into the water. The tablet of line 3 seems to be a second or even a third one, since it is the 'board' of salvation, the ark of Noah and his three sons. There is an isolated reference to לוחא also in 1Q23 31 2 (*DJD* i, p. 98, and pl. XIX).

According to the terms of the midrash the two sons of Šemḥazai, awakened and startled, come to their father who at once explains the dreams to them. This is a very drastic abridgement of the sequence of events as it is developed in the Qumrân Book of Giants, where first the sons come to Šemîḥazah, who sends them off to the assembly of the giants, where both of them relate their dreams in detail ('Ohyah, moreover, adding yet another dream); and then the giant Mahawai is sent to Enoch in paradise, it being the latter who will ultimately provide the exact interpretation of these disturbing dreams (above pp. 303–5). The Manichaean Book of Giants, too, shortened the Jewish Aramaic original, but with more discrimination than the medieval rabbinical midrash. The latter was rendered into Mishnaic Hebrew from an Aramaic which was relatively close to Syriac (see above, p. 329, notes c and k to the translation). It seems to me extremely likely, in fact, that it is directly dependent on the Manichaean work on the Giants, and more exactly on its original wording, in the Aramaic dialect used by the Manichaean writers, and not on just any version; in any case it certainly is not based on an Arabic version of the Persian Kawân, which kept the Iranian names of the two sons, Sâm and Narîmân. A scholarly Babylonian rabbi could have found and understood without difficulty the Syriac Book of Giants, as recently as the early Middle Ages. This tallies with recent research on the origins of the Cabbala of medieval Europe, the essential sources of which are oriental and more precisely Babylonian.

Indeed it seems possible to establish beyond doubt that the Jews who lived in Sassanid, and later Umayyad and Abbasid, Mesopotamia, were acquainted with the contents of the Book of Giants in some detail. The magic bowls

from modern Iraq and from Iranian Khuzistan, covered with texts in Judaeo-Babylonian Aramaic and written in a square Hebrew alphabet, present a sentence which interests us directly here. In no. 27, lines 9–10, of J. A. Montgomery's edition (*Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, 1913, p. 212 and pl. XXV) the sorcerer, who is identified with Hermes (ארמסא, line 5), the messenger of the Creator of the heavens and of the earth, threatens the demons, who are 'wicked enemies and powerful adversaries' (סנאי בישי ובעילדבבי מרירי, line 6), as follows: מחיתנא עליכון שמתא גזירתא ואחרמתא דאחיתנא על חירמון טורא ועל ליויתן תנינא ועל סדום ועל עמורה מיטול דלמיכבש דיוי אזילנא ורוחי בישאתה (ed. בישאתא) etc. 'I am going to bring down upon you the curse, the decree, and the ban which I brought down upon Mount Hermon and upon the monster Leviathan and upon Sodom and upon Gomorrha. In order to subdue devils do I come, and evil spirits . . .' The identical passage, with the exception of some variants, is found in no. 2 of the same collection, lines 6–7:[1] מחיתנא עליכון שמתא וגזירתא ואחרמתא דא⟨ח⟩יתנה (ed. דאיתנח 'which fell') על חירמון טורא ועל ליויתן תנינׄא ועל סדום ועל עמורא מיטול למיכבש (ed. למכבש) דיוי אזלנא אנה. . . וכל רזי בישי. The curse of Leviathan and of the Sea ('by the spell of the Sea and by the spell of the monster Leviathan': באישפא די ימא ובאישפא דליו⟨י⟩תׄן תנינא Montgomery 2, 3–4; 27, 8), and also that of Sodom and Gomorrha, have a good Biblical ring about them; for the first-mentioned see Isa. 27: 1; Pss. 74: 13–14 and 104: 6–9, 25–6; Jer. 5: 22; Job 38: 8–11; on the towns of the Pentapolis see Gen. 18–19; Deut. 29: 23; Isa. 1: 9 and 13: 19; Jer. 49: 18 and 50: 40; Amos 4: 11. Through their beliefs the Babylonian Jews were able to add extra-canonical details; thus the two Angels (Gen. 19: 1) who destroyed the two cities are called Gabriel and Michael by name in the incantation text published by C. H. Gordon, *Orientalia*, x (1941), 349–50 (Iraq Museum no. 9736, lines 8–9): בשום גבריאל ומיכאל אילין (ed. אזלין) אתון תרין(?) מלאכׄין דשלח ייי צבאות לאהפוכה ית סדום ⟨ו⟩ית עׄמורה 'In the name of Gabriel and Michael: you are two angels whom Yahweh Sebaoth sent to destroy Sodom and Gomorrha.'

The curse of Mount Hermon on the other hand has no Biblical parallel, and in order to explain this allusion in full it is not sufficient just to refer back to En. 6: 5 f. and 14: 17 ff., as Montgomery has done (p. 126). It is in the Chronicle of George Syncellus that the Greek text of this incantation is to be found. The chronicler says it comes from the 'first Book of Enoch on the

[1] Montgomery, loc. cit., pp. 121–6 and pl. II; W. H. Rossell, *A Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts*, 1953, pp. 79–80, no. 4.

subject of the Watchers'; in actual fact it comes from the Book of Giants, as we have suggested above (p. 319). The ban (אחרמתא in the magic cups) of the mountain, where the two hundred angels are bound to one another by oath (אחרמו 4QEn[a] 1 iii 5 = En. 6: 6), is followed in the Syncellus passage by the curse of the sons of men (and/or the sons of the Watchers): *καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων*, etc. (above, p. 318). It is obvious that it is Enoch who delivers this curse, just as he must have delivered the first curse on Mount Hermon. A quite explicit reference to this second part of the quotation from Syncellus seems to occur in another Judaeo-Babylonian magical text, namely in Montgomery 4, 3 which I read and translate: תוב אסרנא לכון באיסורא דאסירו בית אחנוך אחוי בישי, 'Again, I am going to bind you with the oath with which the House of Enoch bound his evil brothers.'[1] Note the orthography אחנוך, with the prothetic Aleph, which recalls the Arabic *'Uḫnûḫ*. The expression 'House of Enoch' obviously means 'School of Enoch'. Thus the antediluvian sage was pictured surrounded by his disciples just like a learned rabbi in a Judaeo-Babylonian academy. In the incantation texts there occurs several times a rabbi–magician called רבי יהושע בר פרחיא;[2] now, in 8, 11 'the seal of the House of Yoshua bar Peraḥyah' is invoked, ובעיזקתא דבית יהושע בר פרחיא, this phrase being parallel to ובעיזקתא דיהושע בן פרחיא אסיא in 17, 12. The 'wicked brothers' of Enoch are not members of his family but, in the wider meaning of the word, all his contemporaries, the sons of men and the sons of the Watchers, the sinning generation given up to destruction by the waters of the flood. This interpretation is confirmed by Montgomery 19, 17 where the invocation תוב אסיר בעיזקת בית חנוך, 'Again, bound by the seal of the House of Enoch', is followed immediately by the expression וחתימין במבולא רבא דזעתא 'and sealed by the great flood of terror'.[3]

Similarly the sentence which comes shortly after the reference to the House of Enoch in Montgomery 4, 3 leads us back to the context of the Enochic writings (lines 4–5): תוב אסרנׄא [עליכון באי]סורא דאתסרו ביה שבעה כ⟨ו⟩כבין ותרין עשר {מלויאשין} מלויאשין עד יומא רבה (.ed רבא) דדינא ועד

[1] Loc. cit., pp. 133–7 and pl. V; Rossell, pp. 83–4, no. 8 (Montgomery reads דאסירי ביה and translates 'with which Enoch was charmed by his wicked brothers').

[2] Montgomery 8, 6 and 8 (= Rossell 24); 9, 2; 17, 8 and 10. On this historical person, Montgomery, pp. 226–8.

[3] Loc. cit., pp. 195–200 and pl. XX; Rossell, pp. 109–12 no. 29 (Montgomery reads חנון, but on p. 135 he writes 'For Enoch in incantations, cf. 19: 17'; in the second sentence he reads במכילא רבא דזעווא and translates in part 'by the great . . . of Zeus').

שעתא רבתי דפרקנא. 'Again, I am going to bind you with the bond with which have been bound the Seven Stars and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac unto the great day of judgement and to the great hour of salvation.' The seven chained planets are well described in En. 18: 13–16 and 21: 3–6; for the 'great day of judgement' see the note to 4QEn[b] 1 iv 11 = En. 10: 12. Even the earlier Enochic works, the Astronomical Book and the Book of Watchers, seem to know the system of the Zodiac (pp. 187 and 319); thus it is quite likely that the Book of Giants, which is of a much more recent date (above, p. 58), may have made a mythological reference to it, of the kind which we find in this magical sentence. The same phrase occurs in the incantation text published by Gordon in *Orientalia*, x (1941), pp. 273–6, no. 11, and pp. 282–4, pls. II–IV (Rossell, pp. 104–6, no. 26), line 15: אסרנא עליכון באיסורא דאיתסרו שבעה כוכב̊[ין . . . ועד שעתא רב[תא דפורקנא. Now, the same bowl (Jewish Theological Seminary collection, no. F 447) offers in its first part an almost identical text to that of Montgomery 2 and 27. Again, the magician appears attired in the mantle of Hermes (this time written ארמיסיס, line 3); again, he delivers, against the devils and the adversaries (בסוטוני בישי ובעלידבבי מרירי, lines 4–5), the great incantation of the Sea and the incantation of the dragon Leviathan (באשפא רבא דימא ובאשפא דליויתון תנינא, lines 6–7); again, he recalls the curses of the mythical past (מחיתנא עליכון גזירתא די שמיה ואחרומתא דאיתיתי עליכון [ולחירמון] טורא ולליויתון תנינא, 'I am going to bring down the decree of heaven upon you and the ban which I brought upon you, and on Mount Hermon, and on the monster Leviathan', line 9). Here, before Hermon is mentioned, we find invoked the curse brought by Hermes–Meṭaṭrôn (p. 133) upon all the demons, in other words upon the Watchers and upon the giants, their children. Two 'children of the Watchers' are mentioned by name in the incantation published by Gordon in *Archiv Orientální*, ix (1937), pp. 86–90 and pls. II–IV (Text H = Rossell, pp. 112–14, no. 30), line 11: ובני עירי דמיתקרי סרגז ואנוגרי; immediately afterwards the 'sons of the nephelim' and the 'king of the demons' are invoked (line 12): ויבני נפלי ואשרת מלכא דשידי.

In conclusion, the Judaeo-Babylonian magical texts contain several themes peculiar to Enochic literature. The curse of Mount Hermon, to which these texts allude, was certainly to be found in the Book of Giants; other Enochic elements which have just been discussed probably come from there also. About the seventh century, knowledge of these themes is thus widely authenticated at the popular level. Scholarly and literary knowledge probably goes back to the beginning of the fourth century, because—in the light of the

information discussed—the author of the Jewish adaptation of the Manichaean Book of Giants will readily be acknowledged as the rabbi Joseph who is mentioned at the beginning of the midrash on Šemḥazai and ʿAza'el. It is in fact R. Joseph bar Ḥiyyâ (died A.D. 333), who was the successor to Rabbâ bar Naḥmanî in the academy of Pûmbedîtâ.

Be that as it may, the midrash of Šemḥazai and ʿAza'el provides us, in a very shortened form, with the longest sequence of the Book of Giants which has been preserved up to modern times: from the sin of the angels, the mission of Enoch to the chief of the fallen angels, the lamentations of the latter (compare with these the fragment of 4Q quoted above, p. 307), up to the announcement of the salvation which will be accomplished by Noah and his three sons.

APPENDIX

DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION OF SEVEN COPIES OF ENOCH (4QEn[a] to 4QEn[g])

BOOKS OF ENOCH, FIRST COPY (4QEn[a])

1 i—En. 1: 1–6 (Pl. I)

] [1]]ן חנך[a] לבח[ירין [
] [2]] מתלוה[י וא]מר[[
]]ומן[b] מלי [ ] וקדישין כלה[[
]]ן דרה להן לד[ר ר]חיק אנה אמ[לל [3] [
] va[cat ינפק קדיש[ה ר]בה מן מ[[4] [
] ר]בה ויופע ב[ ] גברו[תה [5] [
] קצו]ת ארעה ויזו[עון כ]ל קצו[ת [6] [
]]רמן וי[[
] 9–15 [

1 ii—En. 2: 1–5: 6 (Pl. II)

margin

]]ן ולא[c] מעב[רין]בסרכן [2] ח[זו] לארעה וא[תבו]נו בעבד[ה]
] לא]חרנה דמ[נ]ד[עם לא ל]אשניה וכל מתח[ז]א [ ] [3] חזו לדגלי
]]... י ... עליה ובדגלי שתוא ד[כל] ארעא
] ו]ענה[d] מטרה שפכין [3] חזו דכל איל[ניה] כלהן מיבישין
]]מן ארבעת עסר אילני[ן] דעליהן מתקימי[ן]
]]דתרתין ותלת שנין [ ] [4] חזו לכן לדגלי

[ ]ה ושלקה ואנתן טלל ומסתרין בעין מן קדמיה

[ולמ]דרך על עפרה ו[ע]ל [כפ]יה לא תשכחון מן

[5 1 א]ילניה כלהן יתניצ[ון] עליהן בהן ירוקין וחפין

[לה]דר תשבחה [ ]ל[ו ו]אתבוננו בכל עבדיה אלין

[ ]הוא לעלם דעלמין עבד כל עבדיה אלין[2] שנה

[ו]כלהן עבדין ממרה[4] ואנתן שניתן עבדכן

[ותע]ברון עלוהי רברבן וקשין ביום טמתכן

[לב]בן לת שלם לכן[5] אדין יומיכן תלוט[ון ו]שני

[ושנ]י אבדנכן יסגין בל[וט ע]ל[מין ורח]מין

[6 שמהתכ]ן ללוט עלם ל[כל]

[ ]ולכל[ ]

[ ]

1 iii—En. 6: 4–8: 1 (Pl. III)

margin

ואמרו לה כלהן נמ[א]

נתוב כלנה מן מלכה ד[ן 5]

כלהן כחדה ואחרמ[ו 6]

ביומי ירד על [ ]ן[ ]

די ימו ואחרמ[ו ב]ה[7] ואלין [ ]

שמיחזה ד[י]ף תנין לה רמט[אל]

לה כוכבא[ל חמ]ישי לה רעמא[ל]

דניאל שבי[עי תמי]ני לה ברקאל תשיע[י]

עסאל עסירי[ ]א לה מטראל תריעס[ר]

עננאל תלתת עסר [לה ש]תואל [אר]בעת עסר[a] לה שמשי[אל]

עסר לה שהריאל [ש]תת עסר לה תמיאל שבעת[ ]

טוריאל תמנית עס[ר] לה ימי[א]ל תשעת[b] לה [ ]

[8] אלין אנון רבני (רב[נ]י)[c] עס[ר]תא [7:1] אנ[ון ור]בניה[ן [
נשין מן כל די בחרו ו[[
ולאלפה אנין חרשה ו[[
[2] והויה בטנן מנהן ויל[דה [
הוו מתילדין על ארעה [[3] [
עמל כל בני אנשא ולא י[[4] [
קשרין לקטלה לאנשא ו[[5] [
קובל כל כנף ו[חיו]ת ארע[ה [
[וב]שמיה ולמכל (ונני) בשר(ימה)[c][הן [6] [
] ר]שי[עין [
[8:1]]ל[[
] [

[a] ʻAin written above Aleph (אסר).—[b] ⟨עסר⟩.—[c] Double sign of insertion.

1 iv—En. 8: 3–9: 3, 6–8 (Pl. IV)

margin

[3] שמי[f] חזה אלף חבר[ו [
[כ]שפו וחרטמו ותוש[ין [
[נ]חשי כוכבין זיקא[ל[a] [
[שמ]שיאל אלף נחשי שמ[ש]שה[ר[j] [
[לגלי]ה רזין לנשיהן [4] ולקבל[g] מבד ק[ ] מן ארעא וק[לה]
סלק ק[דם [9:1]] אדיק מיכאל [ו]רפאל וגברי[אל]
מן קדש[י וחז]ו דם סגי שפ[יך על ארע]א וכל[ ]
אתמלית ר[שעה ו]חמסה[h] די [את]חטי עליה [2] [[
ואמרו קדמ[יהן ד]קלה ו[עק]תה[i] בח[[
תרעי שמי[ה [3] לקדי]שי ש[מיה [
די קבלן [ ] וא[מרן [

] [

] ארע]אֹ[k]וֹ[כל [

] ל]הן יעבֹ[דון [

] 7 למ]לך לכל ח[ברוהי]

]8]לֹ[ ]◦[[

] [

[a] Qoph written above Kaph ([זיכא]ל).

1 v—En. 10: 3–4 (Pl. V)

]]◦[l][[

] [

] 3 ק]שֹׁטֹ[m][ה]לנצ[לה]

]] עֹד[n] [ו]מֹנה[על]מֹ[י]ה *vacat*

]4 אמ]רֹ אֹ[זל]יתה ל[[

] [

1 vi—En. 10: 21–11: 1 and 12: 4–6 (Pl. V)

]]◦◦[o][[

]]◦◦◦[ ]לֹ[[

]21 י]תֹקֹשֹׁטון וֹ[[

]]ות[ת]רֹמי[22 [

] אש]גֹר אנה[[

] 1 11 ובאדי]ן א[פתח [

] [

]]··[p][[

] א]חֹרבתֹ[ן] לאֹ[רעא 5 [

] 6 עלי]הן חֹדיֹ[ן [

] א]בֹדֹ[נה [

] [

BOOKS OF ENOCH, SECOND COPY (4QEn^b)

1 i (Pl. VI)

1–7] [

] ל[c

9–28] [

1 ii—En. 5: 9–6: 4 and 6: 7–8: 1 (Pls. VI and VII)

[כו]ל[a] [י]ומי] [

6 1 והויא כד[י [

2 שפירן ו[טבן [

ואתמ[ללו [

5] 3 [

] 4] ואמר[וb [

נמא[c מ]לכא ד[ן [

נעבד[5 [

9–14] [

15] עשר]י[e]לה] חמ]שתf

16a [ט]וריא[ל]

16] ת]מיאל שב[ע]ת עשר[יd {וי]מאלו}

17a [אנו]ן רבני עש]רתא]

17] עשר]י לה יהדי[אל ע]שרין] [8 אליןg

7 1] נשין מן כו[ל] ושריו

] לחר]שתא ולכש[פתא [

20] 2 [

21a] ה]וואי

21] כי]לדות[h][הון 3 ו]אכלין

] לאשפ]קה] 4 [

] 5 [

24] ור]חשׁי[א[j] [

25a]]שתין דמ[א]

25b [6] [מא

25]]בה מתעבד[k] *vacat*

26 [8 1] [l]עשׂא[ל] א[ל]ף [לאנ]שׁ[א ל]מעבד[n] חרבן די פרזל ושר[ינין ד]י נח[o][ש]

27a [י]עבדון ד]הבא למ]עבדה ועל למעבדה

27 [m]להון מא ית]חפר]מכונא {ו}כספא לצמידין[ ]ל[ ]

28] הו]א על כוחלא ועל צדיד[א]

29] *va[cat*

margin

1 iii—En. 8: 2–9: 4 (Pls. VII and VIII)

[2] והוו]א[p] פח]זין [3] שמיחז]ה אל[ף]

] א]לף חרש למ[ ]אלף[ ]

] א]לף נחשי כוכב[ין]

] ארע]תקף אלף נחש[י]ארע[q][ ]

5] [4] וכולהון שריו לגליה [ ]]

] אר]עא וקלא [s] [ש]מיא[ ]

[9 1]]מיכעל ושריא[ל וג]בריא[ל]

] שפי]ך [ע]ל ארעא[ ]

] [2]]

10a ב]ני[t]

10 [בחרב]ות אר]עא סלק]ין[u] עד תרע[v]י [3]]

] שמ]יא [קב]לן נפשׁ[ת]

]]

[4] ר]פאל[w] ומיכ[אל]

14]]מרנא רבא [הו]א מרא עלמא [ ]

15a לכל

15 [וכורס]א יקרך {ל}דר דריא די מן עלמ[א]

] מק]דשתא ו . . . תא עד כו[ל 5 [

] [

1 iv—En. 10: 8–12 (Pl. VIII)

] [

] עו]ית[א 9 מ]ריא[y] אז[ל [

[בנ]י עיריא] וב]קרב אבדן [ו]אר[כת [

] 10]ב[עו]ל[א למח]יא חיי[[

] 11 ו]אוד[a][ע]

לשמ[b]יחז]א ולכ[ול חברו]הי[c] די אתחברו[d] ל[נשיא 12 [

יבדון בניהון ויח[זון לאבד]ן [ ]שבעין[e] ד[רין [

ארעא עד יומא רבא] [

]]◦[[

] [

1 vi—En. 14: 4–6 (Pl. IX)

] [

] ודי]ן[f] לה[וא [

] 5 לא תת]ובון ו[לא [

] די]ן[g] גז]יר למאסרכו]ן [[

] 6 די לאבד]נא [

[ב]ניהון[h] [וב]קנינ[i]יא [

(יפ[לון])

] ו]ק[דמיכו]ן על[[

] [

BOOKS OF ENOCH, THIRD COPY (4QEn[c])

1 i—En. 1: 9–5: 1 (Pl. IX)

] [

] 9 רבו]את[a] קדישו]הי [

[ב]שרא על עֹובד[י]
[ ]רֿבֿרבן וקשׁין [ ] 2 1 [
בכול עֹו[בד וחז]וא לכון לעובד שׁ[מיא]
במסורת [נה]וֿריהון די כולה[ון ד]נֿ[חין]
2 חזוא לכון ל[א]רׄעא ואתבוננא בעובד[ה]
[לא]ל[אשניה ו]כֿול מתחזא ל[כ]וֿן 3 [ ]
[שתו]אֿ די כוֿ[ל]
[3]
[עלי]הֿוןֿ[b] בֿרא מן ארבע{ואו}[ת] [ ] דׄי[c]
[ע]דֿ דתר[ת]ין ודתלת שנין [4]
[שמש]אֿ בֿהון כוייה ושלקהֿ [ ] בע[יֿ]ןֿ
[אר]עֿאֿ כֿוׄיֿתֿא ולמדרך עֿ[ל] חמת]א
[5 1]בכול אילניא כולהון יֿתֿנֿ[יצון] וב]הון
[ ]ל[ה]דֿר תשבחה הל[ ] עובדי]אֿ
[חי]אֿ די לכול עלם [ ]

margin

1 ii—En. 6: 7 (Pl. X)

[ ]

7 [ו]אׄלׄן[c] שמהׄתׄ [רבניהו]ן שׁ[מיחזה]
תליתי לה כוכבאל רביעי לה *va*]*c.* [
[ד]נֿיֿ[אל] שׁ[ביעי לה] זיקיאל תמֿיֿנֿי [תֿשי]עֿי[d] לה *vac.*
עשאֿ[ל]
וחרמני [חד] עשׂר לה מטרֿ[אל]עננאל תלתת
עשר לה *vac.* סתוֿאֿ[ל]
ארבעתֿ[ ] *vac.* שמשי[אל]שהריאל
שתת עשׂ[ר]ל[ה]
תֿ[מיאל
ימא]ל[ ]

[ ]

1 v—En. 10: 13–19 and 12: 3 (Pl. XI)

[ולע]יקא ול[ע]למא[f] 14 וכול די חר[יר]

[דרה]ון ובקץ [ ]אדין יאבדון לכו[ל 15]

[ ]16 ואכרת עולה מן[ ]

[נ]צבת קושטא ותהו[א

יתנצבו]ן[g]

[17 קש]יטין יפלטון ולהון [אל]פין וכול יומי

[ו]שיבתכון בשלם ית[מליון *va[cat*

[18]בקושט וכולה תתנצ[ב] ברכה 19

וכול אילנין

[ ]תתנצב בה

[א]לף

[ ]

[12 3 ו]ארו ע[י]רא[i]

[ ]

1 vi—En. 13: 6–14: 16 (Pls. XII and XIII)

margin

עם[תחנ]ניהון על כול נ[פשת]הון לכול חד וחד[
[

[ ]ו[*vacat* 7 וה[וית אז]ל[

חרמונ]ין די למ[ערבהון]

[ ]תחנינ[ה]ון 8

נפל]ו עד ד[י]

לשכני עיני לתרעי ה[יכל
[

וחזית חזיון דרגוז או[כחה
[9

עליהון וכולהון כנישין כחדה ויתבין וא[בלין
[

vacat [10]ומללת קודמיהון כול [
[
במ֯לי קושטא וחזיה ומוכח לעירי שמ֯[יא
[
vacat [14 1]ספר מלי קושט֯[א
[
[רב]א בחלמא די אנה [2
[
[ד]י֯ יה֯[h][ב]ר֯בא לבני [ ]ל֯מ֯ל֯[לה 3
[
[מל]י֯ מנדע ל֯י֯א חלק וע֯בד וברא לא֯[וכחה 4
[
ו֯בחזיה לי֯[את]ח֯זית כלקובל די בע֯ו֯[תכון
[
ו֯בגזירו֯א֯[עלי]כון[5] די עוד מן כ֯[ען
[
[למאסר]כון עד כול יומי ע[למא[6]
[
ב֯[i]ניהון ובק[ניאניא]די חביבי֯כ֯[ון
[
אבדן[7] כלקובל די ב[עותכ]ו֯ן֯ על[יהון
[
אנתון בעין ומתחנ֯[נין
[
מן כתבא די אנה כתבת֯[[8]
[
לי זעקין וזיקין וב[רקין
[
לעלא ואובלוני ואע֯[לו]ני ב֯[שמיא[9]
[
[ולשנ]י֯ נור סחרין סחור סח֯[ור
[
[עד ד]י֯ אדבקת לביא ר[ב
[

] ד]ׄי תלג אשׁ[ן 11
[
12] ל]ׄכול כתליהו[ן 13
[
] כ]ׄתלגא וכול[
[
14] ורע]ׄד ונפלת [15
[
]]מן דן רב וכולהׄ[16
[
] א]ׄכל לאדׄמה לכו[ן 17
[
] 18
[

1 vii—En. 14: 18–20 and (?) 15: 11 (Pl. XIII)

margin

] כ]רׄוׄבׄי[ן[k] 19]שׁׄבׄלין[l] דׄ[י]
] 20 ת]לגא רבׄ[א]
] [
] 11 רוח?]ת[m]
] [

1 viii—En. 18: 8–12 (Pl. XIII)

] [
כׄרסא א[יתי[m] 9 10 [
ותמן אשׁׄ[יציו 11 [
בה עמודׄ[י 12 [
מן דן נ] [

1 xii—En. 30: 1–32: 1 (Pl. XIII)

[ ]

] 30 1 ולהל]א״ מנהון ארחקת

] 2 דב]ה קניא טביא די בשמא די

] 3 חזי]ת קונם בשמא *vacat* ולהלא מן נחל[י]א

] 31 1 ואחזיא]ת [טורי]ן אחרנין ואף בהון חזית אילנין די נפק

] 2 וחלבנ]ה [ול]הלא מן טוריא אלן אחזיאת טור

] ו]כול אילניא ד[בה מ]ל[י]ן... והוא דמא לקלפי ל[וז]

3]]שדא מנ[הון בש]ם ריח כדי מדקין קליפיא אלן

] 32 1]כלצפון מדנחה[ו]ן אחזיאת טו[ר]ין

margin

1 xiii—En. 35 and 36: 1–4 (Pl. XIII)

[ ]

תרעין פתי]חין [

חשבוניהון *vacat* באד[ין [

36 1 מן תמן אובלת לדרום ס[יאפי [

לרוח דרומא לטל ומט[ר 2 [

אחזית תרעין תל[תתהון 3 [

שמ[י]א [נ]פק[ין [

va]cat 4 [

באדין אבר[ך [

margin

4—En. 89: 31–7 (Pl. XIV)

] 31]וכולהון הווא ד[ח]ל[י]ן [קוד]מ[והי]

]]די הוה ביניהון לא יכלין אנחנא למק[ם] לקובל [ ]

32] ב]תנינא וסלק לראש כפא דן וענא שריוא לאתס[מיה]

] ל]הון ואמרא לא ידע בהון 33 ומרא ענא רגז על [ ]

]]דׄןׄ ואתה על עׄנׄאׄ ואשכח כול שגאׄהון מתׄ[סמין]
] 34 ק]וׄדמוהי ולמׄהׄ[וא]צבין למׄ[ת]בׄ לדיריהון
]35 ע]לׄ עׄנׄאׄ ושׄ[ח]טׄו כׄוׄל טעׄיתא ושריו למר[עד]
]]אתיבׄ אׄמרא דן לכול ענא טעיתא לדיריהׄ[ון]
]]דן לא[י ל]בגלאׄ ולבגעה ולאעקה ימא עׄ[ל]
] 36 א]מׄרׄ[א]דׄן אתהפך והוא אנוש ועבד מׄ[שכן]
] 37]אׄמׄ[רא]דׄן דׄיׄ אׄל[וה]

5 i—En. 104: 13–106: 2 (Pl. XIV)

] [
] 13 ו]ישמׄ[a]חון כׄ[ול]
] 105 1]בבני ארע[א]
] אנ]תׄון תהוון
] 2 ל]כון כול
] *va[cat*
] *va[cat*
]106 1]שמה למ[ך]
] אנ]תה והיא
] 2 ו]שמׄוק
] כו]לׄ[b]
] [

5 ii—En. 106: 13–107: 2 (Pl. XV)

] [
בל[c] יתׄ[דת]בׄיוׄמׄי[d]
ירד אׄ[בי]
עברׄו [14 חטי]ןׄ וׄ[e]עב[רין]וׄןׄ
שניו למעׄ[ל]

[17a]

[15 ולהו]א֯[f] [אר]ע֯א[b] [רב]א֯[g]]

[16

ד֯י֯ יליד [לכו]ן֯[h] [בנוה]י֯ יפ[לטון]ארע *vac.* [17b

[

[ותתד]כא ארעא[ ] חב֯לא[i] [ר]בא *va*]*c.* 18]ב֯קשוט[

[

[עלי]מא [די י]ל֯י֯[ד קר]י֯ שמה [[

]]י֯פלט הוא֯[[

[

]]להוא ביומ[והי 19 וב]א֯ת֯[רהון יא]ת֯ה ר֯ש֯[ע[

ת֯קיף[[

[b]ב֯י[ו]מ֯י֯[הון בד]י֯ ידע אנה ברז֯י֯ [ ]קדישין אחויוני ואחזיוני [

[

שמי֯א ק֯ר֯ית 107 1 וחזית כתיב בהון די [ד]ר֯ מן דר יבאש בכד֯ן ובאש

להוא֯[[

דרי קוש֯ט֯א ובאישתה ורשעה יסוף וחמסא יכלא מן ארעא וע֯[ד] די

[

עליהון *vacat* 2 וכען אזל נא עד֯ למ֯ך֯ [בר]ך֯ [

[

די עלימא֯[ ]דן ברה הואה בקשוט ולא ב[c]דבין [

[

margin

The photograph of fragment *d* is missing.

BOOKS OF ENOCH, FOURTH COPY (4QEn[d])

1 xi—En. 22: 13–24: 1 (Pl. XVI)

margin

]]ן[a] לא֯ י֯תנזקון ביום דינ֯א מ֯ן [יתקימו]ן֯

מ֯ן ת֯נ֯ה֯[b]

] 14 רבות]א ואמרת להוה בריך דין קושט[א

] רבותא

]] 23 1 ומן תמן אובלת לאתר א[חרן

2 וא]תח[זית

]] ולא ישרי בדב[רונה

כח]דה לבך

] 3 אי]תי לה כל שליאו[4

ד]גלה ונורא הוא

]]ש[מיא 24 1

ד]לק אשן בינת[הון

] 7–30 [

1 xii—En. 25: 7–27: 1 (Pl. XVI)

margin

]]לקובלה די[d] מכ[ין ו]אל[e][ן 26 1 [

] למ]ציע א[רעא]די [בה] איל[נין [

] 2 ונפקי]ן מן תחתוהי [[

] *va[cat*] [

] 3]מנה וביניהון חלה ע[מיקה [

] 4]לה [ט]ור א[חרן [

] ו]בינתהון וח[לה 5 [

] 6 ות]מהת על טור[יא [

] 27 1 מת]ברכה [וכ]ול[ה [

] 10–30 [

2 i—En. 89: 11–14 (Pl. XVII)

] 1–22 [

]]∘[a]∘∘[ ] [

] 11 ו]למדבר אלן

] כח]ד֯ה ו֯ערדין

] 12 חזי]ר֯ א֯כום ו֯ד֯כר די ען

]]עש֯ר֯ *vacat*

] 13 מ]נהון לערד֯יא וערדיא

] 14]ל֯[ח]ד֯ ע֯ש֯ר֯ אמריא כולהון

]]...[ ]

2 ii—En. 89: 29–31 (Pl. XVII)

]

] 29]ח֯ד֯ ר֯[b]אם ו֯[[

] *va[cat*] [

] 30 לקוב]ל ענא וחזיה תקיף ורב וד֯[חיל [

] 31 רע]ד֯י֯ן֯ ו֯ד֯ח֯ל֯[ין [

2 iii—En. 89: 43–4 (Pl. XVII)

] 43 [

ב֯ק֯ר֯נ֯והי֯[c] [[

44 חזירין שגיאי[ן [

לדכרא די ענ[א [

בארח *va]cat* [

margin

BOOKS OF ENOCH, FIFTH COPY (4QEn^e)

1 xx—En. 18: 15 (?); see Pl. XVIII

margin

]סחרין[a] לה[

]ר֯ ל∘∘[

I xxi—En. 21: 2–4: (Pl. XVIII)

]א̊ש̊ו̊ה̊ [b]

]בא הוא

בל]ש̊ני נור

]ם̊

I xxii—En. 22: 3–7 (Pl. XVIII)

margin

[נפש]ת̊ [b] כל בני אנשא 4 והא̊ אלן אנון פחתיא לבית עגנון

לכדן עב[י]ד̊ו עד יום די יתד̊י̊נן ועד זמן יום קצא ד[י]

דינא רבא די מנהון יתעבד *vacat* 5 תמן חזית רוח

אנש מת קבלה [ו]אנינה ע[ד] שמיא סלק ומזעק̊ וקב̊[ל]

[6 לרפא]ל לעירא̊ וקדישא ד̊[י]

[ ]א דמן היא דכ̊ד̊[ן]

[7]לי א[מר]

[ ]

I xxvi—En. 28: 3–29: 2 and 31: 2–32: 3 (Pl. XVIII)

[ ]

[ ]ח̊ד [c] ◦[ ]

[29 1]א̊זלת באת̊[ר]

[ ]ל[מדנ]ח פא̊[תא 2]

[מד]מ̊עי̊[ן]

[ ]

[דב]ה̊ מ̊ [d] [לאין]

[3]◦ו באיל[ניא]

[ ]מדקק קלפוהי א̊[נון 32 1] מן

[ ] אלן כלצפון מדנחהון [אחז]ית טורין אחרנין

[נ]רד טב וצפר וקרדמ̊ן̊ [ופ]לפלין *vacat* 2 ומן תמן הובלת

[למד]נח כל ט̊וריא אלן רחוק מנהון למדנח ארעא ואחלפ̊[ת]

[על]א מן י֯[מא]שמוקא וארחקת֯ שגיא מנה ואעברת ע֯ל֯[א]
מ֯ן֯ חשוכא רח֯[ו]ק מנה³ ואחלפת ליד פרדס קשט֯[א]
margin

1 xxvii—En. 32: 3, 6 and 33: 3–34: 1 (Pl. XIX)

margin

ואחזית מ֯[ן]
שני֯ן [ ]
∘[ ]
4–9 [ ]
[ו]א֯[f]מך֯ רבתא ויד֯[עו]
ד֯י֯ ע֯רטליין ∘[
12–17 [ ]
[ ]∘[g][ ]
[ ]ע֯ירין⁴ וא֯[חזיני]
[ ]ב֯ה֯ד֯מ֯יה למ֯ז֯מ֯ נ֯י֯[הון]
34:1 [ ]ואחזית עבדין ב֯ר֯[בין]
margin

2 and 3—Book of Giants(?); see Pl. XIX

Col. II	3 Col. I	2
] 1–14	[	
תא]	[	]ין וכ֯ל֯[
מ֯∘]	[	אח]ז֯ית לחנוך ס֯[פר
א∘]	[	א]ד֯ם֯ הא ר֯בא֯[
]	[	
]	אר]ע֯א כ֯[ל] ב֯[ני אד]ם֯ מן באשת	
]	בד]י֯ בה ד֯ם הוה שפיך֯	
]	]הוו מ֯[תע]ב֯ד֯ין בה֯[כ]ל	
	margin	

4 i—En. 88: 3–89: 6 (Pl. XX)

] 3 מ]ן [a]
] כ]וֹכביאֹ שגיאיא [b]
] ל]כֹלהון ידין ורגלין ורמא
] 89 1 אר]בֹעתא עֹל על חד מן תוריא
] וע]בֹד לה ערב חדה ויתב בגוה
]]ו עמה לערבא וערבא חפית וכסית
] 2]חזה והא מרזבין שבעה שפכין
]] 3 והא חדרין פתיחו בגוא ארעא ושריו
] ו]אֹנה הוית חזה עד ארעא חפית מין
4]]קֹאמין עליה 5 ותוריא שקעין וטבעין
]] 6 וערבה פרחה עלא מן מיא וכל תוריא
]] ופיליא ירו מיֹ[ן] *vacat*

4 ii—En. 89: 7–16 (Pl. XX)

7] בחל]מֹי [c] עד מֹ[רזביא [
]]חדריא שכירו וֹ[8 [
וֹנֹחֹתין בגוהון עד ספוֹ[[
תקנת [ע]ל אֹרעא [9 [
[ות]ל[תת [
] [
[a] למצֹ[יעהון 11 [
לאלן [[
12 וֹעגלא [b] [[
זי עֹ[ן [
אמרֹ[י]ן תֹ[רי עשר 13 [
15 וערֹדיא יהבֹ[ו [

[14]ודבר דכרא ל[חד עשר]
לות דׄביׄא והתׄ[שגאו [15]]
שׄריו למלחץ לענׄ[א]
[די י]שקע מין בׄ[אדי]ןׄ [d] [ ]
[[16] [אמר נתׄ[ר]
[ ]ית עד נחת מׄ[רא]

4 iii—En. 89: 26–30 (Pl. XXI)

[ ]
[ ]מׄיׄא[e] [ ]
[27] ד]ביׄא רדפין לענ[א]
[ו]מׄיא חפו עליהון [28] ועׄ[נא]
[ ]וׄ צדיותא אתר זׄי [ ]
[ ]ןׄ ועיניהון התפתחׄ[ו]
[[להון ויהב להׄ[ון]מׄיא[f] [למש]תׄ[א]
[[29] ס]לק לרׄ[אש כ]ףׄ חד רם ומׄ[רא]
[וכ]ל[הון ק]מׄו מןׄ [[30]]
[ענ]הׄ וחׄ[זיה]

BOOKS OF ENOCH, SIXTH COPY (4QEn^{f})

1—En. 86: 1–3 (Pl. XXI)

[[86 1]]
[ ]מׄןׄ[a] עׄלׄהׄ [ ] כוכׄבׄ חׄ[ד]
[[ביניהון [2] הא באדין חזׄיׄ[ת]
[ ]ן ודיריהון [וע]גׄל[י]הׄ[ון]
[ ]וׄהא כוכבין שׄגׄיׄאׄ[ין]
[תו]ריא בׄמׄצׄ[יע]

BOOKS OF ENOCH, SEVENTH COPY (4QEn[g])

1 i (Pl. XXI)

[ ]

]◦מן[a]

[ ]

1 ii—En. 91: 10 (?)+91: 18–19 and 92: 1–2 (Pl. XXI)

[ ]

[10 וקשיטי]א֯[a]] [

[קאמ]ה֯ והלכ֯[ה [

ו֯לה תשב[חה [

ותנוח אר[עא [

כל דרי עלמי[ן 18 [

ארחת קשט[א [

די תדעון מה֯[יתע]ב֯[ד 19 [

קושטא למהך בהון ו֯[[

[ע]ל ד֯י֯ אבד לסוף אבדנא֯[[

[92 1 די כת]ב ויהב למת֯[ושלח [

[וח]כים אנושא ובחי֯[ר]ב֯נ֯י֯ [[

ב֯נ֯ו֯[הי ו]לדריא אחריא לכול י[תבי [

] 2 אל תה]ו֯ן בבהשתא את֯[ון [

] י֯הב֯[[

1 iii—En. 92: 5–93: 4 (Pl. XXII)

] [

] ◦[c]

] 5 בח]ש֯וכא

] מ]ן יומא

[b]דׄ[ן 93 1 ח]נׄוך מתלה
2 אמרׄ[ ]ו מן נצבת
יצבתא[ב]נׄי אנה הוא
חנוך אחזׄיׄ[ת]ממר עׄיׄרׄיׄןׄ וקדשין
אנה כלא ידעת [כל]א קר[ית ואבונ]ת 3 וׄתׄ[ב]
נסב חנוך מתלה ואמר אׄנׄ[ה]שׄבׄיע אׄ[תילדת]
קדמי ועד עלי קשטא כבׄ[ר]
תנין די[a] בה שקרא וחמסא יצמׄחׄ[ ]

margin

[a] Daleth written on Zain.

1 iv—En. 93: 9–10+91: 11–17 (Pl. XXIII)

[ ]
[עבד]וׄהׄיׄ[c] בׄ[עותא]
[י]תבחרון בׄ[חירי]ןׄ לׄשהדיׄ[a] קׄשׄט מן נׄ[צבת]
קׄשׄט עלׄ[מ]אׄ די שבעה פׄ[עמי]ןׄ[b] חכמהׄ ומדע[b] תתיהׄ[ב]
91 11 ולהון עקרין אשי חמסא[c] ועבד שקרא[d] בה למעבד[ ]
12 ומן בתרה יקום שביע[e] תמיני[e] קשוט דבה תתיהׄ[ב]
לכול קשיטין[f] למעבד[g] דין קשוט מן כול רשיעׄיׄן
ויתיהבון בידהון 13 ועם סופה יקנון נכסין בׄקשוט
ויתבנא היכל [מ]לׄ[כ]ות רבא ברׄ[d]בות זוה לכול דׄרי עלמין
14 ומן בתרה שבועׄ תשעי וק[שוט ו]דׄ[ין]יתגלא
לכול בני ארעא כלה וכול עבׄ[די]ןׄ מן כול
ארעא כולה וירמון לבורׄ[ ]כלהון
[h]לארח קשט[h] עלמא 15 ומן [ ]עׄה
דין עלמא וקץ דינא רבאׄ[ ] 16 ושמין
קדמין בה יעברון ושמׄ[ין] שמיא

צ̇[הר]ין ודנחין לכול עלמי[ן]
[ ]איתי סוף לכול מ̇[נינהון

17 ש]ב̊עין שני
וקש]טא יעבדון

margin

[a] The scribe first wrote שהדוהי; then he deleted the Yod entirely and the He partially.—[b-b] The scribe first wrote ומדע יתיהב.—[c] Written on עולא.—[d] The scribe had begun to write עול.—[e-e] The scribe seems first to have written שביעי ד, which he then carefully deleted with the exception of the Beth.—[f] Above the Qoph one can see a small ʿAin.—[g] למעבד is followed by דינא, struck out.—[h-h] Written on בארח קשוטין.

1 v—En. 93: 11–94: 2 (Pl. XXIV)

] [

] [°]ᶜ [

] יכ]ל̊ ינדע מה ב̊ט̊ע̊ם̊ [11 [

[ד]י יכ̇ל̇ ישמע מ̊ל̊י קדשא̊[[

או מ̇נו הוא כול אנוש[e] ד̊י̊[a] [12 [

וי̇א די אנ[ון]ע̊[ליהו]ן̊ י̊תנח̊[ון [

למתב למת̊[ניה [

13 או מנו הוא [[

אורכה ופתיה̊ די ארעא כולה או [[

וצרתה 14 ומנו הוא כול אנוש די יכ̊[ל [

הוא רומהון והיכה אנון סמכי̇[ן [

94:1 וכען לכון אנה אמר בנ̊י̊ [[

ארחת ק̊שט̊[א 2 [

א[נושא [

[a] די seems to be written on זי.

ADDENDUM TO P. 106

τῇ κυριακῇ πρὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως, τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων (f. 87^{v} last lines, in red).

Here is the corresponding passage as I read it in Milan, Ambros. D. 92 sup. (Gr. 259), eleventh century, ff. 117^{v}, ii 7–118^{r}, i 2 (left-hand column), and in Meteoroi, Monastery of the Metamorphosis MS. 382, fifteenth century, ff. 128^{r}, 12–128^{v}, 8 (right-hand column):

Καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς Μιχαήλ. κύριέ μου· τίς ἐστιν ὁ κριτὴς οὗτος· καὶ τίς ὁ ἄλλος ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος τὰς ἁμαρτίας· καὶ λέγει Μιχαὴλ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· θεωρεῖς τὸν κριτήν. οὗτός ἐστιν Ἄβελ· ὁ ἐν πρώτοις μαρτυρίσας· καὶ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸν ὧδε ἵνα κρίνει· καὶ ὁ ἀποδεικνύμενος· οὗτός ἐστιν διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης Ἐνώχ· ἀπέστειλεν γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐνταῦθα ἵνα ἀπογράφει τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνης ἑνὸς ἑκάστου· καὶ λέγει Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν Μιχαήλ· καὶ πῶς δύναται Ἐνὼχ βαστάσαι τὸ μέρος τῶν ψυχῶν· μὴ εἰδὼς θάνατον· καὶ πῶς δύναται δοῦναι ἀπόφασιν ὑπὲρ ψυχῶν (I omit an illegible word)· *καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαήλ· ἐὰν δώσει ἀπόφασιν περὶ τούτου· οὐ συγχωρηθήσεται ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἐνὼχ ἀποφαίνεται· ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος ἐστὶν ἀποφαινόμενος· ἄλλο τούτου οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ μὴ μόνον τοῦ γράψαι· ἐπειδὴ ηὔξατο Ἐνὼχ πρὸς Κύριον λέγων· οὐ θέλω Κύριε τῶν ψυχῶν δοῦναι ἀπόφασιν ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβαρὶς γίνομαι· καὶ λέγει Κύριος πρὸς Ἐνώχ· ἐγὼ τίθημι σημεῖον πρός σε. ἵνα*

Τότε λέγει ὁ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· κύριέ μου τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ κρίτης· καὶ τίς ὁ ἕτερος ὁ κατέχων τὰς ἁμαρτίας· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Μιχαήλ. ὁ κριτής ἐστὶν· ὁ Ἄβελ ὁ πρῶτος παρὰ πάντας μαρτυρήσας· καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς· ἐνταῦθα εἶνε καὶ κατακρίνειν· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὁ προσκομίζων τὰς ἁμαρτίας· καὶ ἐλέγχων τὰς ἀγαθὰς καὶ πονηρὰς πράξης· ἔστιν ὁ Ἐνὼχ ὁ μάρτυς τῆς ἀληθεῖας· καὶ προσέταγει παρὰ κυρίου ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ διάγειν καὶ ἀπογράφεται πράξης καὶ λογισμοὺς ἑνὸς ἑκάστου ἀνθρώπου· καὶ λέγει Ἀβραάμ. καὶ πῶς δύνατε κύριέ μου ὁ Ἐνὼχ μὴ πῶς θάνατον ἰδῶς ἀλλ' ἐν σώματι ὢν βλέπειν καὶ προσκομίζειν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰς δικαιοσύνας· ἢ πῶς δύναται δίδοναι ἀποφάσης καὶ σώζειν τοὺς ἐξομολογουμένους; Καὶ φυσὶν (*sic*) *ὁ ἄγγελος· ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἐνὼχ πρὸς θεὸν ἐλάλησεν· ἵνα μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιβαρὺς γίνεται· ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ·*

γράφης τὰς ἁμαρτίας ψυχῆς ἐξιλεουμένης καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν ζωήν· καὶ ψυχὴ ἐὰν μὴ ἐξιλεοθῇ καὶ μετανοήσει· εὑρίσης αὐτοῦ τὰς (118^{r}I) ἁμαρτίας ἅσπερ ἐποίησεν· καὶ βάλῃς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κόλασιν.	ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν οὗτος πιεῖν.

In the longer Greek text of the Testament of Abraham (recension A) there is no mention of Enoch; for him are substituted the two recording angels, *οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι.*[1] For Enoch in a role similar to that in the Testament of Abraham (according to the Coptic and Greek B texts), as seen by the Jewish Cabbalists of the Middle Ages, see above, pp. 127–31.

[1] James, loc. cit., pp. 91–3 (xiii); cf. M. Delcor, *Le Testament d'Abraham*, 1973.

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זיקאל: *Σαθ[ι]ήλ Ṭamiʾel* 8: 3 En[a] 1 iv 3 (157/342); זיקיאל *Ζακιήλ* S *ʾΕζεκιήλ* C *ʾEzeqeʾel* 6: 7 En[c] 1 ii 26 (188/347)

זמן: עד זמן *μέχρι τοῦ διορισμοῦ ʾĕska ʾama ʿĕdmehomu* 22: 4 En[e] 1 xxii 2 (229/356); see מזמן

זנו: [בזנות[כ]ון G[a] 8 9 (315)

זעק: זעקה G[b] 1 iii 6 (306); לי זעקין *με ἐφώνουν yĕṣewĕʿani* 14: 8 En[c] 1 vi 20 (194/349); מזעק 22: 5 En[e] 1 xxii 4 (229/356); מזעקן G[b] (230)

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חבר: די אתחברו ל *τοὺς συμμιγέντας ταῖς* S *ταῖς . . . μιγέντας* C *ʾĕlla ḥabru mĕsla* 10: 11 En[b] 1 iv 9 (175/346)

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חברו: [חבר[ו] *ἐπαοιδάς masābĕʿyāna* 8: 3 En[a] 1 iv 1 (157/342)

חד: 28: 3 En^{e} 1 xxvi 3 (231/356), 86: 1 En^{f} 1 1 (244/359), 89: 29 En^{d} 2 ii 27 (223/355), כף חד *lazĕku kuakuĕḥ* 89: 29 En^{e} 4 iii 19 (243/359); לכול חד וחד *lala'aḥadu* 13: 6 En^{c} 1 vi 1 (192/348); חד מנהון *'aḥadu 'ĕmnehomu* 77: 3 Enastr^{b} 23 8 (289), *kālĕ'ĕ* ibid., Enastr^{c} 1 ii 19 (288); חד מן תוריא *zĕku lāhĕm* 89: 1 En^{e} 4 i 13 (238/358); חד Enastr^{b} 6 8 (284), 7 ii 11, 13 (279); חד ופלג Enastr^{b} 7 ii 8, 10 (279); בשתית חד Enastr^{d} 1 ii 5, 6 bis (296), תשיע חד ibid. 3, 4 (296); חד מן תל[תת עש]יריא[חד 78: 8 Enastr^{c} 1 iii 8 (292) חד מן חמשת עשר Enastr^{d} 1 ii 5/6 (296); חד מן תלתת עשיריא] *'aśarta wasalasta 'ĕda* 78: 8 Enastr^{c} 1 iii 7/8 (292); ח]ד מ[ן תלתין Enastr^{d} 1 ii 6 (296); [חד] עשר לה *ια'* 6: 7 En^{c} 1 ii 27 (188/347); ל[ח]ד עשר *la* '10' *wa* '1' 89: 14 En^{d} 2 i 29 (222/355); [חד עשר]א לה 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 9 (150/341); חדה 89: 1 En^{e} 4 i 14 (238/358); כחדה *ὁμοῦ ḥabura* 6: 5 En^{a} 1 iii 3 (150/341), 13: 9 En^{c} 1 vi 6 (193/348), *ἅμα 'allā* 23: 2 En^{d} 1 xi 4 (218/354,) 89: 11 En^{d} 2 i 25 (222/355); see אחד

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חדר: חדרין *'anqĕ'ĕtāt* 89: 3 En^{e} 4 i 17 (238/358); חדריא [. . .] *nĕqĕ'ĕta mĕdĕr* 89: 7 En^{e} 4 ii 2 (240/385)

חדש: חדשין *śarqa* 78: 12 Enastr^{b} 25 4 (293); לחדשיהון *ba'awrāḥihomu* 82: 9 Enastr^{b} 28 1 (295)

חדת: יח[דת] *καινίσει yĕḥedĕs* 106: 13 En^{c} 5 ii 17 (209/352)

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יפע: ויפע καὶ φανήσεται *wayāstarēʾi* 1: 4 En^{a} 1 i 6 (142/340)

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מדנח: [מ]דנח 77: 3 Enastr^{b} 23 7 (289); למדנח *πρὸς ἀνατολάς mangala ṣĕbāḥ* 29: 1 En^{e} 1 xxvi 5 (231/356), *ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχάς malĕʿĕlta rĕʾĕsomu* 32: 2 En^{e} 1 xxvi 19 (232/356), *πρὸς ἀνατολάς laṣĕbāḥ* ibid., 77: 3 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 17 (288); די ב[מדנחא] *ʾĕnta mangala ṣĕbāḥ* 76: 5 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 4 (285); מדנחהון *πρὸς ἀνατολάς* 32: 1 En^{c} 1 xii 30 (201/351), En^{c} 1 xxvi 17 (232/356), למדנחי 77: 3 Enastr^{b} 23 6 (289)

מדע: מנדע *ʾaʾĕmro* 14: 3 En^{c} 1 vi 12 (193/349); מדע *tĕmhĕrĕt* 93: 10 En^{g} 1 iv 13 (265/361)

מה: [על כול] מא 7: 6 En^{b} 1 ii 25 (166/345); מא ית[חפר] *τὰ μέταλλα* 8: 1 En^{b} 1 ii 27 (167/345); מה G^{a} 3 4 (311), על יד מה G^{c} 1 4 (308), מה די 6Q8 1 5 (300), כל מה די בהן *kuĕllu zahalo wĕsta māy* 76: 4 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 3 (285), מה 93: 11 En^{g} 1 v 15 (269/362), *za-* 91: 18 En^{g} 1 ii 19 (260/360)

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מות: מת *νεκρούς ʾĕnza mutān* 22: 5 En^{e} 1 xxii 4 (229/356)

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מחוי: G^{b} 1 iii 6 (306), למחוי ibid. 7 (306)

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מי: מין 1Q23 24+25 4, *bamāy* 89: 3 En^{e} 4 i 18 (238/358), *qalāy* 89: 6 En^{e} 4 i 21 (238/358), 89: 15 En^{e} 4 ii 19 (241/359); מיא 2Q26 1 2, 3 (344), G^{b} 1 ii 10 (304), *māy* 76: 4 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 3 (285), *māy* 89: 6 En^{e} 4 i 20 (238/358), *māy* 89: 26 En^{e} 4 iii 13 (243/359), 89: 27 En^{e} 4 iii 15 (243/359), *māya* 89: 28 En^{e} 4 iii 18 (243/359)

מיכאל: *Μιχαήλ Mikāʾel* 9: 1 En^{a} 1 iv 6 (157/342), En^{b} 1 iii 7 (170/345), 9: 4 En^{b} 1 iii 13 (171/345)

מלא: [מ]ל[י]ן *πλήρης mĕluʾān* 31: 2 En^{c} 1 xii 28 (201/351), מ[לאין] 31: 2 En^{e} 1 xxvi 14 (232/356); אתמלית 9: 1 En^{a} 1 iv 8 (157/342)

מלה: מן מלי *ἀπὸ* (*αγιο* MS.) *λόγων* 1: 2 En^{a} 1 i 3 (142/340); במלי *τοὺς λόγους wĕʾĕta qalāta* 13: 10 En^{c} 1 vi 8 (193/349); מלי *λόγων qala* or *qalāta* 14: 1 En^{c} 1 vi 9 (193/349), *qala* 14: 3 En^{c} 1 vi 21 (193/349), *qalo* 93: 11 En^{g} 1 v 16 (269/362); ל[מ]ליך G^{b} 1 iii 8 (306)

מלך: לממ[לך] *ἄρχειν yĕkuanĕn* 9: 7 En^{a} 1 iv 21 (158/343)

מלך: מן מלכה דן *τὴν γνώμην ταύτην lazāti mĕkĕr* 6: 4 En^{a} 1 iii 2 (150/341), [מן מ]לכא דן 6: 4 En^{b} 1 ii 7 (166/344)

מלכו: מלכות G^{a} 9 6 (316), *mangĕśĕt* 91: 13 En^{g} 1 iv 18 (266/361)

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מן: דמן היא τίνος ἐστίν *zamanu wĕ'ĕtu* 22: 6 Enᵉ 1 xxii 6 (229/356); מן 6Q8 1 3 (300)

מן: ἀπό (αγιο MS.) 1: 2 Enᵃ 1 i 3 (142/340), ἐκ *'ĕm-* 1: 3 ibid. 5 (142/340), ברא מן *za'ĕnbala* 3 ibid. ii 5 (146/340), Enᶜ 1 i 24 (184/347), 4 Enᵃ 1 ii 7 (146/341), *ba'ĕnta* ibid. 8 (146/341), *la-* ibid. iii 2 (150/341), Enᵇ 1 ii 7 (166/344), 7: 1 Enᵃ 1 iii 14 (150/342), Enᵇ 1 ii 18 (166/344), ἐπί 8: 4 Enᵃ 1 iv 5 (157/342), ἐκ *'ĕm-* 9: 1 ibid. 7 (157/342), 9: 4 Enᵇ 1 iii 15 (171/345), ἀπό *'ĕm-* 10: 16 Enᶜ 1 v 3 (194/348), *'ĕm-* 14: 5 ibid. vi 14 (193/349), ἀπό *'ĕmwĕsta* 14: 7 ibid. 19 (194/349), *'ĕm-* 14: 15 ibid. 28 (189/350), 22: 13 Enᵈ 1 xi 1 bis (218/353), מן תמן ἐκεῖθεν *'ĕmhĕya* 23: 1 ibid. 3 (218/354), מן תחתוהי ὑποκάτω *mathĕta* 26: 6 ibid. xii 3 (220/354), 30: 3 Enᶜ 1 xii 25 (201/351), 31: 2 ibid. 27 (201/351), מן תמן ἐκεῖθεν *'ĕmhĕya* 32: 2 Enᵉ 1 xxvi 18 (232/356), [על]א מן ἐπάνω *diba* 32: 2 ibid. 20 (232/357), מן [על]א ἐπάνω *malĕ'ĕlto la-* ibid. 20/21 (232/357), [מ]ן רחוק μακρόθεν *kahaktihomu* 32: 3 ibid. xxvii 1 (234/357), מן תמן *'ĕmhĕya* 36: 1 Enᶜ 1 xiii 25 (203/351); מן 1Q23 1+6+22 4 bis, 5 (302), עלא מן 2Q26 1 2 (334), מן ibid. 3 (334), מן עלוי Gᵃ 4 4 (312), מן ibid. 9 2 (316), 13 1 (317), Gᵇ 1 ii 8, 9 (304), iii 9, 11 (306), GEnᵉ 3 i 19 (237/357); מן Enastrᵃ (273), Enastrᵇ 6 9 (284), מן נהורה Enastrᵃ (282), מנהורה Enastrᵇ 6 7 (284), 7 ii 3 (278), 6, 9, 12 (279), מן ibid. 10 (279), iii 8 (280), מן תמן 77: 3 ibid. 23 7 (289), מן 78: 8 Enastrᶜ 1 iii 7, 8 (292), מן דבר *'ĕm-* 79: 5 Enastrᵇ 26 3 (294), מן Enastrᵈ 1 ii 2 bis, 5, 6 (296), iii 5 (296); מן עלה *malĕ'ĕlta* 86 :1 Enᶠ 1 1 (244/359), מן *'ĕm-* 88: 3 Enᵉ 4 i 10 (238/358), מן 89: 1 ibid. 13 (238/358), עלא מן *diba* 89: 6 ibid. 20 (238/358), מן [רחוק] 89: 29 ibid. iii 20 (243/359); מן *'ĕm-* 91: 12 Enᵍ 1 iv 15, 16 (266/361), *'ĕm-* 91: 14 ibid. 19, 20 (266/361), 91: 15 ibid. 22 (266/361), 93: 2 ibid. iii 19 (263/361), *'ĕm-* 93: 10 ibid. iv 12 (265/361), *'ĕm-* 107: 1 Enᶜ 5 ii 27 (210/353), ἀπό *'ĕm-* 107: 1 ibid. 28 (210/353); מני Gᶜ 2 7 (307); מנך Gᵇ i iii 10 (306); מנה ἐξ αὐτοῦ 10: 3 Enᵃ 1 v 4 (161/343), τούτου *'ĕmzĕ* 26: 3 Enᵈ 1 xii 5 (220/354), ἀπὸ τούτου *'ĕmnehu* 32: 2 Enᵉ 1 xxvi 20 (232/357), רחוק מנה ibid. 21 (232/357); מנהן 7: 2 Enᵃ 1 iii 16 (150/342), מנהון ἐν αὐτοῖς *balā'ĕlehomu* 22: 4 Enᵉ 1 xxii 3 (229/356), τούτων *'ĕmuntu* 30: 1 Enᶜ 1 xii 23 (201/351), מנ[הון] 31: 3 ibid. 29 (201/351), רחוק מנהון μακρὰν ἀπέχων *'ĕnza rĕhuq wĕ'ĕtu* 32: 2 Enᵉ 1 xxvi 19 (232/356); מנהון Gᵇ 1 ii 4 (304); חד מנהון *'ahadu 'ĕmnehomu* 77: 3 Enastrᵇ 23 8 (289), וחד מוהון *wăkālĕ'ĕ* ibid., וחד מנהן Enastrᶜ 1 ii 19 (288); [חד מ]נהון *'ahadu 'ĕmnehomu* 89: 13 Enᵈ 2 i 28 (222/355); see אן

מנדע: see מדע

מנדעם: מ[נ]ד[עם] οὐδέν *'i-* 2: 2 Enᵃ 1 ii 2 (146/340)

מנו (= מן הוא): מנו הוא *mĕnt wĕ'ĕtu* 93: 11 Enᵍ 1 v 17 (269/362), *manu* (or *mĕnt*) *wĕ'ĕtu* 93: 13 Enᵍ 1 v 20 (270/362), *'ĕmma* 93: 14 Enᵍ 1 v 22 (270/362)

מנין: סוף לכול מ[נינהון] *hualqua* 91: 17 Enᵍ 1 iv 26 (266/362)

מסורה: במסורת 2: 1 Enᶜ 1 i 19 (184/347); לכל מסרתהון *baměquāmātihomu* 82: 10 Enastrᵇ 28 2 (295)

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מעד: [ל]מעדיהון *baba'ālātihomu* 82: 9 Enastrᵇ 28 1 (295)

מערב: מערבא *'ĕm'erāb* and *nĕtug* 77: 2 Enastrᵇ 23 4 (289), ibid. 5 (289); למ[ערבהון] δύσεως *'araba* 13: 7 Enᶜ 1 vi 2 (193/348)

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מציע: [למ]ציע εἰς τὸ μέσον *mā'ĕkala* 26: 1 Enᵈ 1 xii 2 (220/354); במצ[יע] *mā'ĕkala* 86: 3 Enᶠ 1 5 (245/359); למצ[יעהון] *mā'ĕkalomu* 89: 10 Enᵉ 4 ii 10 (241/358)

מרא: τῷ κυρίῳ 9: 4 Enᵇ 1 iii 14 (171/345), *zĕku 'ĕgzi'a* 89: 16 Enᵉ 4 ii 21 (241/359), *'ĕgzi'omu* 89: 29 Enᵉ 4 iii 19 (243/359), *'ĕgzi'omu* 89: 33 Enᶜ 4 4 (204/351); [מ]ריא ὁ κύριος *'ĕgzi'ĕ* 10: 9 Enᵇ 1 iv 5 (175/346); [מרא]ן Gᵃ 10 1 (316); מרנא 9: 4 Enᵇ 1 iii 14 (171/345)

מרזב: מרזבין *'asrāb* 89: 2 Enᵉ 4 i 16 (238/358); מ[רזביא] *'asrābāt* 89: 7 Enᵉ 4 ii 1 (240/358)

[מרעה]: [מרעיהו]ן τὴν νομὴν [αὐτῶν] *mĕrĕ'āyomu* 86: 2 Enᶠ 1 3 (245/359)

מרת: לא מרתת 6Q8 1 3 (300)

משחה: מן משחתה Enastrᵈ 1 ii 2 (296)

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משכן: מ[שכן] *beta* 89: 36 En^{c} 4 10 (205/352)

מתושלח: למת[ושלח] 92: 1 En^{g} 1 ii 22 (260/360)

מתל: [נסב ...] מתלה *wa'aḥazani yĕtnāgar 'ĕmmaṣāḥĕfĕt* 93: 1 En^{g} 1 iii 18 (263/361), ותנ[ב] נסב ... מתלה *wa'aḥaza 'ĕnka yĕtnāgar . . . 'ĕmmaṣāḥĕfĕt* 93: 3 En^{g} 1 iii 22/3 (264/361); [נסב] מתלוהי *ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ 'awśĕ'a* 1: 2 En^{a} 1 i 2 (142/340)

נא: *ται* 107: 2 En^{c} 5 ii 29 (210/353)

נהור: מן כל נהור Enastr^{b} 6 9 (284), נהו[ר] Enastr^{b} 7 ii 7 (280); נהורה Enastr^{b} 6 9 (284), *bĕrhāna zi'ahā* 78: 17 Enastr^{b} 26 6 (294), 79: 5 Enastr^{b} 26 4 (294), כל נהורה *bĕrhāna zi'ahu* 78: 7 Enastr^{c} 1 iii 5 (292); מן נהורה Enastr^{a} (282), מנהורה (= מן נהורה) Enastr^{b} 6 7 (284), 7 ii 3 (278), 6, 9, 12 (279); [נה]וריהון 2: 1 En^{c} 1 i 19 (184/347)

נהר: נהר[(י)א] 1Q23 13 2

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נון: נני *τοῖς ἰχθύσιν ba'ĕśāt* 7: 5 En^{a} 1 iii 21 (150/342)

נוץ: יתניצון 5: 1 En^{a} 1 ii 9 (146/341), En^{c} 1 i 28 (185/347)

נור: ואניר Enastr^{b} 7 ii 4 (278), 7, 10 (279), iii 4 (279), *yāstarĕ'i* 78: 6 Enastr^{c} 1 iii 3 (292)

נור: *πυρός 'ĕsāt* 14: 9 En^{c} 1 vi 22 (194/349), [בל]שני נור *ἐν πυρί za'ĕsāt* 21: 3 En^{e} 1 xxi 3 (228/356); נורא הוא *οὗτος ὁ δρόμος zĕntu . . . ruṣata* 23: 3 En^{d} 1 xi 5 (218/354), G^{b} 1 ii 10 (304)

נזח: נזחו Enastr^{d} 1 ii 4 (296)

נזק: לא יתנזקון *οὐ τιμωρηθήσονται 'itĕtqatal* 22: 13 En^{d} 1 xi 1 (218/353)

נחל: מן נחל[יא] [אלן] *τούτων* 30: 3 En^{c} 1 xii 25 (201/351)

נחש: [ד]י נח[ש] 8: 1 En^{b} 1 ii 26 (167/345)

נחש: [נ]חשי 8: 3 En^{a} 1 iv 3 (157/342), נחשי כוכבין *τὰ σημειωτικά* C *ἀστρολογίαν* S *ra'āyĕyāna kawākĕbĕt* 8: 3 En^{b} 1 iii 3 (170/345), נחש[ין] *τὰ σημεῖα* 8: 3 En^{b} 1 iii 4 (170/345), נחשי *τὰ σημεῖα* 8: 3 En^{a} 1 iv 4 (157/342)

נחת: G^{b} 1 ii 16 (305), *yĕwaḍĕ'ĕ* 77: 4 Enastr^{b} 23 10 (289), *warada* 89: 16 En^{e} 4 ii 21 (241/359); נחתין *yĕrad* 89: 8 En^{e} 4 ii 3 (240/358); מחתין Enastr^{d} 1 i 2 (296)

נטל: נטלו 2Q26 1 3 (334)

נכס: נכסין *'abyāta* 91: 13 En^{g} 1 iv 17 (266/361)

נסב: [נסב] מתלוהי *ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ 'awśĕ'a* 1: 2 En^{a} 1 i 2 (142/340); ותנ[ב] נסב ... מתלה *wa'aḥaza 'ĕnka yĕtnāgar . . . 'ĕmmaṣāḥĕfĕt* 93: 3 En^{g} 1 iii 22/3 (264/361)

נפיל: נפילין G^{c} 1 2 (308); נפיליא G^{c} 1 8 (308); כל נפילי G^{b} 1 iii 8 (306)

נפל: ונפלת *καὶ ἔπεσον wadaqqu* 14: 14 En^{c} 1 vi 27 (194/350); [נפל]ו *ἐπέπιπτον wadqu* 13: 8 En^{c} 1 vi 3 (193/348); [יפ]לון *πεσοῦνται yĕwadqu* 14: 6 En^{b} 1 vi 10 (177/346)

נפק: Enastr^{b} 7 ii 4 (278), 7, 10 (279), iii 4 (279); ונפק Enastr^{b} 6 9 (284), Enastr^{d} 1 i 3 (296); נפקו G^{b} 1 ii 8 (304), Enastr^{d} 1 ii 4 (296); ינפק *ἐξελεύσεται yĕwaḍĕ'ĕ* 1: 3 En^{a} 1 i 5 (142/340); ולמפק Enastr^{b} 7 iii 2 (279); די נפק [מנהון] *καὶ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν wayĕwaḍĕ'ĕ 'ĕmnehu* 31: 1 En^{c} 1 xii 26/7 (201/351); נפק *yĕwaḍĕ'ĕ* 76: 7 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 7 (285), 76: 10 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 9 (285); נפקא *yĕwaḍĕ'ĕ* 76: 5 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 4 (285), *yĕwaḍĕ'ĕ* 76: 6 ibid. 5 (285); [נפק]ין 26: 2 En^{d} 1 xii 3 (220/354), [נ]פק[ין] *yaḥalfu* 36: 3 En^{c} 1 xiii 28 (203/351)

נפש: נפש[ת] *αἱ ψυχαί nĕfāsāta* 9: 3 En^{b} 1 iii 11 (171/345), [נפש]ת *τὰς ψυχάς nafsa* 22: 3 En^{e} 1 xxii 1 (229/356); על כול נ[פשת]הון *περὶ τῶν πνευμάτων αὐτῶν ba'ĕnta manfasomu* 13: 6 En^{c} 1 vi 1 (192/348)

נצב: תתנצ[ב] *καταφυτευθήσεται tĕtakal* 10: 18 En^{c} 1 v 7 (189/348), [די] תתנצב בה *ἣν ἂν φυτεύσωσιν wayĕtuklu dibehā* 10: 19 En^{c} 1 v 8 (189/348); [יתנצבו]ן *φυτευθήσεται yĕtakalu* 10: 16 En^{c} 1 v 5 (189/348)

נצבה: [נ]צבת τὸ φυτόν *takla* 10: 16 En^{c} 1 v 4 (189/348), מן נצבת *takla* 93: 2 En^{g} 1 iii 19 (263/361), מן נ[צבת] *ʾĕmtakla* 93: 10 En^{g} 1 iv 12 (265/361)
נצל: לנצ[לה] συντηρήσει 10: 3 En^{a} 1 v 3 (161/343)
נקר?: מן דן נ[קרא] τοῦ χάσματος τούτου *wadiba wĕʾĕtu naqeʿat* 18: 12 En^{c} 1 viii 30 (200/350)
נרד: [נ]רד νάρδου *sanbĕlata* or *sanbalĕt* 32: 1 En^{e} 1 xxvi 18 (232/356)
נשה: יתנשון G^{a} 7 i 7 (313)
נשה: נשין γυναῖκας *ʾansĕta* 7: 1 En^{a} 1 iii 14 (150/342), En^{b} 1 ii 18 (166/344); נשיא G^{a} 8 8 (315); נשיכון G^{a} 8 7 (315); לנשיהן ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν 8: 3 En^{a} 1 iv 5 (157/342)
נשר: כנש[ר] G^{b} 1 iii 4 (306)
נתן: see יהב
נתר: נת[ר] *zadĕḫĕna* 89: 16 En^{e} 4 ii 20 (241/359)

סאב?: ל[א]ס̊[תאבה] καὶ ἐμιάνθησαν *warakuĕsu* 9: 8 En^{a} 1 iv 22 (158/343)
סגא and סגי: see שגא and שגיא
סוף: ספו 89: 8 En^{e} 4 ii 3 (240/358); יסוף ἀπολεῖται *tĕtḥagual* 107: 1 En^{c} 5 ii 28 (210/353)
סוף: G^{b} 1 ii 12 (305), 20 (305); סוף לכול מ[ניגהון] *ḫualqua* 91: 17 En^{g} 1 iv 26 (266/362); לסוף אבדנא *laʾālam* 91: 19 En^{g} 1 ii 21 (260/360); ועם סופה *wabatafṣāmĕta* 91: 13 En^{g} 1 iv 17 (266/361)
סחור: סחרין סחור סח[ור להון] κύκλῳ αὐτῶν *yāʿawĕdā* 14: 9 En^{c} 1 vi 22 (194/349)
סחר: סחרין 14: 9 En^{c} 1 vi 22 (194/349), οἱ κοιλιόμενοι *ʾĕlla yānkurakuĕru* 18: 15 En^{e} 1 xx 1 (228/355), 77: 3 Enastr^{b} 23 6 (289), Enastr^{c} 1 ii 17 (288)
סיף: ס[יאפי] *baʾaṣnafa* 36: 1 En^{c} 1 xiii 25 (203/351)
סלק: ἀνέβη *wabaṣḥa* 8: 4 En^{a} 1 iv 6 (157/342), προέβαινεν *yĕbaṣĕḫ* 22: 5 En^{e} 1 xxii 4 (229/356), *ʿarga* 89: 29 En^{e} 4 iii 19 (243/359), *ʿarga* 89: 32 En^{c} 4 3 (204/351); וסלקו 2Q26 1 2 (334); [סלק]ין 9: 2 En^{b} 1 iii 10 (171/345)
סמה: לאת[סמיה] *yĕṣalĕlu ʾaʿĕyĕntihomu* 89: 32 En^{c} 4 3 (204/351); מת[מסין] *zaṣĕlĕl ʾaʿĕyĕntihomu* 89: 33 En^{c} 4 5 (204/352)
סמך: אנון סמכי[ן] *ṣanĕʿat* 93: 14 En^{g} 1 v 23 (270/362)
ספר: G^{a} 8 4 (315), G^{b} 1 ii 14 (305), GEn^{e} 2 2 (236/357)
ספר: βίβλος *zĕmaṣḥafa* 14: 1 En^{c} 1 vi 9 (193/349), G^{a} 8 1 (314)
סרך: בסרכ⟨ה⟩ן τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν *ʾĕmśarĕʿātomu* 2: 1 En^{a} 1 ii 1 (145/340)
סרק: סרי[קה] 6Q8 1 6 (300)
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שגא: כול שגאהון *zamabzĕḥĕtomu* 89: 33 En^{c} 4 5 (204/352)

שגיא: סגי πολὺ *bĕzuḥa* 9: 1 En^{a} 1 iv 7 (157/342); שגיא מנה ἀπὸ τούτου *ʾĕmnehu* 32: 2 En^{e} 1 xxvi 20 (232/357); שגיא G^{c} 1 6 (308); שגי *bĕzuḥat* 91: 17 En^{g} 1 iv 25 (266/362); שגיאין 1Q23 9+14+15 4 (302), *bĕzuḥāna* 86: 3 En^{f} 1 4 (245/359), πολλούς 89: 43 En^{d} 2 iii 28 (224/355); שגיאיא *ʿabiyāna* 88: 3 En^{e} 4 i 11 (238/358)

שהד: לשהדי 93: 10 En^{g} 1 iv 12 (265/361)

שהר: [נחשי] שה[ר] τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης S σεληναγωγίας (σεληνοναγιας MS.; read σεληναναγωγίας or σεληναναλογίας?) C *ruḍata warĕḥ* 8: 3 En^{a} 1 iv 4 (157/342); שהרא Enastr^{b} 7 iii 6 (280)

שהריאל: Σαρινᾶς S Σαθιήλ C *Sartaʾel* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 11 (150/341), En^{c} 1 ii 28 (188/347)

שיבה: שיבתכון τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν *sanbata ziʾahomu* 10: 17 En^{c} 1 v 6 (189/348)

שכר: שכיר G^{b} 1 ii 9 (304); שכירו *ʿarayu* 89: 7 En^{e} 4 ii 2 (240/358)

שמאל: על שמאל *lamangala masĕʿĕ* 76: 3 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 1 (285)

שמוק: πυρρότερον *qayiḥ* 106: 2 En^{c} 5 i 28 (207/352); שמוקא ἐρυθρᾶς *ʾĕrtarā* 32: 2 En^{e} 1 xxvi 20 (232/357)

שמח: ישמחון ἀγαλλιάσονται *yĕtḥaśayu* 104: 13 En^{c} 5 i 20 (206/352)

שפק: G^c 1 5 (308); [לאשפ]קה ἐπιχορηγεῖν *sesĕyota* 7: 3 En^b 1 ii 22 (166/344)
שריאל: *Οὐριήλ* *'Urĕ'el* or *Surĕ'el* 9: 1 En^b 1 iii 7 (170/345)
שתו: שתוא τὸν χειμῶνα *kĕramĕt* 2: 3 En^a 1 ii 3 (146/340), Enastr^d 1 i 4 (296)
שתואל: *Θαυσαήλ* S *'Ρακειήλ* C *Zaqi'el* or *Zĕqĕse* 6: 7 En^a 1 iii 10 (150/341), סתואל En^c 1 ii 27 (188/347)

שאר: Enastr^b 7 ii 5, 8, 11, 13 (279), iii 3 (279), 6 (280); כל שאר Enastr^b 6 9 (284); בשאר Enastr^b 6 8 (284), 7 ii 4 (278), 7, 10 (279), iii 4 (279)
שבוע: *sanbat* 91: 12 En^g 1 iv 15 (266/361), *basanbat* 91: 14 En^g 1 iv 19 (266/361); שבעין *sanbatāt* 91: 17 En^g 1 iv 25 (266/362)
שבח: see תשבחה
שבל: שבלין ποταμοί *'aflāga* 14: 19 En^c 1 vii 1 (199/350)
שביע: Enastr^b 6 8 (284), 7 ii 8, 10, 11, 13 (279), *sābĕʿĕ* 93: 3 En^g 1 iii 23 (264/361); [דבשבי]עה *sabĕ'ĕt 'ĕda bāti* 91: 15 En^g 1 iv 22 (266/361); שביעין Enastr^b 6 7 (284), 7 ii 2, 3, 4 (278), 5 bis, 6 bis, 7 bis, 11, 12 bis (279), iii 1, 3 bis, 4 (279), 6, 7, 10 (280), *sābĕʿĕ 'ĕd* 78: 7 Enastr^c 1 iii 6 (292)
שביעי: [שבי]עי לה] ζ' 6: 7 En^a 1 iii 8 (150/341), En^c 1 ii 26 (188/347)
שבע: שבעה 89: 2 En^e 4 i 16 (238/358); די שבעה פ[עמי]ן *'ĕlla . . . sabĕʿāt makĕʿĕbitāta* 93: 10 En^g 1 iv 13 (265/361); שבעה ועשרין בה Enastr^b 7 ii 11/12 (279); שבעת *sabĕʿāta* 77: 4 Enastr^c 1 ii 20 (288); [עסר לה] שבעת ιζ' 6: 7 En^a 1 iii 11 (150/341), שבעת עשר[י לה] 6: 7 En^b 1 ii 16 (166/344); [על] שבעין ἐπὶ ἑβδομήκοντα *lasabĕʿā* 10: 12 En^b 1 iv 10 (175/346)
שבע: לש[ב]ע 77: 3 Enastr^b 23 9 (289)
שבע: see שבוע
שגר: [אש]גר אנה πέμψω *'ĕfanu* 10: 22 En^a 1 vi 5 (162/343)
שדה: שדא 31: 3 En^c 1 xii 29 (201/351)
שהוי(ן): לשהוין G^b 1 iii 5 (306)
שוה: ושוי Enastr^b 7 iii 7 (280); שויו G^a 4 6 (312); [ושו]יו G^a 13 1 (317); [די לא] אשוה ἀκατασκεύαστον *zakona* (read *za'aku*) *dĕlĕw* 21: 2 En^e 1 xxi 1 (228/356)
שחט: ש[ח]טו *'aḫaza yĕqtĕlomu* 89: 35 En^c 4 7 (205/352)
שיצי: לא שיצי 1Q23 29 2, 6Q8 1 5 (300); אשת[יציו] συντελεσθήσονται *yĕtgābĕ'u* 18: 10 En^c 1 viii 28 (200/350)
שכח: אשכח *rakaba* 89: 33 En^c 4 5 (204/352); השכחו G^b 1 ii 13 (305); לא תשכחון *'antĕmmusa 'itĕkĕlu* 4 En^a 1 ii 8 (146/341); [מה]שכח אנה G^c 2 5 (307)
שכן: לשכני 13: 8 En^c 1 vi 4 (193/348)
שכן: see משכן
שלח: שלחוהו G^b 1 ii 21 (305)
שלט: Enastr^d 7 iii 4 (279)
שלטן: G^b 1 ii 16 (305)
שלטן: [כש]לטנהון *basĕlṭānātihomu* 82: 10 Enastr^b 28 2 (295)
שליו: כל שליאו ἀνάπαυσιν *ʿĕrafta* 23: 3 En^d 1 xi 5 (218/354)
שלם: שלמו *tafaṣamu* 76: 14 Enastr^c 1 ii 14 (288); משלמין *yĕfeṣĕm* 78: 6 Enastr^c 1 iii 4 bis (292), *yĕtfeṣam* 78: 7 ibid. 5 (292); בהשתל[מותהון] 77: 3 Enastr^c 1 ii 18 (288); אשלמת Enastr^b 7 iii 1 (279)
שלם: Enastr^b 7 iii 7 (280)
שלם: לת שלם לכן οὐκ ἔστ' εἰρήνη ὑμῖν *'itĕkawwĕnakĕmmu salām* 5: 4 En^a 1 ii 14 (146/341); בשלם μετὰ εἰρήνης *basalām* 10: 17 En^c 1 v 6 (189/348); ש[לם] G^a 13 3 (317); שלמהון *wasalāmomu* 76: 14 Enastr^b 23 2 (289)
שלק: כוייה ושלקה *ba'ĕnta wāʿĕya* 4 En^a 1 ii 7 (146/341), En^c 1 i 26 (185/347)
שם: שמה τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ 106: 1 En^c 5 i 26 (207/352), αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα *sĕmo* 106: 18 En^c 5 ii 23 (209/353); שמהת τὰ ὀνόματα *'asmātihomu* 6: 7 En^c 1 ii 24 (188/347), 82: 13 Enastr^b 28 5 (295)

שמיחזה: Σεμιαζά C Σεμιαζᾶς S *Šĕmiʾazā* or *Šĕmyāzā* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 6 (150/341), En^{c} 1 ii 24 (188/347), שמי חזה Σεμιαζᾶς *ʾAmizirās* 8: 3 En^{a} 1 iv 1 (157/342), [שמיחז]ה En^{b} 1 iii 1 (170/345); לשמ[יחז]א Σεμιαζᾳ *laŠĕmyāzā* 10: 11 En^{b} 1 iv 9 (175/346); לשמיחזה G^{a} 8 5 (315)

שמין: *samāy* 91: 16 En^{g} 1 iv 23, 24 (266/361); שמיא *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ wĕsta samāy* 2: 1 En^{c} 1 i 18 (184/347), *οὐρανούς* C *τὸν οὐρανόν* S *samāya* 8: 4 En^{b} 1 iii 6 (170/345), 9: 2 En^{a} 1 iv 10 (158/342), *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ samāy* 9: 3 En^{b} 1 iii 11 (171/345), *samāy* 9: 3 En^{a} 1 iv 10 (158/342), *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ samāy* 13: 10 En^{c} 1 vi 8 (193/349), *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ samāy* 23: 3 En^{d} 1 xi 6 (218/354), *samāy* 36: 3 En^{c} 1 xiii 28 (203/351), G^{b} 1 ii 16 (305), *samāy* 76: 14 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 14 (288), 76: 14 Enastr^{b} 23 2 (289), *samāy* 77: 2 ibid. 5 (289), Enastr^{c} 1 ii 16 (288), 77: 3 Enastr^{b} 23 6 bis, 7 (289), Enastr^{c} 1 ii 17 (288), Enastr^{d} 1 ii 4 (296), *samayāt* 91: 16 En^{g} 1 iv 24 (266/361), *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ samāy* 106: 19 En^{c} 5 ii 27 (210/353); [ב]שמיה 7: 5 En^{a} 1 iii 21 (150/342), [בשמי]א G^{c} 2 6 (307), בשמיא *basamāy* 78: 6 Enastr^{c} 1 iii 3 (292); מן שמין G^{b} 1 iii 11 (306); עד שמיא *μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ʾĕska samāy* 22: 5 En^{e} 1 xxii 4 (229/356)

שמע: שמעת 6Q8 1 6 (300); שמעתה G^{b} 1 ii 23 (305); ישמע *samiʿa* 93: 11 En^{g} 1 v 16 (269/362)

שמש: *τοῦ ἡλίου* 8: 3 En^{a} 1 iv 4 (157/342); שמשא Enastr^{b} (282), Enastr^{b} 6 9 (284), 7 iii 2, 5 (279), *ḍaḥay* 79: 5 Enastr^{b} 26 3 (294)

שמשיאל: Σαμιήλ S Σεμιήλ C *Samsapeseʾel* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 10 (150/341), En^{c} 1 ii 28 (188/347), 8: 3 En^{a} 1 iv 4 (157/342)

שנה: שנין 32: 3 En^{e} 1 xxvii 2 (234/357); שניו 106: 14 En^{c} 5 ii 18 (209/352); שניתן 5: 4 En^{a} 1 ii 12 (146/341); דמ[נ]ד[עם לא ל]אשניה *ὡς οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦται οὐδέν kama ʾiyĕtmayyaṭ* 2: 2 En^{a} 1 ii 2 (146/340)

שנה: [ושנה] שנה *ἀπὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς ἐνιαυτόν lalaʿāmat* 5: 2 En^{a} 1 ii 11/12 (146/341); שנין *kĕramĕt* 3 En^{a} 1 ii 6 (146/340), En^{c} 1 i 25 (185/347); [ש]ניא 78: 9 Enastr^{b} 25 1 (293); [ו]שני *καὶ τὰ ἔτη* (*κατα* MS.) *wuʿamatāta* 5: 5 En^{a} 1 ii 14 (146/341); [ושנ]י *καὶ τὰ ἔτη* ibid. 15 (146/341); לש[ני] G^{a} 9 6 (316)

שנה: שנת G^{b} 1 ii 4 (304), G^{c} 2 10 (307)

שעה: [לא]שתעיה 6Q8 1 5 (300)

שפיר: שפירן *ὡραῖαι śannāyāt* 6: 1 En^{b} 1 ii 3 (165/344)

שפך: שפכין 2: 3 En^{a} 1 ii 4 (146/340), *yĕwĕḥĕzu* 89: 2 En^{e} 4 i 16 (238/358); שפ[י]ך *ἐκχυννόμενον* C *ἐκκεχυμένον* S *zayĕtkaʿāw* 9: 1 En^{a} 1 iv 7 (157/342), En^{b} 1 iii 8 (171/345), שפיך GEn^{e} 3 i 20 (237/357); משתפך G^{e} 1 2 (237)

שקה: והוא משקין G^{b} 1 ii 7 (304)

שקע: [י]שקע 89: 15 En^{e} 4 ii 19 (241/359); שקעין *yĕsaṭamu* 89: 5 En^{e} 4 i 19 (238/358)

שקר: שקרא *guĕḥĕlut* 93: 4 En^{g} 1 iii 25 (264/361), 91: 11 En^{g} 1 iv 14 (265/361)

שרה: ולא ישרי *οὐδὲ ἐνλεῖπον waʾiyĕnatĕg* 23: 2 En^{d} 1 xi 4 (218/354); שרוא G^{a} 8 14 (315); למ[שרא] *λυτήριον* C *λυτήρια* S *fatiḥa* 8: 3 En^{b} 1 iii 2 (170/345); שרין G^{c} 2 6 (307), שרי 1Q23 17 3, 30 1, Enastr^{b} 7 iii 5 (279); שריו *ἤρξαντο waṭanu* 7: 1 En^{b} 1 ii 18 (166/344), *ἤρξαντο* 8: 3 En^{b} 1 iii 5 (170/345), *ʾaḥazu* 89: 3 En^{a} 4 i 17 (238/358), *waṭanu* 89: 15 En^{e} 4 ii 18 (241/359), שריוא *ʾaḥazu* 89: 32 En^{c} 4 3 (204/351), שריו למר[עד] *farhu* 89: 35 En^{c} 4 7 (205/352); ומשרה Enastr^{b} 7 iii 2 (279)

שרין: שר[ינין] *θώρακας dĕrĕʿa ʾĕngĕdĕʿā* 8: 1 En^{b} 1 ii 26 (167/345)

שרר: לאשתררה G^{c} 2 5 (307)

שרש: [שר]שין G^{b} 1 ii 8 (304); שרשוהי 6Q8 2 1 (309)

שת: שתה Enastr^{b} 7 ii 11, 12 (279); שתה ופלג Enastr^{b} 6 7 (284); שתת עסר לה *ιϛʹ* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 11 (150/341), En^{c} 1 ii 28 (188/347); שתה ועשרין בה Enastr^{b} 7 ii 9 (279)

שתה: [למש]ת[א] 89: 28 En^{e} 4 iii 18 (243/359); [והווא] שתין *ἔπινον yĕsatyu* 7: 5 En^{b} 1 ii 25 (166/345)

שתית: חד [בשתי]ת מעשר [חד] Enastr^{d} 1 ii 5 (296); חד מן חמשת עשר בשתית ח[ד] ibid. 5/6 (296); ח[ד מ]ן תלתין בשתית חד ibid. 6

שתיתי: שתיתיא *sādĕsĕt* 79: 3 Enastr^{b} 26 2 (294)

תבל: [די על תב]ל[א] *'ella wĕsta mĕdĕr* 77: 4 Enastr^{b} 23 10 (289)

תוב: ות[ב] *wa'aḫaza* 93: 3 En^{g} 1 iii 22 (264/361); [לא תת]ובון *οὐκ ἀναβῆτε 'ita'ārĕgu* 14: 5 En^{b} 1 vi 6 (177/346); [לא] נתוב *μὴ ἀποστρέψαι 'inemiṭā* 6: 4 En^{a} 1 iii 1/2 (150/341); למתב Enastr^{b} 7 iii 2, 5 (279), *kama yĕgbĕ'u* 89: 34 En^{c} 4 6 (204/352), 93: 12 En^{g} 1 v 19 (270/362); אתיב *'agbĕ'omu* 89: 35 En^{c} 4 8 (205/352)

תוקף: see תקף

תוב: 1Q23 24+25 4a

תור: תוריא *'alhĕmta* 86: 3 En^{f} 1 5 (245/359); חד מן תוריא *zĕku lāhĕm* 89: 1 En^{e} 4 i 13 (238/358); תוריא *'alhĕmĕt* 89: 5 En^{e} 4 i 19 (238/358), *'alhĕmĕt* 89: 6 ibid. 20 (238/358)

תושיה: תוש[ין] *σοφίας* 8: 3 En^{a} 1 iv 2 (157/342)

תחנן: עם [כול תחנ]ניהון *καὶ τὰς δεήσεις wa'astabĕquĕ'ota* 13: 6 En^{c} 1 vi 1 (192/348), תחנניה[ון] *τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν sĕ'ĕlatomu* 13: 7 En^{c} 1 vi 3 (193/348)

תחת: מן תחתוהי [די טורא] *ὑποκάτω τοῦ ὄρους matḥĕta dabĕr* 26: 2 En^{d} 1 xii 3 (220/354)

תיש: תישין 1Q23 1+6+22 3 (302)

תלג: [ד]י תלג *χιονικά barad* 14: 10 En^{c} 1 vi 24 (194/350); [כ]תלגא *ὡς χιών kama barad* 14: 13 En^{c} 1 vi 26 (194/350); [מן ת]לגא רב[א] *πάσης χιόνος 'ĕmkuĕllu barad* 14: 20 En^{c} 1 vii 2 (199/350); תלגא *'ĕšḥatyā* 77: 4 Enastr^{b} 23 10 (289)

תליתי: תליתי לה *γ'* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 6/7 (150/341), En^{c} 1 ii 25 (188/347); תליתיא Enastr^{d} 1 ii 6 (296)

תלת: ותלת *wa'ĕm'3'* 3 En^{a} 1 ii 6 (146/340), ודתלת En^{c} 1 i 25 (185/347); תלתה Enastr^{b} 7 iii 3 (279), [ת]ל[תת] *wa'3'* 89: 9 En^{e} 4 ii 5 (241/358); תלתת 6Q8 2 1 (309), '3' 76: 3 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 1 (285); תלתת עסר לה *ιγ'* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 10 (150/341), תלתת עשר לה En^{c} 1 ii 27 (188/347); תל[תתהון] *salasta* 36: 2 En^{c} 1 xiii 27 (203/351); חד מן תל[תת עשיריא] *'aśarta wasalasta 'ĕda* 78: 8 Enastr^{c} 1 iii 7/8 (292); ח[ד מ]ן תלתין Enastr^{d} 1 ii 6 (296)

תלת: [ת]לת תשיע Enastr^{d} 1 iii 5 (296)

תמה: [ת]מהת *ἐθαύμασα 'ankarku* 26: 6 En^{d} 1 xii 8 (221/354)

תמה: תמהין 6Q8 1 6 (300)

תמיאל: *Θωνιήλ* C *Εὐμιήλ* S *Ṭĕmi'el* or *Tāme'el* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 11 (150/341), En^{b} 1 ii 16 (166/344), En^{c} 1 ii 29 (188/347)

תמיני: תמיני לה *η'* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 8 (150/341), En^{c} 1 ii 26 (188/347); תמיני *sāmĕnĕt* 91: 12 En^{g} 1 iv 15 (266/361)

תמן: *ἐκεῖ hĕya* 18: 10 En^{c} 1 viii 28 (200/350), *wa-* 22: 5 En^{e} 1 xxii 3 (229/356), *bahĕya* 77: 2 Enastr^{b} 23 4 (289); לתמן *hĕya* 77: 1 Enastr^{b} 23 3 (289); ומן תמן *κἀκεῖθεν wa'ĕmhĕya* 23: 1 En^{d} 1 xi 3 (218/354), *καὶ ἐκεῖθεν wa'ĕmhĕya* 32: 2 En^{e} 1 xxvi 18 (232/356), מן תמן *wa'ĕmhĕya* 36: 1 En^{c} 1 xiii 25 (203/351), 77: 3 Enastr^{b} 23 7 (289)

תמנה: תמנית עסר לה *ιη'* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 12 (150/341); תמנית ועשרין בה Enastr^{b} 6 7 (284)

תנא: see תנה

תנה: [ויכל] למתב למת[ניה] *wayĕkĕl nagira* 93: 12 En^{g} 1 v 18/19 (269–70/362)

תנה: לתנא G^{b} 1 iii 7 (306); מן תנה *ἐντεῦθεν 'ĕmna zĕya* 22: 13 En^{d} 1 xi 1 bis (218/353)

תנין: *kālĕ'ĕ* 93: 4 En^{g} 1 iii 25 (264/361); תנין לה *β'* 6: 7 En^{a} 1 iii 6 (150/341); תנינא G^{a} 7 ii 7 (314), 8 3 (314), Enastr^{b} 7 ii 8, 10 (279), '2' 76: 6 Enastr^{c} 1 ii 5 (285), *sānitā* 78: 8 Enastr^{c} 1 iii 7 (292); [ב]תנינא 89: 32 En^{c} 4 3 (204/351); תניניא Enastr^{d} 1 ii 5 (296)

תנינות: G^{b} 1 iii 7 (306)

תקוף: see תקף

תקיף: *ḫayāl* 89: 30 En^{d} 2 ii 29 (223/355); [מן] תקיף *fadfāda* 106: 19 En^{c} 5 ii 25 (209/353); תקיפין G^{c} 2 7 (307)

[תקיפ]ית?: *bakuĕllu ḫāyĕlomu* 89: 16 En^{e} 4 ii 21 (241/359)

תקן: [ת]ק[ן] 79: 5 Enastr^{b} 26 4 (294); תקנת *nabara* 89: 8 En^{e} 4 ii 4 (241/358)

תקף: G^{a} 7 i 7 (313); לא תקפתכה G^{a} 9 4 (316); see ארעתקף

תקף: בתקוף G[c] 2 3 (307); תוקפ[כ]ה G[a] 7 i 3 (312)

תרין: Enastr[a] (273), Enastr[b] 7 ii 5, 7 (279), תרן *kĕlĕʾetu* 79: 4 Enastr[b] 26 3 (294); תרין ופלג Enastr[b] 7 ii 4 (278), iii 4 (279), לתרי G[a] 7 ii 6 (314); תרי עס[ר לה] *ιβ′* 6: 7 En[a] 1 iii 9 (150/341); תריהון G[b] 1 ii 3 (304); תרתין *kĕlĕʾĕ* 3 En[a] 1 ii 6 (146/340), En[c] 1 i 25 (185/347)

תרע: בתרעא Enastr[b] 7 iii 2 (279), *ḫoḫĕt* and *ḫāwāḫew* 76: 5 Enastr[c] 1 ii 4 (285), *ba . . . ḫoḫĕt* 76: 6 Enastr[c] 1 ii 5 (285), *ba . . . ḫoḫĕt* 76: 7 ibid. 7 (285), *ba . . . ḫoḫĕt* and *bazāti ḫoḫĕt* 79: 3 Enastr[b] 26 2 (294); לתרעא Enastr[b] 7 ii 8 (279), iii 6 (280); מן תרעא Enastr[b] 7 ii 10 (279), iii 8 (280); תרעין *ḫāwāḫĕwa* 35 En[c] 1 xiii 23 (203/351), *ḫāwāḫĕwa* 36: 2 ibid. 27 (203/351); תרעי 9: 2 En[a] 1 iv 10 (158/342), *ḫāwāhĕwa* 76: 14 Enastr[c] 1 ii 14 (288); ב[תרעי] Enastr[d] 1 ii 4 (296); לתרעי 13: 8 En[c] 1 vi 4 (193/348); עד תרעי *μέχρι πυλῶν ʾĕska ʾanqaṣa* 9: 2 En[b] 1 iii 10 (171/345)

תשבחה: *δόξαν* 5: 1 En[a] 1 ii 10 (146/341), En[c] 1 i 29 (185/347), תשב[חה] 91: 10 (?) En[g] 1 ii 15 (260/360)

תשיע: תשיע חד Enastr[d] 1 ii 4 (296); [ת]לת תשיע ibid. iii 5 (296); מעשר תשיע ibid. ii 3, iii 6 (296)

תשיעי: תשעי *tāsĕʿĕ* 91: 14 En[g] 1 iv 19 (266/361); תשיעי לה *θ′* 6: 7 En[a] 1 iii 8 (150/341), En[c] 1 ii 26 (188/347)

תשע: תשעה בה Enastr[b] 7 iii 4 (279); תשעת ⟨עסר⟩ לה *ιθ′* 6: 7 En[a] 1 iii 12 (150/341), [תשעת עשר]י לה En[b] 1 ii 17 (166/344)

תשעי: see תשיעי

GREEK–ARAMAIC GLOSSARY

ἀγαπητός: חביב
ἄγγελος: קדיש, עיר
ἅγιος: קדש, קדיש, עיר
ἀδικία: עולה
Ἀζαήλ, Ἀζαλζήλ: עשאל
αἷμα: דם
αἰτία: אשם
αἰών: עלם
αἰώνιος: עלם
ἀκαθαρσία: טמאה
ἀκατασκεύαστος: שוה
ἄκρος: שגיא, קצה
ἀλήθεια: קשט
ἀλλά: להן, ו
ἀλλάσσω: כלה
ἀλλήλων: הן' (see בשר), קדם
ἀλλοιόω: שנה
ἄλλος: חבר, אחרן
ἄλσος: חזה
ἅμα: חד, חבר
Ἀμαριήλ: מטראל
ἁμαρτάνω: חטא
ἁμαρτία: עויה, חמס, חטיאה
ἀμύγδαλος: קלף, לוז
ἄν: *ὃς ἄν* די
ἀνὰ (μέσον): בינה, בין
ἀναβαίνω: תוב, סלק
ἀναγγέλλω: מלל
Ἀναγημάς: ענאל
ἀναγιγνώσκω: קרא
ἀναθεματίζω: חרם
ἀνακαλύπτω: גלה
ἀναλαμβάνω: נסב
Ἀνανθνά: ענאל
ἄναξ: בל
ἀνάπαυσις: שליו
ἀνατέλλω: דנח
ἀνατολή: מדנח
ἄνθρωπος: בר, אנש
ἀνοδία: ארח
ἀνοίγω: פתח
ἀνομία: רשעה, חמס
ἄνομος: רשיע
ἄνω: (ל)עלה
ἀπέχω: רחוק, מן
ἀπό: מן; cf. שנה
ἀπόλλυμι: סוף, כרת, אבד
ἀποστρέφω: תוב
ἀποτρέχω: אזל
ἀπώλεια: אבדן

Ἀραθακκιβρά: ארעתקף
Ἀρακιήλ: רמטאל
ἄργυρος: כסף
Ἀρεαρώς: חרמני
ἀρχή: מדנח, רבן
ἄρχω: מלך, שרה
ἄρχων: רבן
ἄρωμα: בשם
Ἀσεάλ: עשאל
ἀσέβεια: חמס, רשעה
ἀστήρ: זיק
ἀστρολογία: כוכב, נחש
Ἀταρκούφ: ארעתקף
Ἀτριήλ: יהדיאל
αὐτός: אלין, אנין, ׳ה, ׳והי, ׳יה, ׳הון, ׳הן, ׳ית, ׳כון
(cf. שיבה), ל, מן; cf. אנש, הוא, כל, נשה, עדב;
σὺν αὐτῷ חבר, *μετ᾽ αὐτῶν* בין
ἀφίστημι: עבר

βαθύς: עמיק
Βαλκιήλ, Βαρακιήλ: ברקאל
βάσανος: עיק
Βατριήλ: מטראל
βίβλος: ספר
βοάω: זעקה, קל
βοή: זעקה, קל
βορρᾶς: צפון

Γαβριήλ: גבריאל
γαστήρ: בטן
γενεά: דר, יום
γεννάω: ילד
γῆ: ארע; cf. בר, די
γίγνομαι: הוה; cf. חטא, עבד
γιγνώσκω: הלל
γλῶσσα: לשן
γνώμη: מלך
γραφή: כתב
γράφω: כתב
γυνή: נשה

Δανειήλ: דניאל
δέ: ו
δέησις: תחנן
δείκνυμι: חזה
δέκα: עשרה
δένδρον: אילן
δέω: אסר, ידע
δέω: חנן
δηλόω: ידע
διά: עד
διαβαίνω: חלף, עבר
διαδρομή: זיק
διαμένω: לבך
διανοέομαι: בון
διαστραπή: ברק
διδάσκω: אלף
δίδωμι: חלק, יהב
δίκαιος: קשיט
δικαιοσύνη: קשט
δικαίως: (ב)קשט
διό: אנון, (כ)דן
διορίζω: קץ
διορισμός: זמן
δόξα: יקר, רבו, תשבחה
δρόμος: דברון, נור
δύναμαι: יכל
δύσις: מערב

ἑβδομήκοντα: שבע
ἐγγίζω: דבק
ἐγγράφω: כתב
ἐγρήγορος: עיד, קדיש
ἐγώ: אנה, ׳י
ἔδαφος: אשה
᾽Εζεκιήλ: זיקאל
εἶδος: (בכ)דן
εἰμί: (לא) איתי, הוה, עבד; cf. אנון, הוא, היא,
רחיק, חבר
εἰρήνη: שלם
εἰς: ב, ל, על, קדם
εἰσφέρω: יבל, עלל
ἐκ: מן
ἐκεῖ: תמן
ἐκεῖθεν: (מן) תמן
ἐκλέγω: דמה
ἐκλέγω: בחר
ἐκλεκτός: בחיר
ἐκπορεύω: נפק
ἐκφεύγω: פלט
ἐκχέω: שפך
ἐλαττόω: אבד
ἐλέγχω: יכח
ἔλεος: רחם
ἐλλείπω: שרה
ἐμός: ׳י

ἐν: ד, מן (קבל), על; cf. דמה, כל, עבד, שנה
ἐνιαυτός: שנה
ἐντεῦθεν: (מן) תנה
ἐντυγχάνω: קבל
ἐνώπιον: קדם
Ἑνώχ: חנוך
ἐξέρχομαι: נפק
ἐπάνω: (מן) עלה
ἐπαοιδή: חברו, חרטמו, חרש, כשפה
ἐπέκεινα: (ל)הלא
ἐπί: ל, מן, על
ἐπιπίπτω: נפל
ἐπισύνσχεσις: (בית) עגן
ἐπιταγή: מאמר
ἐπιτηδεύω: עבד
ἐπιχορηγέω: שפק
ἑπτά: cf. אחרן
ἐργάζομαι: עבד
ἐργασία: עבד
ἔργον: עבד
Ἑρμωνειείμ: חרמון, חרמונין
ἑρπετόν: רחש
ἐρυθρός: שמוק
ἔρχομαι: חלף
ἐρώτησις: בעו
ἑτοιμάζω: כון
ἔτος: שנה
εὐλογέω: ברך
εὐλογία: ברכה
Εὐμιήλ: תמיאל
ἐφοδεύω: יבל
ἔχω: cf. איתי

Ζακιήλ: זיקאל
ζάω: חיה
ζωή: חי

ἥλιος: שמש
ἡμέρα: יום

θαυμάζω: תמה
Θαυσαήλ: שתואל
θεάομαι: חזה
θηρίον: חוה
θρόνος: כרסא
Θωνιήλ: תמיאל
θώραξ: שרין

Ἰάρεδ: ירד
ἴδιος: cf. סרך
ἰδού: ארו
ἵνα: די
Ἰουμιήλ: ימאל
ἰσχύς: גברו
ἰχθύς: נון
Ἰωμειήλ: ימאל

καθίστημι: יתב
καθότι: בדיל די or כלקובל די
καί: ו, עם; cf. אף, (כל)קובל (די), (ל)קבל, (עד)
(די), ו(על)
καιδενδρον (read *κάλαμος*?): קנה
καινίζω: חדת
καίω: דלק
κακία: באישה
κακός: באש
καλέω: קרא
καλλιβλέφαρον: צדיד
καλλωπίζω: צדיד
κατά: cf. (בכ)דן
κατακαίω: חרר
κατακρίνω: חרר
καταλείπω: פלט
κατάρα: לוט
καταράομαι: לוט
κατασφάζω: אבד
καταφανίζω: חרב
καταφυτεύω: נצב
κατεσθίω: אכל
κατέσθω: אכל
κερατίζω: קרן
κιννάμωμον: קנם, קרדמן
κλαίω: בעה
κόπος: עמל
κόσμιος: כון
κόσμος: כון
κριός: דכר (די ען)
κρίσις: דין, דין
κτίζω: ברא, עבד
κύκλος: סחור, סחר
κυλίω: סחר
κύριος: מרא

λαλέω: מלל
λαμβάνω: cf. בטן
Λάμεχ: למך
λέγω: אמר; cf. גזר, דין

λόγος: מלה
λοιπός: cf. חבר
λυτήριον: שרה

μακράν: רחוק
μακρόθεν: (מן) רחוק
μακρότης: ארכו, ארכה
μάχαιρα: חרב
με: (ל)י׳
μέγας: רב
μείζων: רב
μέσον: בין, בינה, מציע
μετά: ב, בין, עם
μέταλλον: חפר
μεταξύ: בין
μετεγείρομαι: קום
μέχρι: ל, עד
μή: לא
μηκέτι: עוד
μηνύω: חזה
μιαίνω: סאב
μίγνυμι: חבר
Μιχαήλ: מיכאל
μοι, μου: י׳
μυριάς: רבו
μυστήριον: רז

νάρδος: נרד
νεκρός: מות
νομή: מרעה
νῦν: (כ)ען; cf. הדן

ὁ: די; cf. בר, הדן, הוה, חבר
ὅδε: cf. (בכ)דן
οἶκος: בי
οἴχομαι: רחק
ὄμνυμι: ימה
ὅμοιος: דמה
ὁμοίωμα: דמה
ὁμοῦ: חד
ὄνησις: קנין
ὄνομα: שם
ὅρασις: חזיו, חזיה
ὁράω: חזה
ὀργή: רגז
ὄρος: טור
ὅς: די
ὅταν: (כ)די
ὅτε: (כ)די
ὅτι: ד(י)
οὐ: לא
οὐδέν: מנדעם
οὐκ: לא
οὖν: (ול)קבל
οὐρανός: שמין
Οὐριήλ: שריאל
οὗτος: אלין, אנון, די, דן, הוא; ה׳, הון׳; cf. הא, (כל)קובל די
οὕτως: (דכ)דן; cf. עבד

παιδίον: עלים
παραβαίνω: עבר
παραβολή: מתל
παράδεισος: פרדס
παρακύπτω: דוק
πᾶς: כל, כל(הון), כל(ה), רב
πέμπω: שגר
πενθέω: אבל
περί: ב, על
πετεινός: כנף
πίνω: שתה
πίπερι: פלפל
πίπτω: נפל
πληθύνω: שגא
πλήρης: מלא
πνεῦμα: נפש
πνέω: דמע
ποιέω: עבד
πόλεμος: קרב
πολύς: שגיא
πορεύω: אזל
πορνεύω: פחז
πόρρω: רחיק
ποταμός: שבל
προβαίνω: סלק
πρόβατον: ען
πρός: ל(יד), על, קדם
προσκυνέω: רמה
πρόσταγμα: מאמר
πύλη: תרע
πῦρ: נור
πυρρός: שמוק

Ῥακειήλ: שתואל
Ῥαμιήλ: רעמאל
Ῥαφαήλ: רפאל

σάββατον: שיבה
Σαθιήλ: שהריאל, זיקאל
Σαμιήλ: שמשיאל
Σαμμανή: רמטאל
Σαριήλ: יהדיאל
Σαρινᾶς: שהריאל
σάρξ: בשר
σείω: זוע
σελήνη: שהר
σεληναγωγία or *σεληναναλογία* (*σεληνοναγιας* MS.): שהר, נחש
Σεμιαζᾶ(s): שמיחזה
Σεμιήλ: שמשיאל
σημεῖον: נחש
σημειωτικοί: נחש, כוכב
σκέπω: חפה
σκληροκάρδιος: קשה, לבב
σκληρός: רב, קשה
σου: ־ך
σοφία: תושיה
στίβις: כחל
στίλβω: כחל
στόμα: פום
στῦλος: עמוד
συγγίγνομαι: עלל
συμμίγνυμι: חבר
σύν: cf. חבר
συνάγω: כנש
συντελέω: שיצי
συντηρέω: נצל
σχυνος: צפר
σώζω: פלט

τάξις: סרך
τε (*ται* ms.; or read *ναί*?): נא
τέκνον: בר
τελείωσις: אחרן
τίκτω: ילד
τιμή: הדר
τιμωρέω: נוק
τίς: מן
τοιγάρ: אדין
τοῖχος: כתל
τολμάω: קשר
Τουριήλ: טוריאל
τόπος: פחת, אתר
τότε: (ב)אדין; cf. (ל)קבל
τρέμω: רעד
τρίβω: דקק
Τυριήλ: טוריאל

υἱός: בר
ὑμεῖς: ־כון, אנתון
ὑποδείκνυμι: חוה
ὑποκάτω: תחת
ὗς: חזיר
ὑψηλός: רמה, רם

φαίνω: יפע, חזה
φάραγξ: חלה
φαρμακεία: כשפו, חרשה
Φαρμαρός: חרמני
φθορά: חבל
φύλλον: עלה
φυτεύω: נצב
φυτόν: נצבה
φωνέω: זעק
φωνή: קל, אנין

χαίρω: חדה
χαλβάνη: חלבנה
χάσμα: נקר
χειμών: שתו
Χερουβίν: כרוב
χιλιάς: אלף
χιονικός: תלג
χιών: תלג
χλωρός: ירוק
χρηστός: טב
χροα: טב
χρόνος: יום
χρυσίον: דהב
Χωβαβιήλ, *Χωχαριήλ*: כוכבאל

ψέλιον: צמיד
ψευδῶς: כדב
ψυχή: נפש

ὡραῖος: שפיר
ὡς: ד(י)
ὥστε: די

β′: תנין
γ′: תליתי
δ′: רביעי
ε′: חמישי

ζ′: שביעי
η′: תמיני
θ′: תשיעי
ι′: עשירי
ια′: עשר ,חד
ιβ′: תרין ,עשר
ιγ′: תלת ,עשר
ιδ′: עשר ,ארבע
ιε′: עשר ,חמש
ιϛ′: שת ,עשר
ιζ′: שבע ,עשר
ιη′: תמנה ,עשר
ιθ′: תשע ,עשר
κ′: עשר

ETHIOPIC–ARAMAIC GLOSSARY

'a'ĕmĕr: מדע
'ab: אב
'abasa: באש
'abasā: באישה
'adĕg (*gadām*): ערד
'adlaqlaqa: זוע
'af: פום
'aḥadu: חד; cf. אמר
'aḫaza: תוב ,שרה
'aku (*kona* MSS.): לא
'albo: (לא) איתי
'allā: להן ,חד
'ama: עד
'amara: ידע ,הלל
'amān: (ב)קשט
'Amizirās: שמיחזה
'ana: אנה
'Anān'el: עננאל
'anqaṣ: תרע
'ansĕt: נשה
'antĕmmu: אנתון
'arafĕt: כתל
'Arākiba: ארעתקף
'Arāzyal: יהדיאל
'arbā'ĕt: ארבע
'Ardis: ירד
'Armāros: חרמני
'Armon: חרמונין ,חרמון
'arwe: חוה
'Asa'el: עשאל
'asara: אסר
'asrāb: מרזב
'awqārut: צמיד
'azeb: דרום
'Azāzi'el: עשאל
'ĕberāwi: רב
'ĕd: יד; cf. שביע ,עשירי ,חד ,ארבע
'ĕfo: מה
'ĕger: רגל
'ĕgzi'ĕ: מרא; cf. דכר
'ĕkay: חמס
'ĕlĕf: אלף
'ĕlla: די ,אלין; cf. רשיע ,סחר ,יתב ,טעה ,חבר
'ĕllĕku: אלן ,א'
'ĕllu: ה' ,די ,אלין
'ĕlluntu: אלין
'ĕm(*na*), *'ĕmne*-: ב ,ד ,מן ,עד; cf. קדם ,דבר
'ĕmāntu: cf. הוה
'ĕmm: אם
'ĕmma: cf. מנו
'ĕmuntu: אנון ,אלין; cf. הלא ,הא
(*za*)*'ĕnbala*: ברא ,חודי; cf. ארח
'ĕnka: כבר; cf. תוב
'ĕnta: די
'ĕnza: די
'ĕsat: נור; cf. לשן
'ĕsḥatyā: תלג
'ĕska: ל ,די ,עד; *ĕska 'ama* די ,עד; *'ĕska la*- ל
'ĕsma: (ב)די(ל) ,(ב)די ,די [בדיל] or [כלקובל] על ד ;די
'ertarā: שמוק
'Ezeqe'el: זיקאל
'i-: לא
'imĕnt: כול . . . לא
'Iyāreṭ: ירד
'Urĕ'el: שריאל

'abiy: שגיא ,רבן ,רב
'abya: cf. קץ
'adawa: עבר
'amaḍā: חמס ,רשע(ה)
'amāḍi: רשיע

ʿaměd: עמוד
ʿarab: מערב
ʿaraya: שכר
ʿarga: סלק, תוב
ʿaśarět: עשירי, עשר, עשרה; cf. אלף
ʿaśru: עשר
ʿaśur: עשר
ʿaṣad: דיר
ʿayěn: עין; cf. סמה
ʿālam: עלם; cf. אבדן, ארע, בר, סוף
ʿāmat: שנה
ʿědme: יום, זמן
ʿěḍ: אילן; cf. בשם, צפר, קנה
ʿělat: יום
ʿělwat: טעו
ʿěmuq: עמיק
ʿěrafět: שליו
ʿěrāq: ערטלי, חרבו
ʿěśā: נון
ʿoda: סחר
ʿof: כנף

ba-: ב, ל, עד, על, קבל (מן), (ל)קבל; *baʾěmnětu* (ב)אדין; *baʾěnta* ב, מן, על; *baʾěntazě* אדין; *badiba* ל, על; *baheya* תמן; *balāʿěle-* ב, מן, cf. עדב; *bawěsta* ב; *botu* בה; *bāti*, cf. שביע
baʿāl: מעד
baděw: צדיו
bagěʿě: ען, דכר, אמר
bakaya: בעה
balěʿa: אכל
baquala: צמח
baquěʿa: חנן, תחנן
barad: תלג
baraka: ברך
barakat: ברכה, רפא
barha: דנח, צהר
baṣha: סלק
Baṭārʾel: מטראל
(*ba*)*bayěnāt-*: קדם ,׳הון, אלין
bazěḫa: שגא
bāḥer: ים
Bārāqʾel: ברקאל
běʾěsi: אנוש
běʾěsit: אנתה
běhěla: מלל, אמר
běrhān: נהור, כוכב
bězuḫ: שגיא

bet: נכס, משכן, היכל, בי

daběr: רמה, פאה, טור
daḫara: פלט
daḫāri: אחרי
dalawa: כון
dam: דם
damanā: ענן
damara: עלל
daqiq: בר
Dānʾel: דניאל
děḫěna: נתר
(*ba*)*děḫěra*, (*ʾěm*)*děḫěrazě*: (ב)אתר, (מן ב)אתר
dělěw: שוה
děmāḥ: ראש
děmsasě: אבדן
děrěʿě ʾěngěděʾā: שרין
děruk: קשה
diba: ב, בגוא, הלא, ל, מן, על, עלה מן; *ěmdiba* מן; *dibehā* בה, בגוה; *dibehomu* cf. ען

ḍaḥay: שמש
ḍansa: בטן

fadfāda: cf. דמע, תקיף
faḫara: ברא, עבד
falag: שבל
falaṭa: פרש
fanawa: שגר
faqada: צבה
farha: דחל, רעד
faśḥa: חדה
faṣama: שלם; cf. גזירו, חליקו
fatḥa: פתח, שרה
fěnot: ארח
fěqur: חביב
fěrě: cf. לוז, קליף

gaběʾa: כנש, שיצי, תוב
gabra: עבד, עבד; cf. חטא
Gabrěʾel: גבריאל
gadām: cf. חזיר, ערד
gafěʾa: רשיע
ganat: פרדס
gaṣ: קדם
gazama: עקר
gěběr: עבד
gěfěʿě: עולה

gěrum: דחל
guayaya: פלט
guěḥělut: שקר

haguěl: אבדן, בור, חרבן
haguěla: אבד, אבדן, כרת, סוף
halawa: הוה; *zahalo* מה די; cf. ערטלי
hěya: (ל)תמן; *bahěya* תמן; *'ěmhěya* מן תמן
Henok: חנוך

ḥadasa: חדת
ḥamalmāl: ירוק
ḥanaṣa: בנה, עבד
ḥarāwyā (gadām): חזיר
ḥarge: דכר
ḥarur: כוה
ḥasat: כדב
ḥaśaya: שמח
ḥaṣaṣa: חסר; cf. אתה
ḥawaṣa: דוק
ḥaywa: חיה
ḥazana: בהשה
ḥěywat: חי
ḥora: אזל, יבל, עלל
ḥosa: רחש

ḫaba, ḫabe-: (ז) אתר, ל, על
ḫabara: חבר
ḫabur: (כ)חד(ה)
ḫadara: יתב
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ḫaśaśa: בעה
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ḫoḫět: רוח, תרע
ḫualquě: מנין

ka'awa: שפך
kadana: חפה, כסה
kaḥakt-: רחוק (מן)

kalbane: חלבנה
kama: ד(י), כ, (כ)דמות, דמה, (כל)קובל (די), ל; *kamazě* אלן, (דכ)דן, (כל)קובל (די); *kamā-huma* לבך
karkā'ě waṣěnu'ě: ἀμύγδαλος
kaśata: גלה, פתח
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kěhěla: יכל
kělě'ě: תרי(ן)
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keda: דרך
kiruben: כרוב
kokab: כוכב
Kokabi'el: כוכבאל
kona: (לא) איתי, אתה, דבר, הוא, הוה, עבד, קום; *'ikona* לא; cf. רחק
kuaḥala: כחל
kuakuěḥě: טור, כף
kuanana: מלך
kuěllu: כל, רב: *kuěllo* כלה, *kuěllantāha* כולה, *kuěllomu* כולהון
kuěnane: דין, דין, צדק

la-: ב, (כ)ל, ל, מן, על; *lamangala* על; *lazě* לה, להדן; *lala'aḥadu* לכול חד וחד; *litani* לי, *lotu* לה, *lāti* (ד)בה, *lakěmmu* לכון
labawa: בון
laḥawa: אבל
Lamek: למך
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magśafět: רגז
mahara: אלף
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makān: אתר, פחת

makěʿěbit: פעם
malěʾak: עיר, קדיש, רבן
malěʿělět: עלה (מן), (מן) עלה, ל
manbar: כרסא
manfaq: פלג
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mangal: על, ל, ב
mangěšět: מלכו
mankěr: עבד
manu: מן
maqwām: מסרה
masāběʿi: חברו
masěʿě: שמאל, צפון, גריבי, גרב
masla: דמה
masqar: ערב
maṣěʾa: עבד, חלף, דבר, אתה
maṣḥaf: כתב, ספר, מתל
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maṭawa: יהב
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měʿěrāb: מערב
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měkěr: עבד, מלך
mělu'ě: מלא
měnt: מנו, היכה
měrěʿāy: מרעה
měšěl: עם; cf. חבר, חבר
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meṭa: תוב, שנה, קשר
Mikāʾel: מיכאל
moq: כוה
mota: מות
musnā: חבל

nababa: קרא
ʾanbalbala: דלק
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nafěs: נפש
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nakara: תמה
ʾankurakuara: סחר
naqěʿat: נקר, חדר
naśěʾa: קום, דקק
naṣara: חזה
nataga: שרה
nawā: הא
nawāḫ: רמה, רם
nāhu: ארו
něqěʿět: חדר
nětug: cf. מערב
noḫa: רום
nuḫ: ארכה, ארך
nuḫat: ארכו

papare: פלפל

qadāmāwi: קדמי
qadāmāy: קדם
qadāmi: קדמי
qalāy: מי
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qaraba: דבק
qarněb: cf. צדיד
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qatěl: קרב
qayiḥ: שמוק
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qěděw: טב
qědus: קדיש, עיר
qoma: קום
quallā: חלה
quaṣěl: עלה

raʾāy: cf. נחש, כוכב
raběʿě: ארבע
ragama: לוט
ragaza: אבד
raḫawa: פתח
raḫěq: רחיק
rakaba: שכח, לוה
rakuěsa: סאב
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rasaya: עבד
rāʾey: חלם, חזיו, חזיה
rāḫěb: פתי

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saměʿa: שמע
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Sarta'el: שהריאל
satya: שתה
saṭama: שקע, ירה
sayěf: חרב
sāběʿě: שביע
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sāni: תנין
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sěběʿat: כשפה, חרש
sěběhat: רבו, יקר
sěběhě: בחיר
sěhěta: טעה
sělṭānat: שלטן
sěm: שם
Sěmi'azā, Sěmyāzā: שמיחזה
sěruy: חרשה
sesaya: שפק
soba: (כ)די
Surě'el: שריאל

śanaya: cf. צדיד
śannāy: שפיר, טב; cf. גנב
śaraqa: דנח
śarěʿa: מאמר
śarěʿat: סרך
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śarěw: אשה
śāʿěr: עשב
śāhěl: רחם
śěga: בשר
śěrěʿat: חשבון

ṣabaya: פרח
ṣadqa: קשט
ṣahafa: רמה, כתב
ṣalala: סתר, סמה
ṣalim: אכום
ṣaněʿa: סמך
ṣaněha: קום
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ṣělmat: חשוך
ṣěněʿě: גברו
ṣeněf: קצה, סיף
ṣěnuʿě: cf. לוח, קלף
ṣěrāh: זעקה

tadlā: cf. ארח
tafěṣṣamět: אחרן
tafṣāmět: סוף
tagbār: עבד
takala: נצב
takěl: נצבה
talawa: רדף
tarfa: פלט
Tāme'el: תמיאל
tāśěʿě: תשיעי
tě'ělfit: רבו
tě'ězāz: פרש, מאמר, דמה
těguh: עיר
těmhěrět: מדע

tĕwlĕd: דר, יום

ṭabib: חכים
ṭal: טל
Ṭami'el: זיקאל
ṭaraya: קנה
ṭayaqa: חזה
ṭā'ĕwā: עגל
Ṭĕmi'el: תמיאל
ṭĕrāy: קנין
ṭoqa: לחץ
Ṭur'el: טוריאל

wa-: ו, (ב)אדין, או, והא, כלקובל די, ועד, תמן
wadaya: רמה
wadqa: נפל
waḍĕ'a: נחת, נפק, עבר
wagaza: חרם
wagĕ'a: קרן
wahaba: חלק, יהב
waḫaṭa: טבע
walada: ילד
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waśĕ'a: נסב
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wā'ĕy: כוה, שלק
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wĕ'ĕya: כוה
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Yāred: ירד
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yĕ'ĕze: כען
yĕ'ĕzeni: כען
yĕbus: יבש
Yomyā'el: ימאל

za-: ד(י), הוא, מה; *'ĕmza* (כ)די
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zamawa: פחז
Zaqi'el: שתואל
zĕ: (ה)דן, *lazĕ* לה; *'ĕmzĕ* (ב)אדין; *'ĕmdĕḫĕrazĕ* באתריהון, מן בתרה
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zĕktu: דן
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zĕnām: מטר
zĕntu: אלין, די, הוא
Zĕqse: שתואל
zĕya: תנה
zenawa: דמה
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Zuṭĕ'el: חשוך

'1': חד
'2': תנין
'3': תלת
'4': ארבעה
'7': cf. אחרן
'10' *wa* '1': חד, עשר
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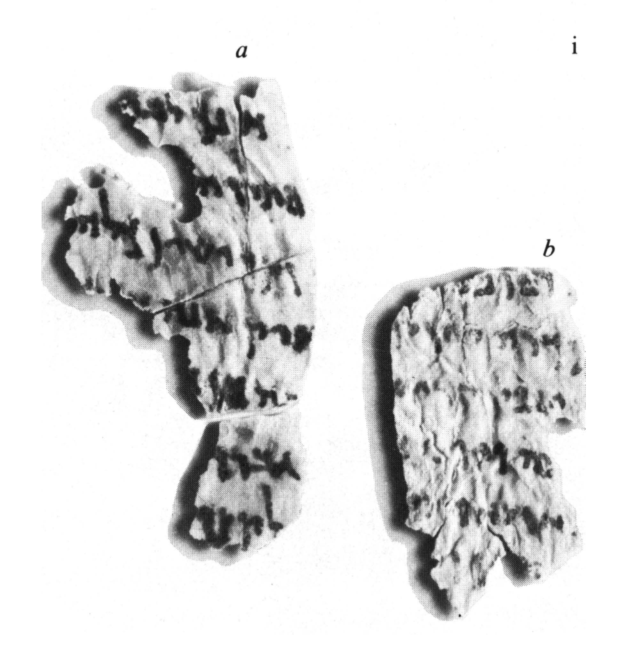
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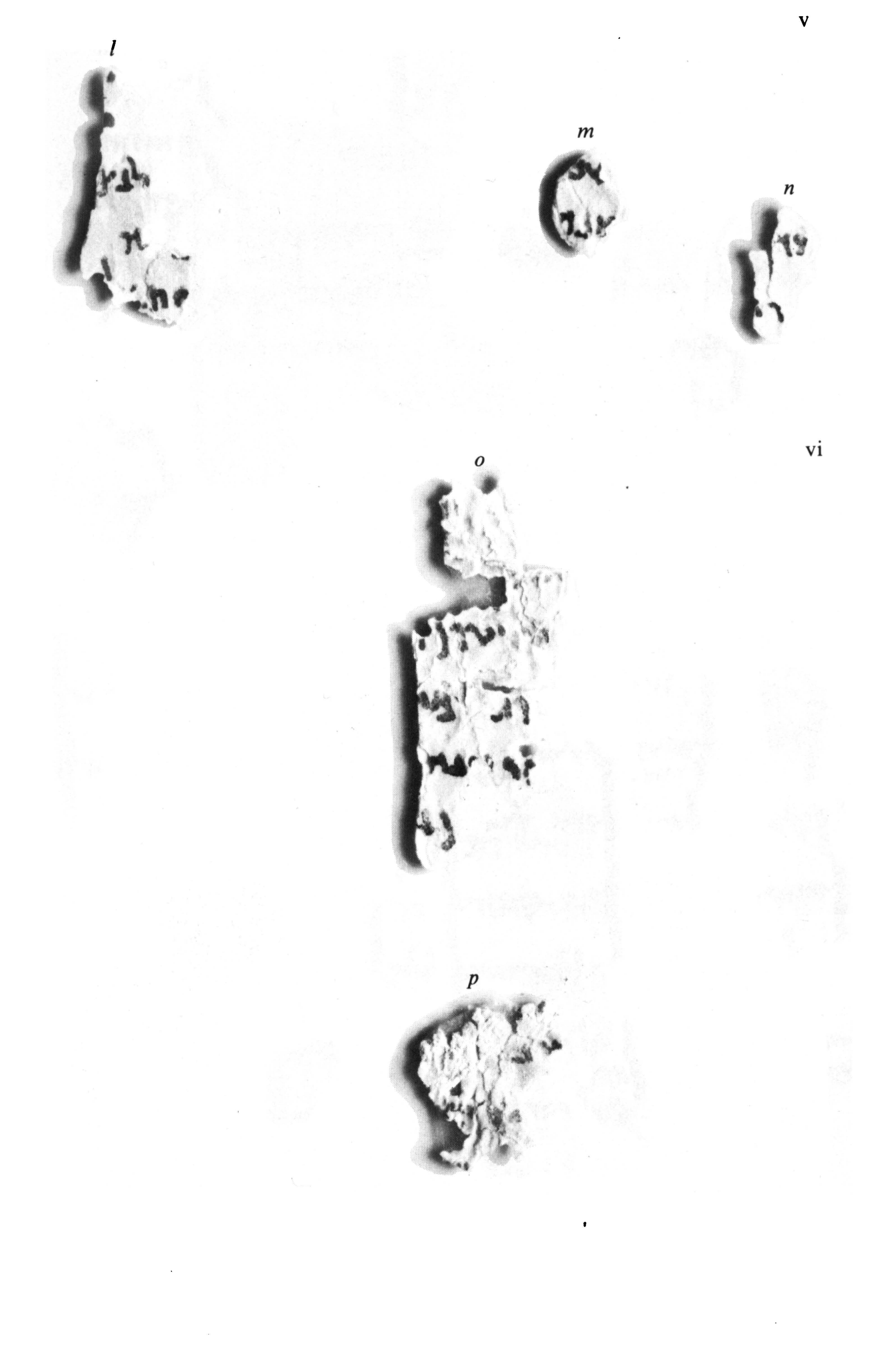
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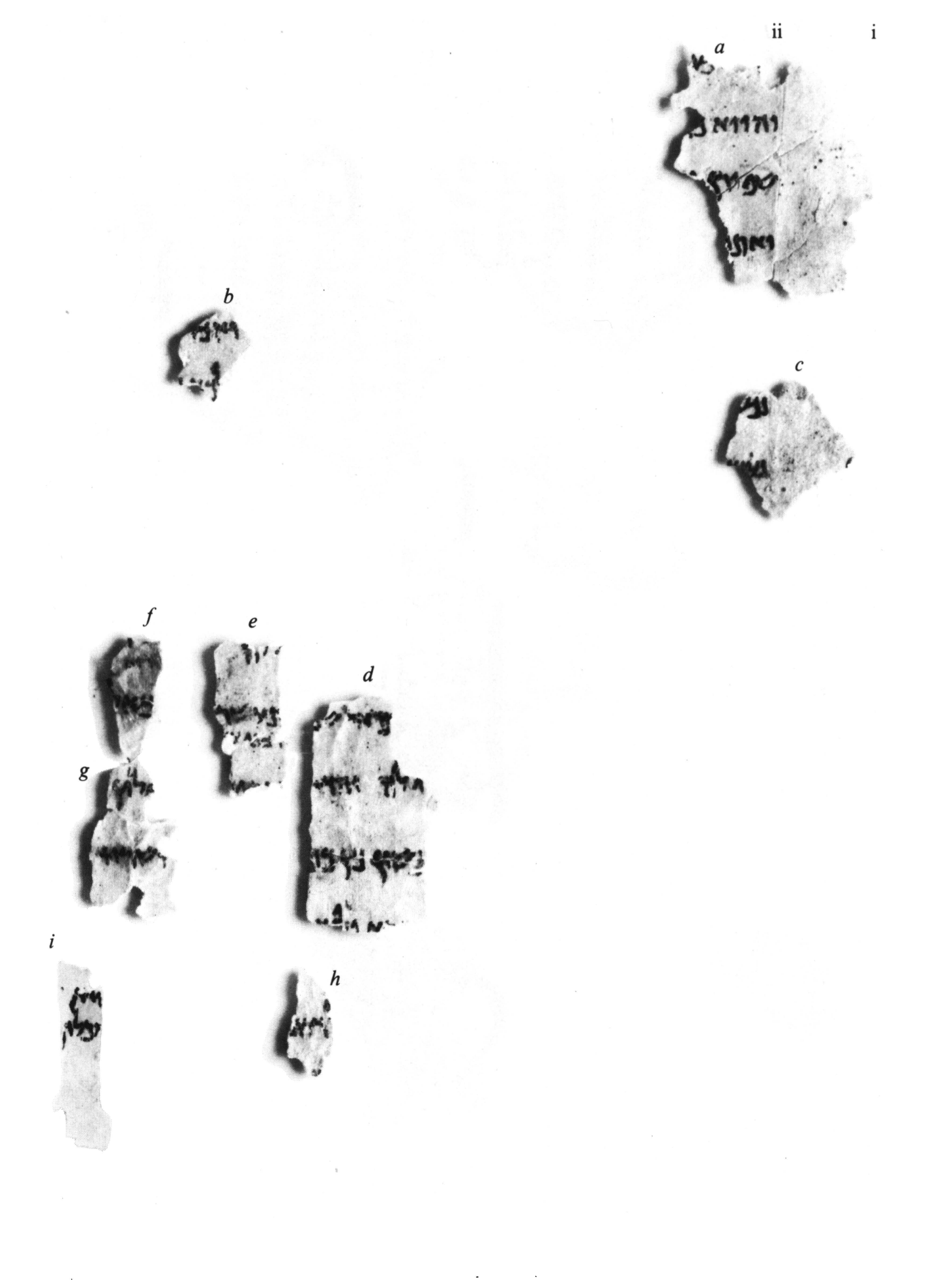
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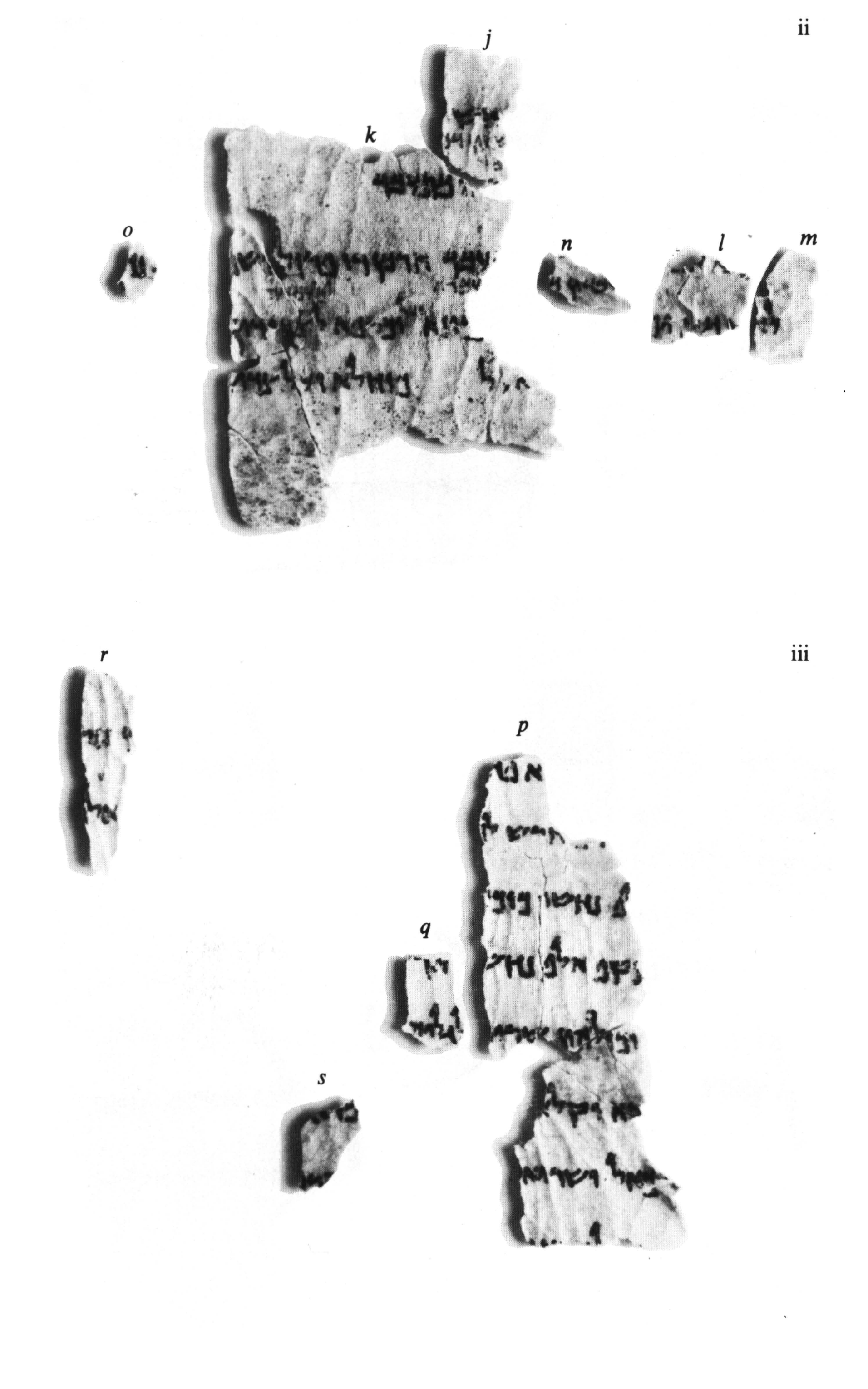
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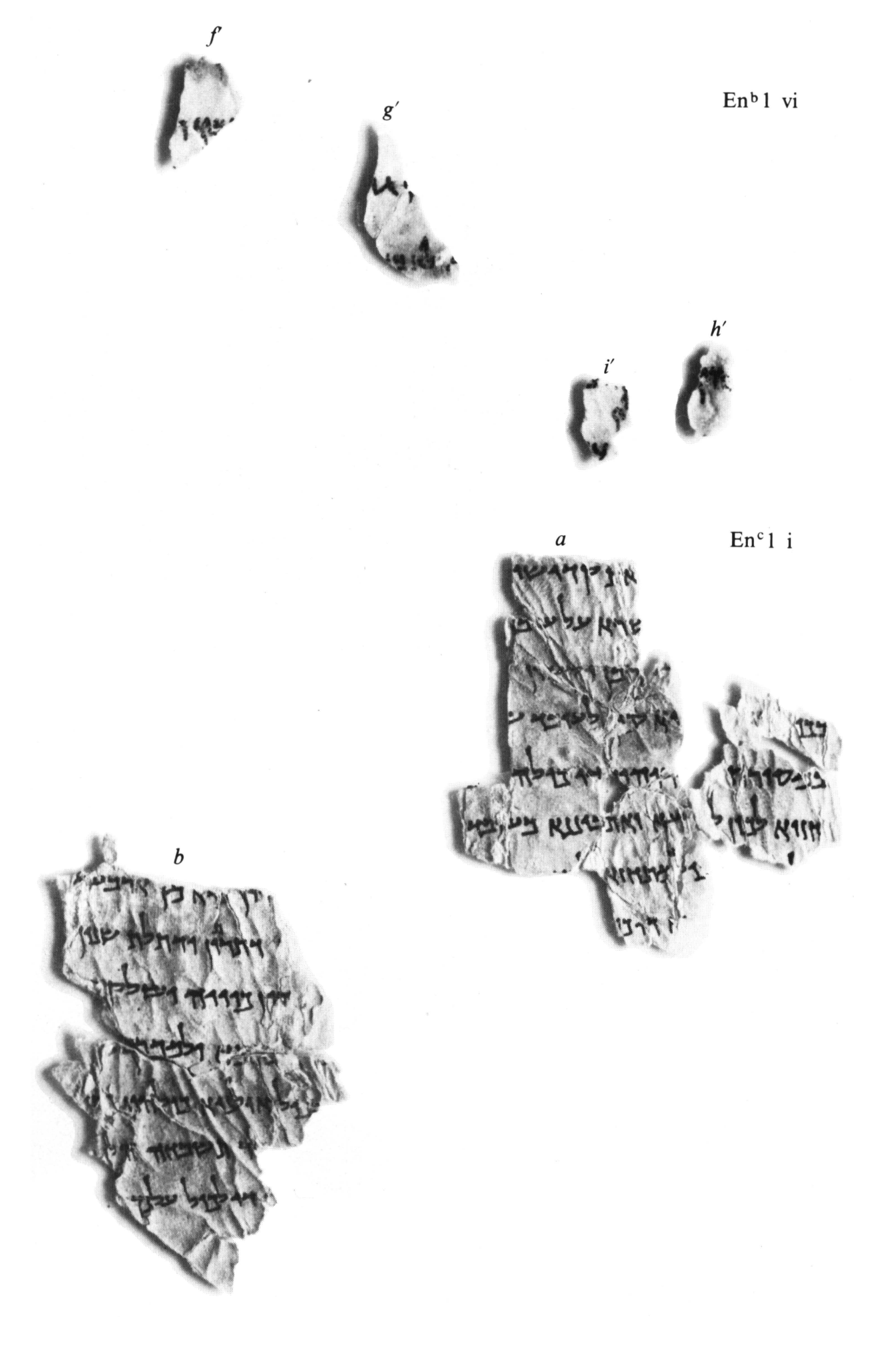
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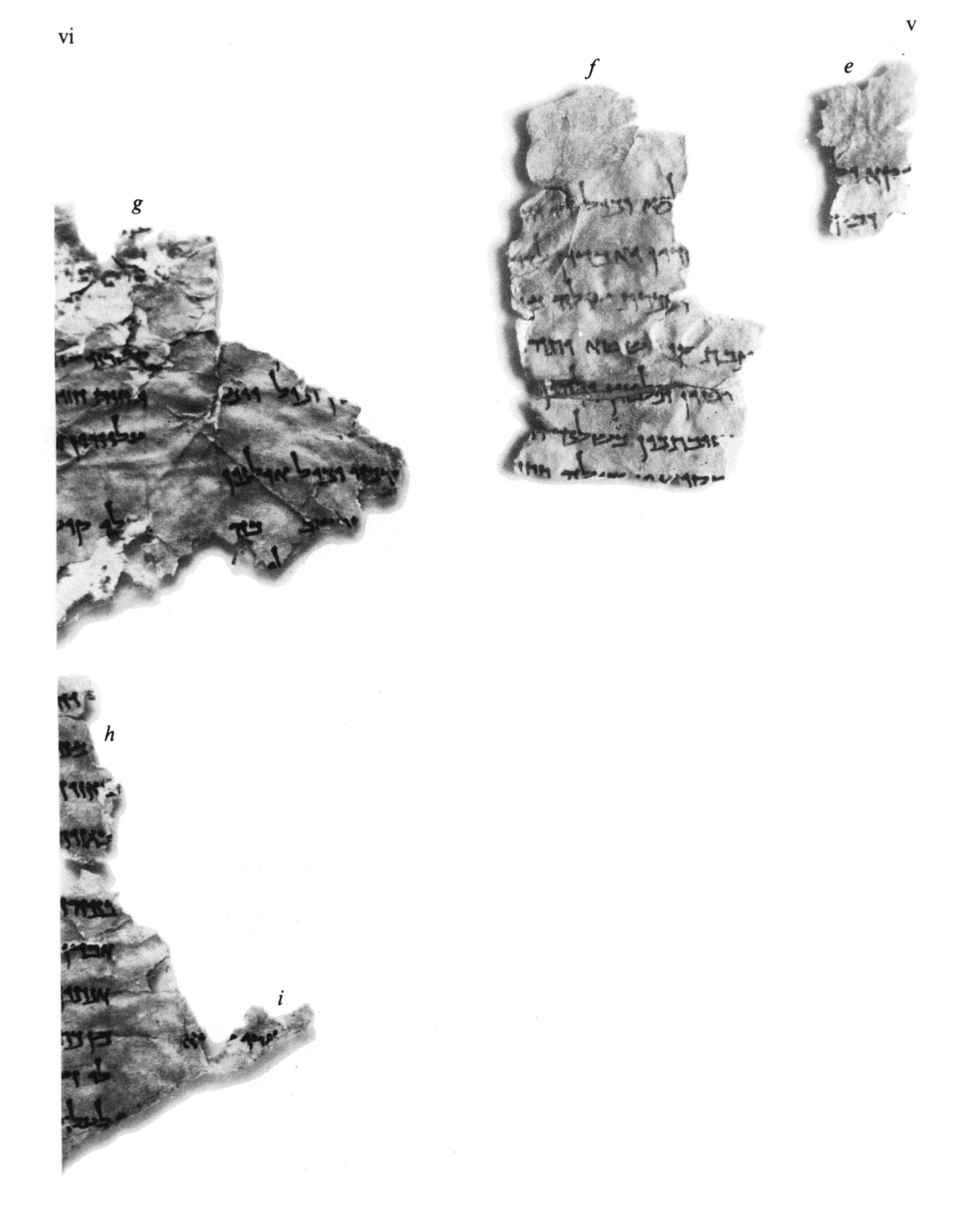
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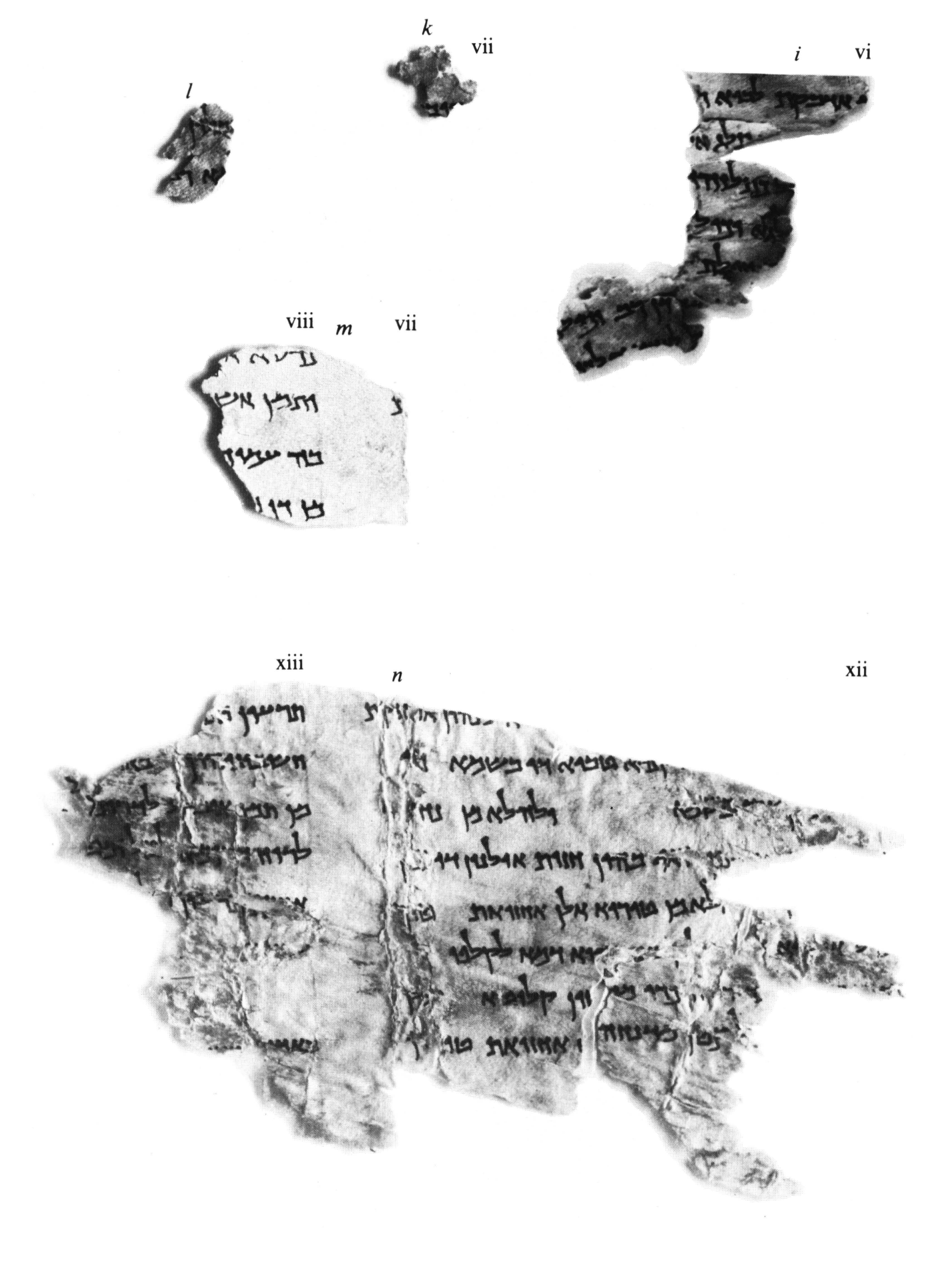
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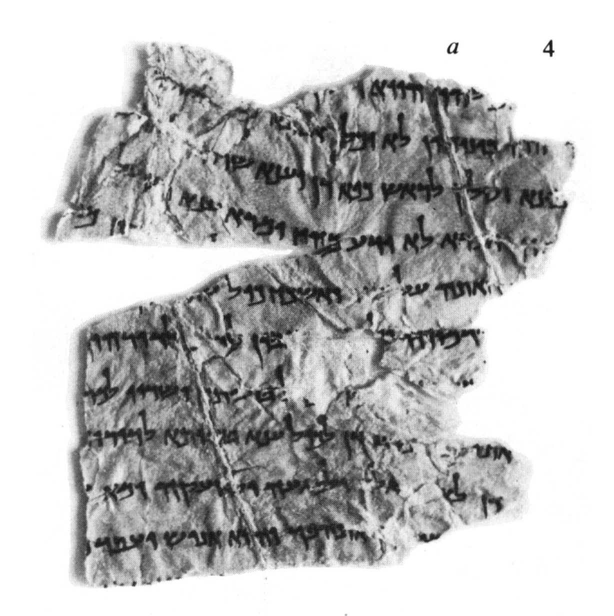
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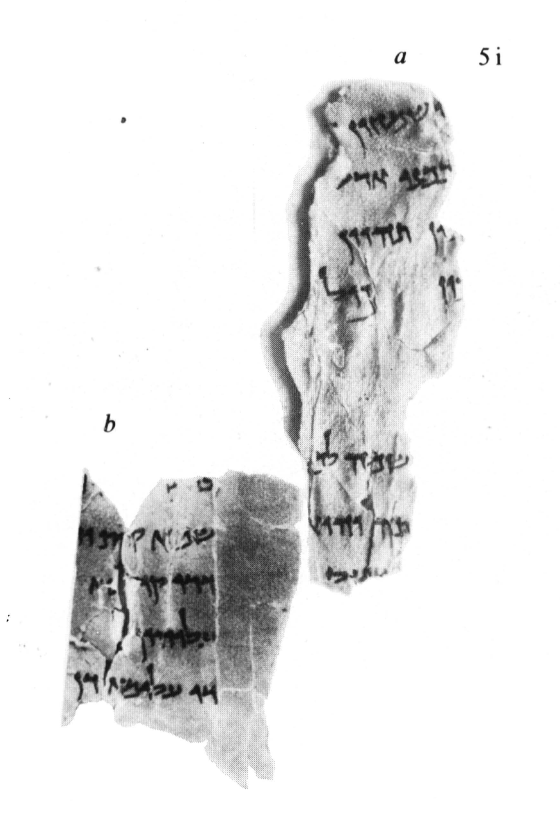
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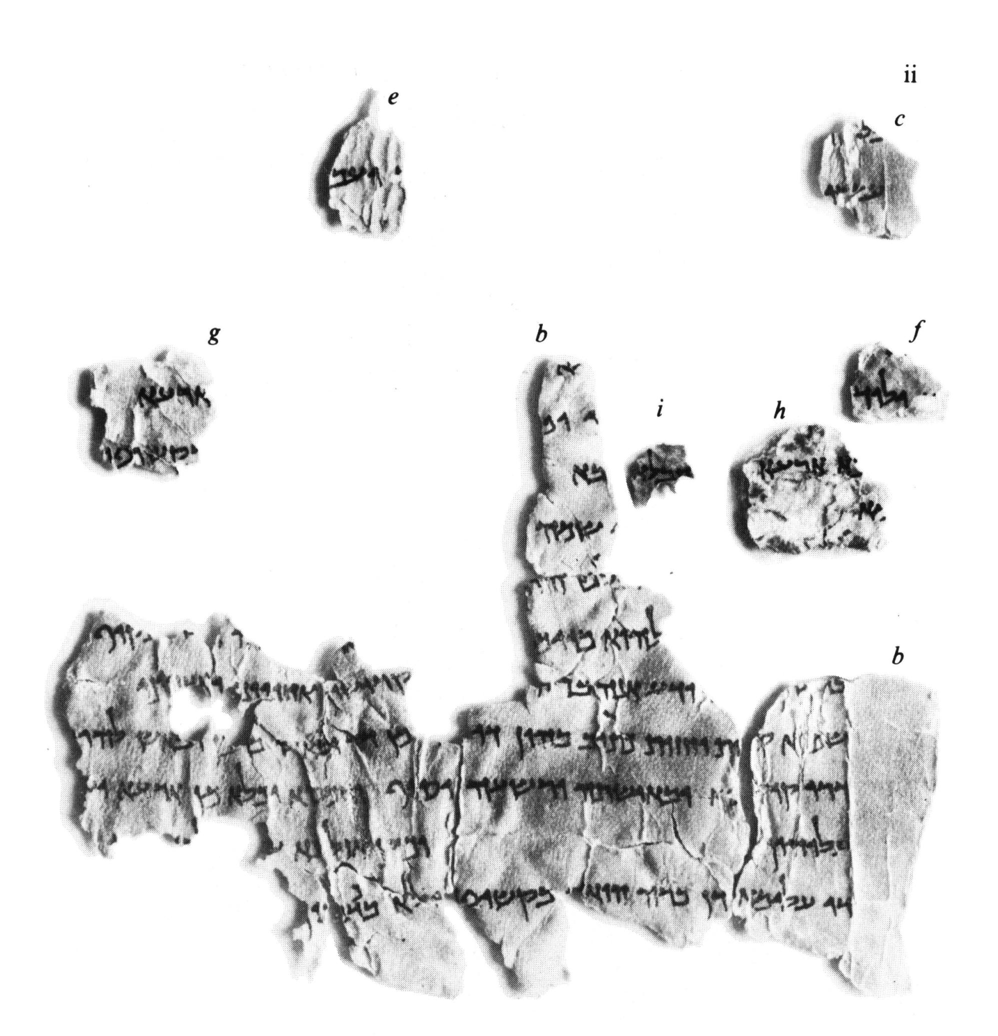
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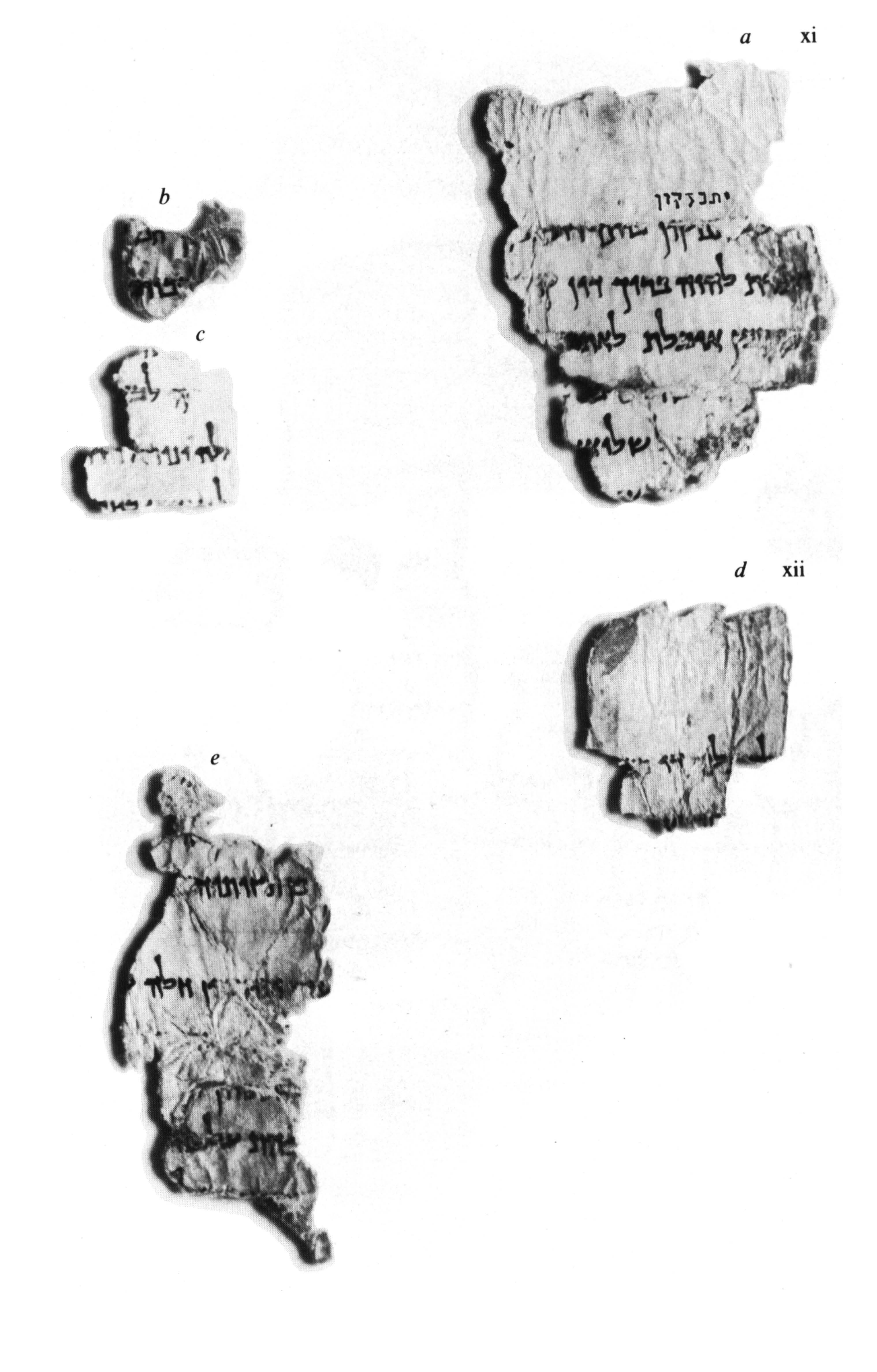
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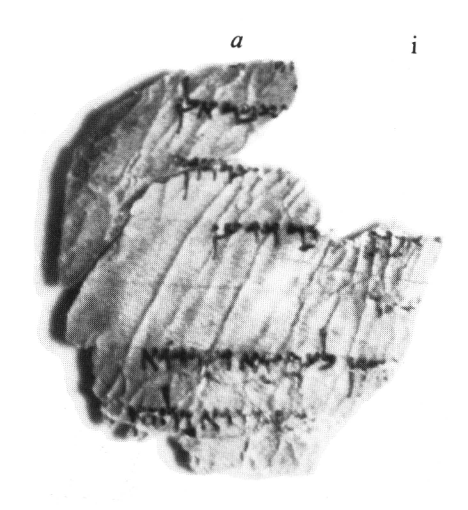
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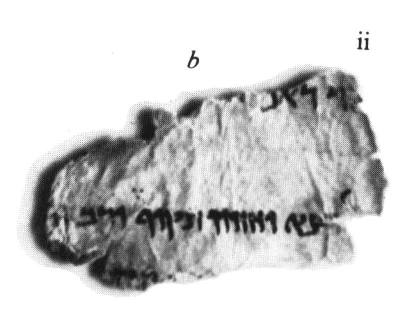


XV. 4QEn[c] 5 ii



XVI. 4QEn^{d} 1 xi and xii

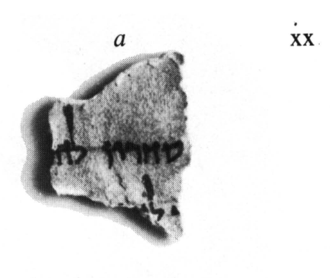






XVII. 4QEn^{d} 2 i–iii

a xx



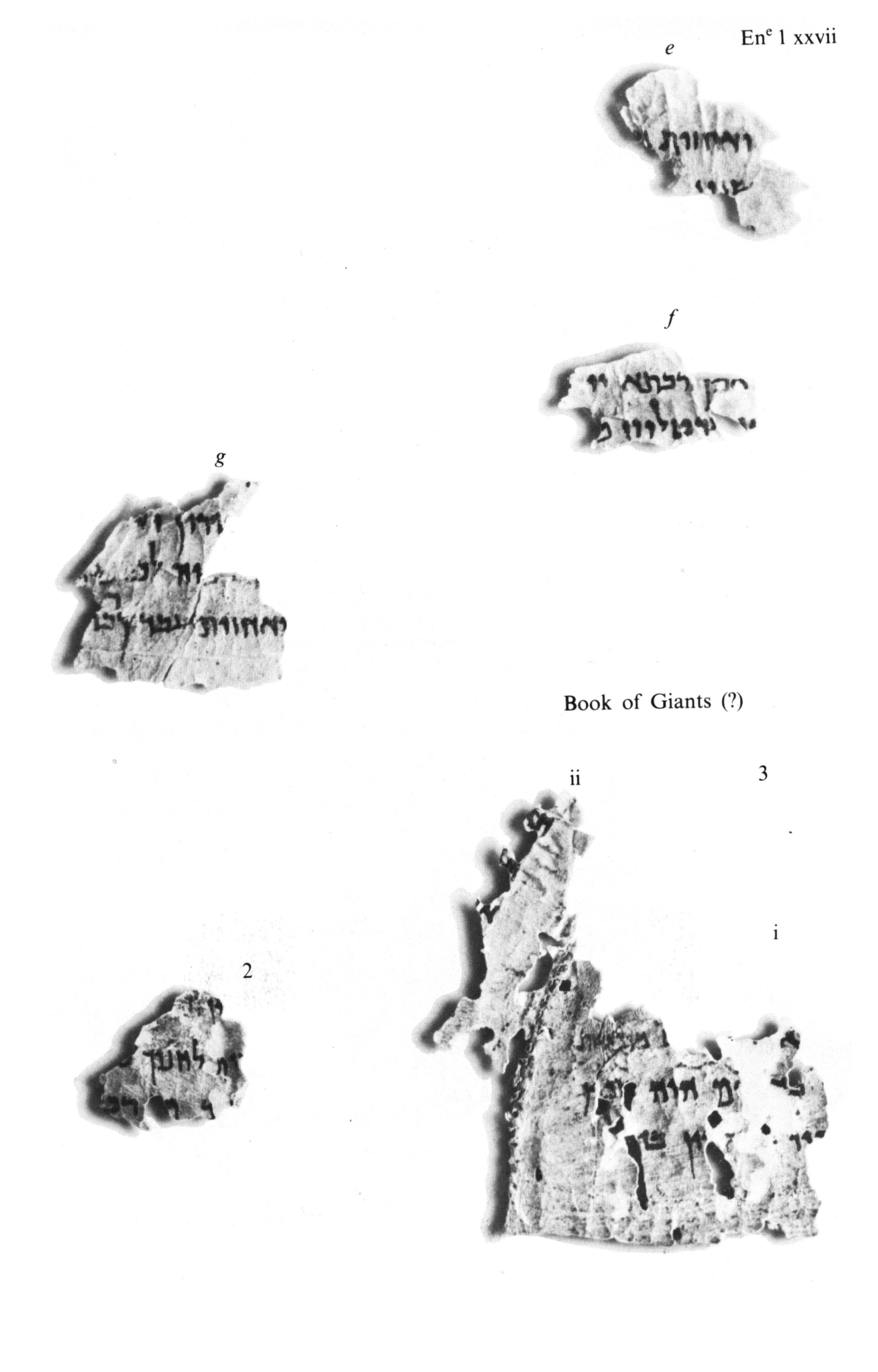
xxii xxi

b

c xxvi

d

XVIII. 4QEn^{e} 1 xx–xxii and xxvi



XIX. 4QEn^{e} 1 xxvii; Book of Giants (?) 2 and 3

c ii i

a *b*

d

XX. 4QEn^{e} 4 i and ii



XXI. 4QEn^{e} 4 iii; 4QEn^{f} 1; 4QEn^{g} 1 i and ii

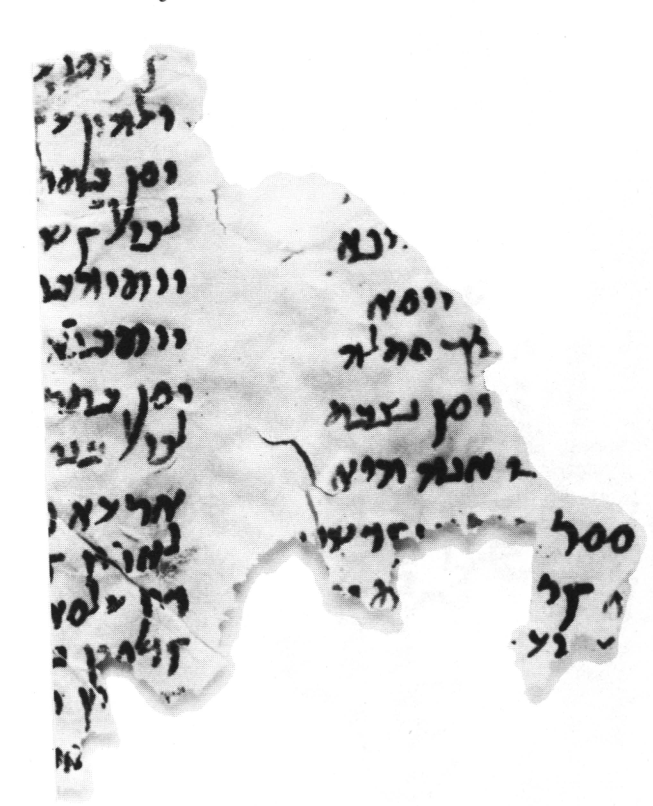
iii

b



iv

c



XXII. 4QEn^{g} 1 iii



XXIII. 4QEn^g 1 iv

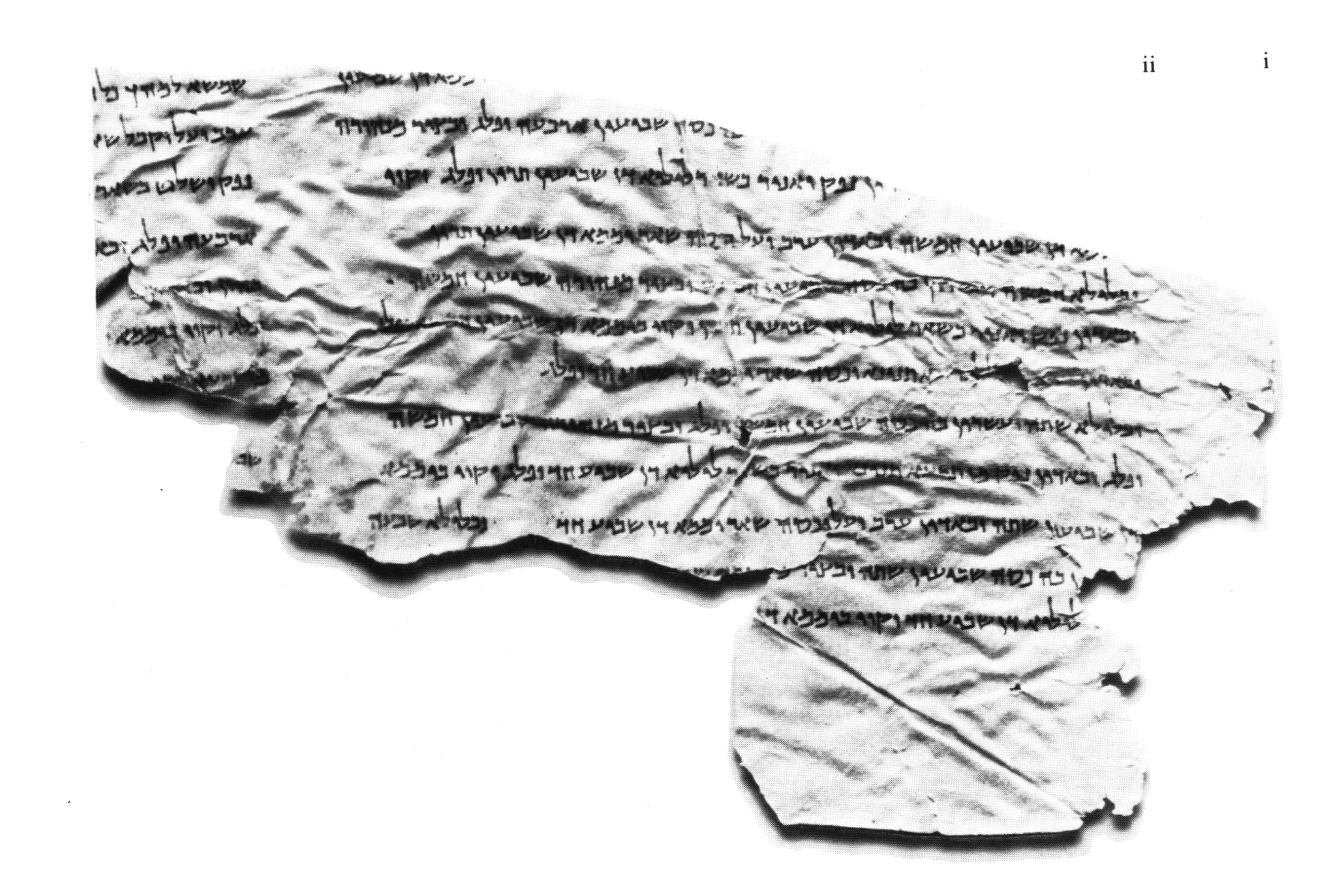
v

iv

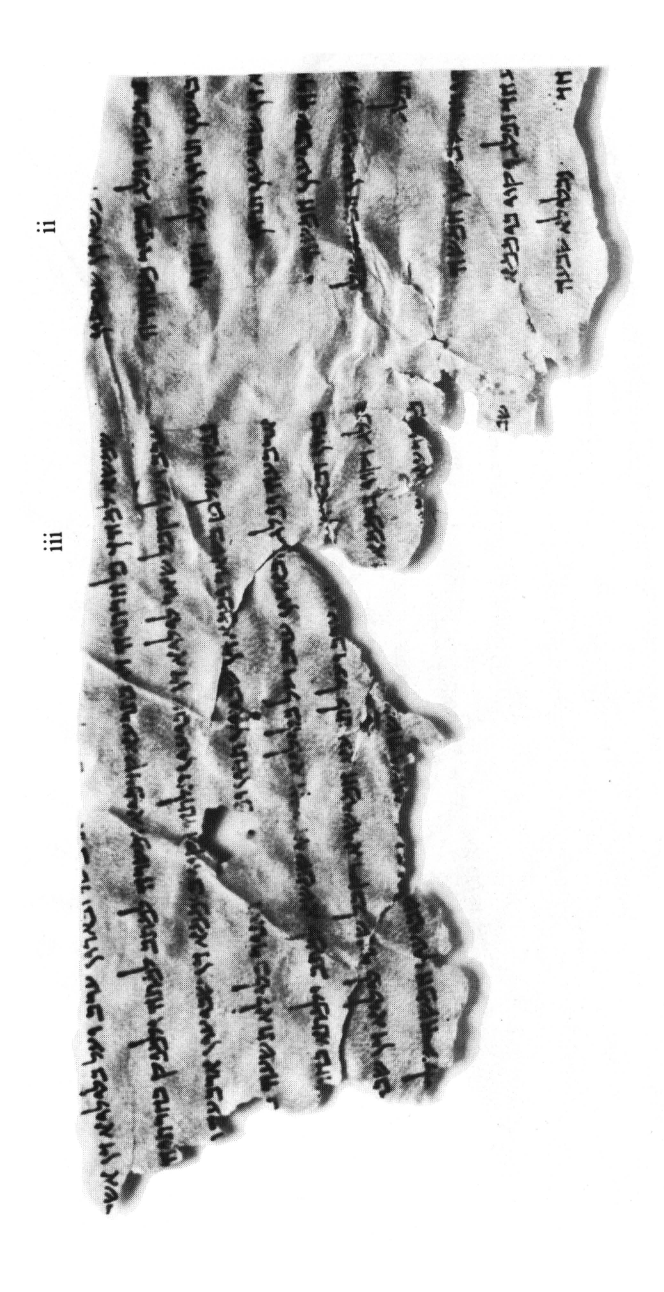
c

e

XXIV. 4QEn^{g} 1 v



XXV. 4QEnastr^b 7 i and ii



XXVI. 4QEnastr^{b} 7 iii

6

23

25

26

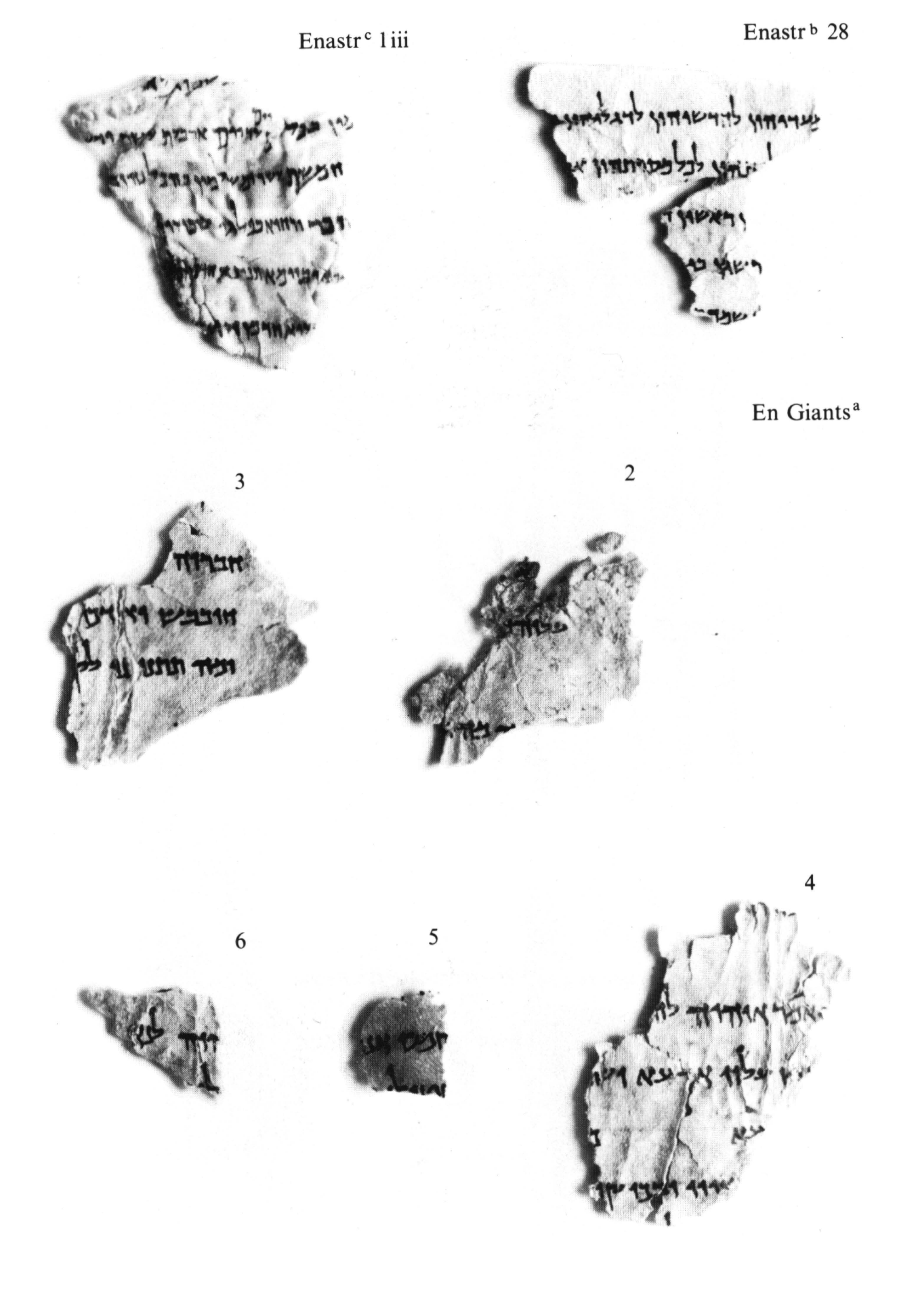
XXVII. 4QEnastr[b] 6, 23, 25, 26



XXVIII 4QEnastr[c] 1 ii



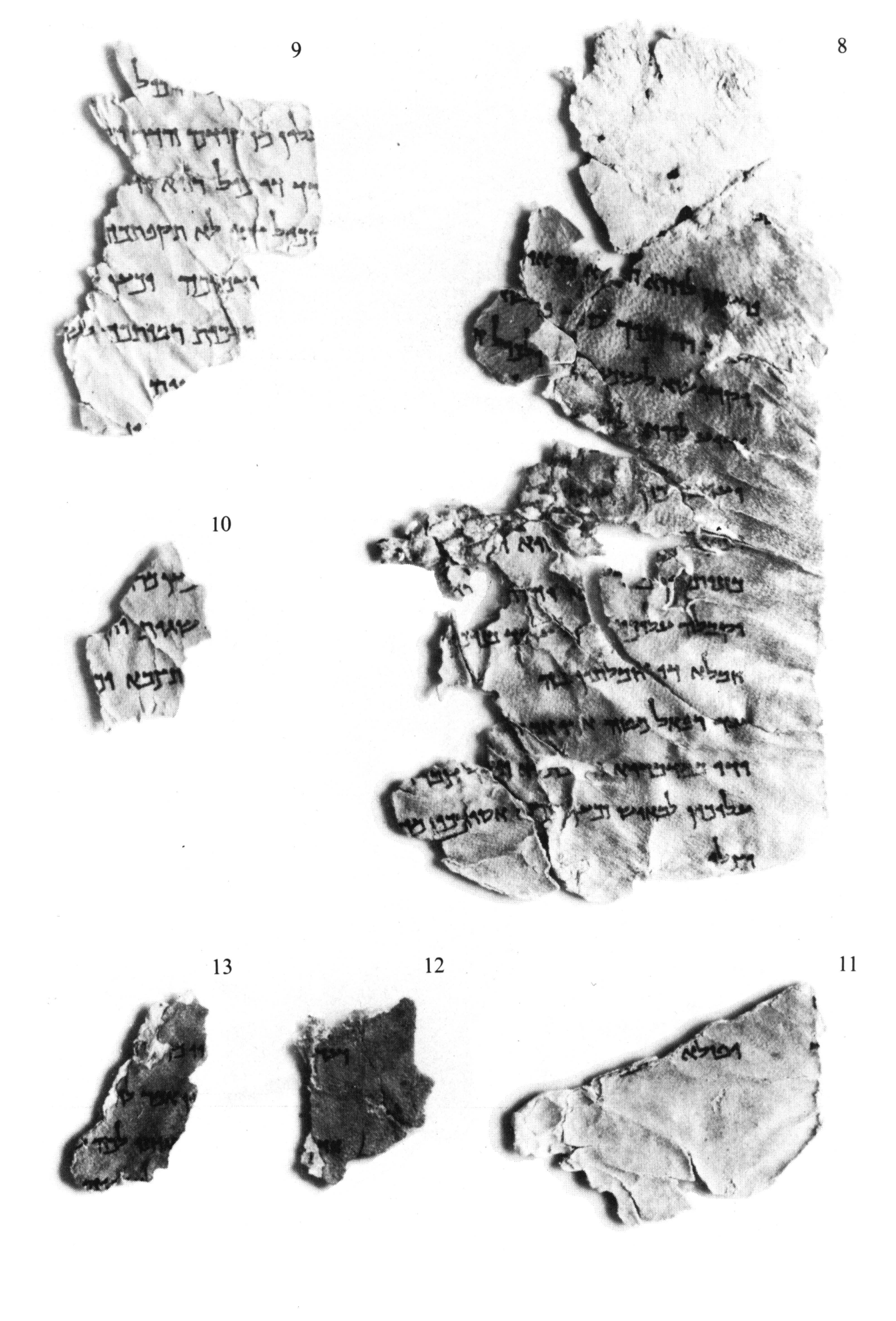
XXIX. 4QEnastr^d 1 i–iii



XXX. 4QEnastr[b] 28; 4QEnastr[c] 1 iii; 4QEn Giants[a] 2–6



XXXI. 4QEn Giants[a] 7 i and ii



XXXII. 4QEn Giants[a] 8–13